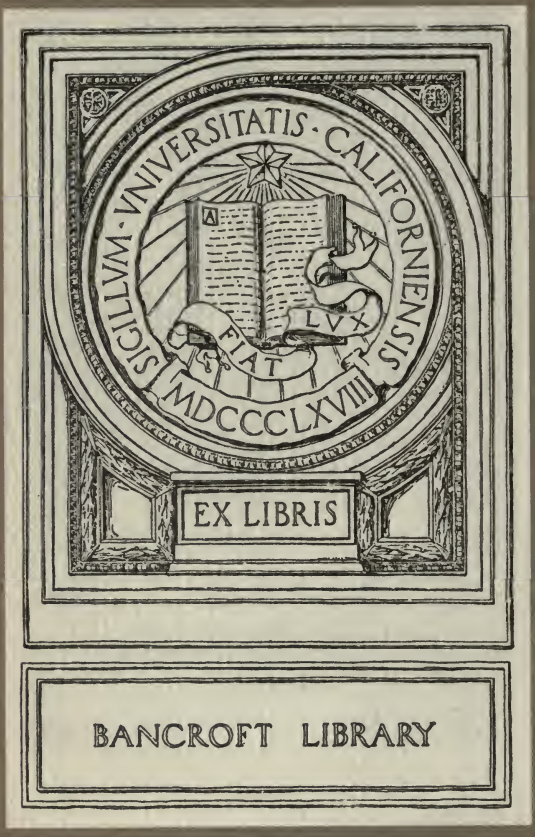

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME XV.

HISTORY OF THE NORTH MEXICAN STATES.

VOL. I. 1531–1800.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1884.

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PREFACE.

The territorial basis of the present work, fourth in the completed series, and entitled History of the North Mexican States, corresponds to the modern Texas, Coahuila, Durango, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, and the two Californias; but the history of New Mexico, Arizona, and Upper California is here given only in the briefest outline, because fully treated in separate works. To the eastern provinces of Texas and Coahuila much less space proportionately is devoted than to regions further west; somewhat more to Chihuahua and Sonora than to Durango and Sinaloa in the south; and Baja California, by reason not only of its geographic position but of its historic importance, receives more attention than its rank in modern times alone would justify. These provinces are variously grouped at successive epochs as is required for clearness and convenience of presentment; but of each it is the author's aim to portray in all desirable detail the earliest annals of discovery, exploration, conquest, and conversion; while later periods of routine development are not neglected, though treated on a different scale. Maps are introduced somewhat more plentifully than elsewhere to show the advance of Spanish dominion northward; and as usual a large amount of statistical, de-

scriptive, bibliographic, and explanatory matter is added to the references in foot-notes. The work consists of two volumes, of which the first brings the record down to the end of the eighteenth century.

This territory has been treated on a general scale, as part of a great nation, in a preceding work of the series; but the plan requires a more minute treatment of the northern regions; and it is deemed better to add two volumes of provincial annals than to correspondingly increase the bulk of such matter in a national History of Mexico. It is not, however, solely to meet the requirements of an arbitrary plan that the north receives more attention than the south. The history of the former is not only more interesting and important, but it has left records much more complete. And so nearly in parallel grooves ran the current of affairs in different Hispano-American communities that southern provincial history, unrecorded for the most part, may in many phases be studied indirectly yet with profit in that of the north. Even here it is not possible to form an uninterrupted chain of events in each province and for each period; nor is it desirable, for such a record would be bulky, wearisome, and unprofitable—an almost endless repetition of similar petty happenings under like conditions. But the inter-provincial likeness noted, while it excuses the historian from following the thread of minor occurrences in all the provinces, also suggests the desirability of such minute treatment in one of them at least, in order that the record of one may reflect that of the rest, just as northern history in a sense throws light upon the south. The suggestion is followed, but for this purpose a country still farther north is

chosen, Upper California, for which original data are beyond all comparison most copious, and whose history will be extensively supplemented by local annals. Thus it is intended that the subdivisions of the historical series shall not only be complete each in its own sphere, but that each shall be so connected with the others as to make of all a symmetrical whole.

From the beginning these regions attracted special attention from the Spaniards. Thence came to eager ears never-ceasing reports of great cities, civilized peoples, inexhaustible wealth, interoceanic straits, and all the marvels of the Northern Mystery. Thither stretched the broadest field for exploration and adventure; and here were found the richest deposits of natural treasure. It was a country of bitter warfare and bloody revolts; but there were tribes that made an enviable record for honor and good faith as well as for bravery; and even the conquerors in most parts marked their advance with atrocities somewhat less fiendish than in the south. This was preëminently the mission field of America, where the Jesuits and Franciscans made their grandest efforts with the best results, and where their system may be studied under the most favorable conditions. The deeds of explorer, soldier, and missionary advancing side by side against a receding frontier of barbarism furnish material for a story of rare interest. And the fascination of the topic to Anglo-Saxon readers is enhanced by the contiguity of the region under consideration to the great northern republic, from which a new industrial and peaceful conquest is being pushed southward on iron routes. That the international bonds may be drawn closer for mutual benefit without taint of unreasoning

prejudice on one side, or of filibustering encroachment on the other, should be the desire of every good citizen of the two republics.

The author's resources for writing this part of the history are exceptionally ample, as is shown by the list of authorities prefixed to this volume. His Library contains all the standard missionary chronicles on which foundation the general structure must rest, together with a very complete collection of government reports, Spanish and Mexican, and practically all the general and special works relating to the territory that have been printed in any language. There is moreover hardly an epoch in the annals of any North Mexican State for which important information has not been drawn from original manuscripts never before consulted. The field is also in all essential respects a new one; for while certain limited periods in the annals of several parts of the territory have been worthily presented in print, there is no work extant in any language which includes the entire history of any one of the seven provinces; much less a comprehensive history of the whole country. That the conception of the work and its introduction here as a connecting link between the national history of the south and local annals of the farther north will be approved is the hope and belief of the author.

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MAP
of the
NORTH MEXICAN
STATES.
Scale
1
7 300 000
115 Statute miles to an inch
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
R. Colorado
R. Gila
R. Salado
R. Santa Cruz
R. San Pedro
R. Santo Domingo
SAN DIEGO
Todos Santos
S. Miguel
S. Tomás
Sta. Catalina
S. Vicente
Sto. Domingo
S. Pedro
Rosario
S. Fernando
S. Borja
Sta. Gertrudis
S. Ignacio
Guadalupe
Muleje
S. Juan
Purisima
Comondu
LORETO
S. Javier
S. Luis
B. Magdalena
I. S. Margarita
LA PAZ
Santiago
Todos Santos
Sta. Ana
S. Jose
C. S. Lucas
Sonoita
TUCSON
Tubac
Tumacacori
Cocospera
Tubutamo
Oquitoa
ALTAR
Caborca
Imuris
MAGDALENA
Dolores
Cucurpe
ARIZPE
Sinoquipe
Tuape
Opodepe
Horcasitas
URES
HERMOSILLO
R. Sonora
Isla Angel de la Guarda
Huachinera
Oposura
Batuco
Sahuaripa
Bacanora
Matape
S. Jose de Pimas
S. Javier
Onabas
Comuripa
GUAYMAS
R. S. Jose
Belem
Rieum
Tesia
R. Yaqui
R. Mayo
Maicoba
R. Alamos
ALAMOS
R. Fuerte
FUERTE
Ahome
Conicari
Chinipas
Batopilas
Concepcion
JANOS
Casas Grandes
R. Casas Grandes
Temeschic
Torreon
CHIH
I. Carmen
I. S. Jose
I. Espiritu Santo
Choix
Baturi
SINALOA
Bacoburito
Nio
Tamazula
Mocorito
CULIACAN
R. Culiacan
R. S. Lorenzo
P A C I F I C
O C E A N

106
104
102
100
98
32
30
28
26
24
22
E W
X I C O
T E X A S
S. Elcearío
G. Ignacio
R. Grande
R. Pecos
Pilares
Presidio del Norte
R. Conchos
Cuchillo Parado
S. Carlos
San Gerónimo
Julimes
R. Nueces
R. Grande del Norte
S. Bartolomé
Jimenez
R. Florido
COAHUILA
Rio Grande
Cuatro Cienegas
R. Salado
Nadadores
MONCLOVA
Mier y Teran
Guadalupe
Salinas
MATAMORAS
Torreon
Mapimi
MONTEREY
Cadereita
SALTILLO
Teran
Viezca
PARRAS
Nazas
R. Nazas
Linares
R. Pilon
R. Blanco
Mazapil
Sauceda
S. JUAN DEL RIO
Cuencome
DURANGO
Nombre de Dios
Nieves
Sombrerete
Guadiana Valley
Suchil
Chalchihuites
Catorce
Tuidad Victoria
Tamay
Jera
Tula
Horcasitas
TAMPICO
Chametla
Acaponeta
Guazamote
ZACATECAS
Salinas
Venado
S. LUIS POTOSI
Maiz
Vallés
R. Pánuco
R. S. Pedro
Nostic
Colotlan
Tlaltenango
R. Tachipila
AGUAS CALIENTES
S. LUIS POTOSI
Tancahuitz
R. Grande de Tetelotlan
Santiago
S. Blas
TEPIC
Tuchipila

HISTORY

OF THE

NORTH MEXICAN STATES.

CHAPTER I.

CORTÉS ON THE SOUTH SEA COASTS.

1521–1530.

MOTIVE OF NORTH-WESTERN DISCOVERY—COSMOGRAPHICAL THEORIES OF THE EARLY SPANIARDS—SECRET OF THE STRAIT—IDEAS OF HERNAN CORTÉS—EXTRACTS FROM HIS LETTERS—RÉSUMÉ OF EVENTS FOLLOWING THE CONQUEST—PÁNUCO AND THE GULF COAST—RIVAL CONQUISTADORES—THE CHICHIMEC COUNTRY—CONQUEST OF MICHOACAN—SUBJECTION OF COLIMA AND CHIMALHUACAN—EXPEDITIONS OF ÁLVAREZ CHICO, ÁVALOS, AND FRANCISCO CORTÉS—EXPLORATION TO TEPIC—NORTHERN WONDERS—A TOWN AND SHIP-YARD AT ZACATULA—CORTÉS ON THE PACIFIC COAST—HIS PROJECTS OF SOUTH SEA DISCOVERY—HIS LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR—DELAYS AND OBSTACLES—DOWN THE COAST, NORTHWARD—IDENTITY OF VESSELS—LOAISA, GUEVARA, AND SAAVEDRA—FIRST VOYAGE UP THE COAST TO COLIMA—NEW VESSELS—NEW PERSECUTIONS—DISCOURAGEMENT.

FROM the day when Mexico Tenochtitlan submitted to the arms of Spain, an idea often uppermost in the mind of the conqueror, Hernan Cortés, and hardly less prominent in the minds of his companions and those who succeeded him in power, was that of western and north-western discovery, the exploration of the South Sea with its coasts and islands, and the finding of a northern passage by water from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The realization of this idea, or the progress of more than three centuries toward its realization, involving the exploration by land and

water, the conquest and conversion, the settlement and permanent occupation by Europeans of the great north-west, is the subject to which the present and later subdivisions of this history are devoted. In order to comprehend clearly, and consistently to account for the *idée fixe* alluded to, we have to glance briefly at the geographical notions prevalent at the time respecting the regions which have been finally named America. Thus may be readily dispelled the shade of mystery which, in the popular mind at least, has ever obscured this matter.

When Columbus undertook his grand enterprise, the learned few, cosmographers, navigators, and merchants engaged in foreign trade, had a vaguely correct knowledge of the Asiatic coast, of India, China, and even of Japan. This knowledge was derived from overland trips of traders and priests, directed to the east in quest of merchandise and proselytes, especially from the travels of Polo and Mandeville. The Asiatic coast was laid down on maps of the time, and that with a degree of accuracy in its general features. The Portuguese were straining every nerve to reach India by water by way of Cape Good Hope, a project in which they succeeded a little later. The spherical form of the earth was understood; the feasibility of reaching Asia by sailing westward was maintained by some; Columbus became an enthusiastic believer in the theory, and resolved to apply a practical test. By reason of imperfect methods of computing longitude, Columbus, like others of his time, greatly underestimated the distance across the Atlantic to Asia; but he started, sailed about as far as he had expected to sail, and found as he had anticipated a coast trending south-westward—in fact, as he believed and as all of his time and of much later times believed, he reached the Asiatic coast. The discovery of land where all knew before that land existed excited little surprise or enthusiasm; it was the finding of a new route to that land that gave the admiral his earlier fame, the

only fame he had during his lifetime. He died without a suspicion that he had done more than to make known a new route to Asia.

The first discovery of lands before unknown was in what is now known as South America, at a point much farther east than could be made to agree with the trend of the Asiatic coast as laid down in the maps and described by travellers. Had Australia been included in the old knowledge there would have been perhaps no surprise, no thought of a new discovery even yet; as it was, navigators had now a new aim for exploration, in ascertaining the extent of the newly discovered island, an aim which resulted in the expedition of Magellan into the Pacific in 1520. This new aim, however, by no means diverted attention from the primary design, that of coasting Asia southwestward, sailing of course between the main and the new-found island, and finally arriving at India. The firm belief on the part of Columbus, and of those who followed him, that they had reached the Asiatic coast, and had only to follow that coast to reach India and the Spice Islands, together with their idea—and a very natural idea it was—that in passing down the coast they must sail through the strait, or channel, between the island and the main, furnishes us a key to all that is mysterious in the subsequent progress of north-western exploration, as well as to the "secret of the strait," which the Spaniards so zealously sought to penetrate.[1] The effort to solve the mystery was not at first nor for many years a search for a passage through a new continent to the South Sea, but a passage between new lands and the well known Asi-

[1] I am aware that there is nothing original in the statement that Columbus thought he had arrived in Asia. Most writers state the fact; but few if any in subsequent speculations speak as if they really believe it, or fully understand how slowly this idea of Columbus was modified, how closely it was connected with the 'secret of the strait,' how loath were navigators to give up the views of the ancient cosmographers, how slightly the idea of Columbus had been modified in the time of Cortés, or how many years passed before the idea was altogether abandoned. For more details, with copies of old maps, see *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. chap. i., Summary of Voyages, this series.

atic main. This *ignis fatuus* of navigators did not originate in wild cosmographic theories,[2] but in natural conclusions from what were deemed accurate reports of prior discoveries.

On making the attempt, however, from both directions, to sail down the China coast, no passage was found, but only land—instead of a strait an isthmus, which was crossed by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513. This unexpected result caused not a little confusion in cosmographical reckonings; but it left to thinking men, acquainted with the progress of maritime discovery, only three theories or reasonable conjectures. Charts of this and subsequent periods[3] agree with one or another of these conjectures, which are the following: first, that the passage actually existed in the region between Cuba and South America, but being narrow had escaped the attention of navigators; second, that the newly found regions were all a south-eastern projection of the Asiatic continent, not separated from the main by any body of water; and third, that the passage was to be found north of the explored regions, those regions all belonging to a hitherto unknown continent, distinct, but not distant, from Asia.

Such were the geographical theories prevalent in 1521 when Cortés first had leisure to give his attention to new discoveries; but the tendency of the times was strongly in favor of the third, or that of a northern passage. Cortés deemed it yet possible that the strait which was to admit his Majesty's vessels to the Indian Spice Islands might be found in the south. This is shown by his expeditions in that direction, either car-

[2] 'European scholars could not believe, that Nature had worked on a plan so repugnant, apparently, to the interests of humanity, as to interpose, through the whole length of the great continent, such a barrier to communication between the adjacent waters.' *Prescott's Hist. Conq. Mex.*, iii. 272. These ideas if understood literally must be applied to a period considerably later than that of Cortés' earlier efforts at north-western exploration.

[3] Of course I refer to official charts and to such as show some ruling idea on the part of the maker. I made no attempt to account for the vagaries of the many compilers who drew liberally on their imagination for geographical data, whenever needed to promote the sale of their maps. Copies of many of the earlier charts are given elsewhere in my work.

ried out or projected, and especially by his instructions to Cristóbal de Olid in the Honduras expedition. Still his faith in a southern strait was slight and of short duration. The natives of Anáhuac had an accurate knowledge of the South Sea and the trend of the Pacific coast, a knowledge which Cortés was not long in acquiring and verifying through the agency of Spanish scouts. The result established the following facts: That if Mexico was a part of the Asiatic continent, the point where the coast turned westward must be sought not in the south just above Nicaragua, the northern limit of Espinosa's voyage in 1819, but north of the latitude of Anáhuac; that the actual discovery of a southern strait in the region of Darien would still leave a south-eastern projection of Asia wholly irreconcilable with the old authorities, whose general accuracy men were loath to call in question; and finally that only the finding of a passage in the north could establish the correctness of the old maps and narratives.[4]

[4] In thus making Cortés the representative of the cosmographical ideas of his time there may be an apparent exaggeration, but I believe it is at least not calculated to mislead. The view I have given of the tendency of the period is sustained by the facts in the case, and Cortés was a shrewd observer and quick to take practical advantage of the reasonings of his contemporaries, even if his mind did not grasp in logical sequence all the conclusions to be drawn from the results of maritime discovery since the day of Columbus. The following literal translations from his letter to Charles V. are conclusive as to his ideas on the subject: 'I hold these ships (those built at Zacatula) of more importance than I can express, for I am sure that with them, by the will of Our Lord, I shall be the cause that your Cæsarean Majesty be in these regions ruler over more kingdoms and seigneuries than are yet known in our nation; and I believe that when I have accomplished this your Majesty will have nothing more to do to become monarch of the world.'

'I saw that nothing more remained for me to do but to learn the secret of the coast which is yet to be explored between the Rio Pánuco and Florida... and thence the coast of the said Florida northward to Bacallaos (Newfoundland); for it is deemed certain that on that coast there is a strait which passes to the South Sea; and if it should be found, according to a certain map which I have of the region of the archipelago discovered by Magellan by order of your Highness, it seems that it would come out very near there; and if it should please God that the said strait be found there, the voyage from the spice region to your kingdom would be very easy and very short, so much so that it would be less by two thirds than by the route now followed, and that without any risk to the vessels coming and going, because they would always come and go through your own dominions, so that in any case of necessity they could be repaired without danger wherever they might wish to enter port.'

'I have determined to send three caravels and two brigantines on this

Thus we account for the efforts of Cortés and his companions constantly directed toward the northwest; for the never-failing reports of natives respecting ever receding marvels in that direction, for there can be but little doubt that the wish of the Spaniards was father to the tales of the Indians; the famous Amazon isles, golden mountains, bearded white men, broad rivers, and populous cities; the island of California "on the right hand of the Indies;" the fabled strait of Anian through which fictitious voyagers and adventurers sailed; the more modern search for a northwest passage through the frozen zone; and not improbably even the traditions of an ancient migration of the native races from the far north. The conclusion toward which the reasonings of Cortés tended proved a correct one; but the illustrious conquistador and his contemporaries were far from dreaming how very far away, and in how cold a region, the long-sought strait would at last be found.

Having landed on the coast of Vera Cruz in April 1519, the Spaniards received the surrender of the Aztec capital in August 1521. Before the latter date

search (this refers particularly to the search in the North Sea *via* Florida)... and to add this service to the others I have done, because I deem it the greatest, if, as I say, the strait be found; and if it be not found, it is not possible that there should not be discovered very large and rich lands where your Cæsarean Majesty may be much served, and the kingdoms and seigneuries of your royal crown be greatly extended...May it please Our Lord that the armada accomplish the object for which it is prepared, which is to discover the strait, because that would be best; and in this I have strong faith, since in the royal good fortune of your Majesty nothing can be hid...Also I intend to send the ships which I have built on the South Sea, and which, if the Lord wills, will sail at the end of July 1525 up the coast'—the writer says *por la costa abajo*, literally 'down the coast;' but by this expression he doubtless means what we now call 'up the coast,' that is north-westward. See on this point note at end of this chapter—'in search of the said strait; because if it exists, it cannot be hidden to these in the South Sea or to those in the North Sea; since the former in the South (Sea) will follow the coast until they find the strait or join the land with that discovered by Magalhaens (India); and the others in the North (Sea) as I have said, until they join it to the Bacallaos. Thus on the one side or the other the secret will not fail to be revealed.' He goes on to assure the emperor that his own personal interests call him to the rich provinces of the south, but he is willing to sacrifice his interests to those of the crown. *Cortés, Cartas* (letter of Oct. 15, 1524), 307–8, 314–15.

Cortés had already brought into subjection most of the towns in the vicinity of the lakes; had somewhat extended his conquests southward toward the borders of the Miztec and Zapotec realms; and had made himself master of nearly all the region stretching eastward from the central plateau to the gulf coast. Many of the native chieftains had been subdued only by deeds of valor on hard-fought battle-fields; others, moved by admiration for Spanish prowess, by terror of Spanish guns and horses, by supernatural warnings, and by a bitter hatred toward the tyrants of Anáhuac, had voluntarily submitted to the new-comers, whom they looked upon at first as deliverers. During the years immediately following the fall of Mexico voluntary submission was the rule, armed resistance the exception. Such resistance was met for the most part only beyond the limits of the region permanently subjected in aboriginal times to the allied monarchs of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan; or, if met nearer, it was only in the form of revolt in provinces that had at first submitted but were driven by oppression to a desperate though vain effort to retrieve their error and regain their freedom.

Cortés was kept busy in preparations for building a magnificent Spanish city on the site of the demolished Tenochtitlan; in apportioning the conquered villages as encomiendas to his associates; in establishing a form of local government adapted to the needs of the court, and especially the treasury, of Spain, as well as of the new Spanish subjects; in despatching warlike expeditions to quell revolt in the provinces or to extend his power over gentile tribes yet unsubdued; and finally in watching the movements and striving to baffle the schemes of his foes both in Mexico and at the court of Charles. In the first impulse of thankfulness for large domains, or perhaps of a politic craving for a still further extension of his transatlantic realms, the emperor made Cortés governor, captain-general, and chief-justice of New Spain, with

full powers to administer the government and press forward free from trammels in his ambitious schemes of conquest. This was in October 1522. By the end of the year Tehuantepec had been conquered by Pedro de Alvarado; the South Sea had been discovered and formal possession of it taken at several points; active preparations had been set on foot for the building of a fleet on the Pacific for the further exploration of its mysteries; and a little later myriads of swarthy workmen under the guidance of European architects were restoring to its original splendor the capital of the Montezumas. Soon the whole country from the isthmus of Tehuantepec to Pánuco and Colima owned allegiance to the conquerors; several Spanish settlements were founded in different parts of the conquered territory; colonization was encouraged by liberal grants of land and of native servants under the prevailing system of repartimientos; missionaries were sent for, to convert and instruct the natives; the native faith was uprooted and the ancient *teocallis* were demolished; the aborigines were forced to wear out their bodies in servitude, but they were rapidly learning just how much it would profit them, having lost the whole world, to save their own souls.

In 1523 Alvarado was sent again southward to cross the isthmus and conquer Guatemala. Early in 1524 Olid was despatched by water to invade Honduras, and twelve Franciscan friars arrived to begin their holy work of conversion and instruction. In October of the same year Cortés was forced by Olid's treachery to leave temporarily his northern schemes, and go in person to Central America, not returning until the middle of 1526. His departure from Mexico was the occasion of serious complications in the colonial government. The royal officers left by him in charge were either unfaithful to their trusts or failed to agree among themselves. Other officers sent from the south to heal differences committed still greater irregularities, abused their usurped power, and

finally gave out the report that the captain-general was dead.

Meanwhile his foes at court had renewed their hostile efforts and had filled the mind of Charles with fears that Cortés would go so far in his ambitious schemes as to deny allegiance and set up an independent sovereignty. The remedy usual in such cases was resorted to; an investigating commissioner, or *juez de residencia,* was sent to supersede the governor and bring him to trial on charges preferred. The arrival of this commissioner was in July 1526, just after the governor's return from Honduras. The position had been given to Luis Ponce de Leon, reputed to be a just man and an impartial judge; but by his death and that of his successor, the treasurer, Alonso de Estrada, a bitter personal enemy to Cortés, came into power; and the period that followed during 1526 and 1527 was one of continual mortification, annoyance, and insult to the conqueror and his friends. His enemies having gained control in Mexico, worked the more effectually at court; but early in 1528 Cortés went in person to Spain, just in time to escape being forcibly sent or treacherously enticed across the Atlantic by the royal audiencia appointed to supersede Estrada.

While his trial was in progress at Mexico during his absence, at court Cortés received marked honors from the emperor. It was deemed expedient to continue the audiencia in their civil power; but in all else the fêted conquistador was triumphant. In July 1529 he was made marqúes del Valle de Oajaca, with large grants of land and vassals; during the same month he was appointed captain-general of New Spain and of the South Sea, with full powers to continue his discoveries and to rule over such lands as he might explore and colonize; later he was granted in full proprietorship one twelfth of all his new discoveries. He returned to the New World in July 1530, to the great joy of the natives, whose friend and protector he had been so far as practicable under the system to

which he was subjected, and who now after several years of oppression under royal officers and audiencia, more fully than before realized the good will of the chieftain who had forced upon them Spanish sovereignty. But the return of Cortés was productive of but little good to himself, to the country, or to his friends, whether natives or Spaniards. In view of the services he had rendered he was little disposed to brook interference or opposition from a tribunal with which he soon became involved in quarrels respecting his powers, titles, property, and vassals. He soon left the capital in disgust to live in retirement at Cuernavaca until ready to resume his operations in the South Sea, of which more hereafter.

This brief sketch will serve to recall a few needed dates, and thus introduce the topic matter of this chapter, itself introductory to the general subject of north-western exploration and settlement. Full details are before the reader in an earlier volume of this history.[5]

It is well, however, before following Cortés to the Pacific to review somewhat more fully, but still in the briefest résumé, the course of events in the countries immediately north and west of Mexico during the years following the conquest. These events occurred for the most part without the territorial limits of this volume, that is in the provinces that now make up the states of Vera Cruz, Tamaulipas, San Luis, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Aguas Calientes, Michoacan, Colima, and Jalisco; but they were nevertheless the beginning of the north-western movement, and have a bearing on what is to follow.

Ponce de Leon in 1512 sought the 'fountain of youth' in Bimini, or Florida, whither he returned to die nine years later. Grijalva from the south reached Pánuco in 1518. The intermediate gulf coast was explored in 1519–20, and the following years by Pineda

[5] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. i. this series.

and Narvaez for Garay under the patronage of the conqueror's foes, Velazquez in Cuba and Fonseca in Spain. A leading incentive was the erroneous idea that the Tampico region afforded a good harbor. Cortés shared this belief and was able to defeat Garay's projects by obtaining the voluntary submission of the Pánuco chieftains; and when the latter were driven to revolt by the outrages of his foe, he marched to subdue the province by force of arms, founding the

Region North and West of Mexico.

town of San Estévan del Puerto in 1522. Garay came in person with a governor's commission in 1523; and though he accomplished nothing, his men provoked a second rising in which some two hundred and fifty Spaniards were slain. Sandoval restored peace by a bloody campaign, and took terrible vengeance by burning and hanging hundreds of leading Huastecs in 1524. Next year the province under name of Victoria Garayana was separated from the jurisdiction of Mexico, but no actual change was effected till 1528. Then came Pánfilo de Narvaez and Nuño de Guzman, of the clique so bitterly hostile to Cortés, each with a governor's commission. Narvaez was to rule Las Palmas stretching northward from Pánuco. He landed on the west coast of Florida with a large

force, and attempted to coast the gulf by land and water. The whole company perished miserably one by one, except four, of whose wanderings across the continent I shall have much to say elsewhere in this volume.[6] Guzman was ruler of Pánuco, the other name not surviving, and his administration of about six months at San Estévan was marked, after profitless attempts to make conquests and find riches in the territory of Narvaez, by never ending raids for slaves, by which the province was depopulated. He was always in trouble, with authorities of adjoining provinces invaded, with his Spanish subjects whose encomiendas were destroyed by his policy, or with the Huastec chieftains now nearly helpless; but he was a shrewd lawyer, and so skilfully did he parry the constant complaints at court that instead of being dismissed from office and hanged, as he richly deserved, he was sent to Mexico, still retaining his governorship as president of the audiencia. We shall soon enough meet him again. Before 1530 there was no Spanish settlement on the northern gulf coast except at San Estévan, or Pánuco.

To the west and inland was the territory comprising the present states of Querétaro, Guanajuato, San Luis, and Aguas Calientes; the home of the wild Chichimecs, never permanently subjected to the Aztecs. The Chichimec country proper extended indefinitely northward, as elsewhere noted, but the name was applied commonly to this region as the home of the only Chichimecs with whom the Aztecs or earliest Spaniards came in contact. Richer provinces and pueblos, more accessible for purposes of plunder and conversion, at first called the Spaniards in other directions. Converted native chieftains, however, furnished with ammunition, material and spiritual—gunpowder and crucifixes—set forth to christianize their rude brethren on several occasions between 1521 and 1525. In 1526 Cortés was medi-

[6] See chapter iii. of this volume.

tating an expedition against the Chichimecs who, if they showed no fitness for civilization, were to be made slaves. Two Otomí chiefs, baptized as Fernando de Tapia and Nicolás Montañez de San Luis, were leaders of proselyte armies which effected the conquest of Querétaro and parts of Guanajuato. The former founded a pueblo at Acámbaro in 1526; and in 1530 one or both won a marvellous victory near the spot where the town of Querétaro was founded, probably in 1531. About this time it is reported that Lope de Mendoza, left in command at Pánuco, made an expedition into the interior to San Luis Potosí, and as some say to Zacatecas. Records are vague, but the subject is not an important one in this connection. The region attracted little notice until about 1548, when rich mines were found in Guanajuato.

Michoacan, the land of the civilized Tarascos, was a province that early fixed the invaders' attention. It is said that a messenger sent thither in 1521 was never heard of again; but he was followed by one Parrillas, with a few comrades, who reached Tzintzuntzan, the capital, returning with glowing reports of western wealth, specimens of which were brought by native envoys back to Mexico. Next Moñtano and a larger party, generously provided with trinket gifts, were received at Tzintzuntzan with great ceremony and some caution, bringing to Cortés precious gifts with new stores of information, and accompanied on their return by eight Tarascan nobles. Later the king's brother visited Mexico with much pomp and treasure to see for himself the power and magnificence of the newly arrived children of the sun. And then King Tangaxoan came in person to offer his allegiance to the Spanish sovereign, promising to open his kingdom and extend his protection to Spanish colonists. Accordingly Olid was sent with a large force to investigate the country's resources, and to found a settlement. All this was before the end of 1522. He met with no resistance, save such as was provoked at

Tangimaroa by the actions of his men; but the outrages were continued at the capital, where temples were burned, private dwellings plundered, and the adjoining region raided in the search for treasure. The Spaniards quarrelled among themselves when Olid tried to stop the plundering; and when no more treasure could be found they became discontented and uncontrollable, so that the settlement was abandoned by order of Cortés. But the occupation was soon resumed; the timid native authorities were reassured; Franciscan friars began their work; and from 1524 Michoacan never faltered in allegiance to Spain, though the Tarascan nobles and people secured nothing but oppression in return for their submission and good faith.

In connection with Olid's expedition to Michoacan in 1522, a force sent to Zacatula turned aside on the way to conquer Colima, where great riches were said to be. Part of this force under Álvarez Chico was defeated by the natives; but another division under Ávalos, forming an alliance with disaffected chiefs, extended this raid through the region just north of the modern Colima line, known for many years as the Ávalos province. Next Olid entered the province and defeated in a hard-fought battle the ruler and his allies; a town of Coliman was founded; and Ávalos was left in charge of the colony. When many of the settlers had deserted, the natives revolted, but Sandoval was sent to subdue them, and did his work so effectually that the province thereafter remained submissive. This was before the end of 1523. In 1524 Francisco Cortés, a kinsman of Don Hernan, and alcalde mayor of Colima, made an *entrada*, or incursion, to the northern regions of Chimalhuacan, corresponding to western Jalisco. Most of the towns submitted without resistance; but at Tetitlan and at several other points battles were fought. The northern limit was the town of Jalisco, near Tepic. Gold was not found in large quantities, but of course was

reported plentiful toward the north. During Don Francisco's absence Ávalos also advanced northward to the region round the modern Guadalajara. Many of the northern pueblos were distributed as encomiendas at this time, but it does not appear that either encomenderos or garrisons were left in the country.

Don Francisco's return was along the coast, and the Valle de Banderas was named from the little flags attached by the natives to their bows. Not only did the Spaniards hear marvellous reports of northern wealth, but on the coast south of Banderas they found in the dress and actions of the natives traces of Catholic influence, and heard of a 'wooden house' from over the sea that had been stranded on the rocks many years ago. Fifty persons from the wreck taught the natives many things, but were killed when they became overbearing. Writers have indulged in speculations on the origin of this tale, wondering if the strangers were Englishmen who came through the strait of Anian, or if they belonged to some Catholic nation. After exhausting conjecture respecting probable error or falsehood on the part of natives or Spaniards, the credulous reader is still at liberty to believe that the wreck on the Jalisco coast of a Portuguese craft from India before 1524 is not quite impossible.

I now come to the actual operations of Cortés on the Pacific coast between 1521 and 1530, a series of failures and bitter disappointments, though followed by partial success in later years. The aim of his efforts in this direction, his grand scheme of sailing north and then west, and finally south until he should reach India—discovering in the course of this navigation the "secret of the strait," or proving all to be one continent, and in any event making rich additions to his Majesty's domain—has been clearly set forth at the beginning of this chapter; it only remains to pre-

sent the record of the efforts made to carry out his aim.[7]

In his third letter to Charles V., written May 15, 1522, Cortés relates all that had transpired up to that date respecting South Sea discovery. Through friendly natives, before the final surrender of Mexico, he had heard of that sea; and before the date of his letter had sent to Spain certain petitions touching the matter.[8] The first Tarascan messengers who came[9] were closely questioned on this point and requested to take back with them two Spaniards to visit the coast from Michoacan. They stated that a province lying between their own and the sea was hostile, and it was therefore impracticable at the time to reach the Pacific; nevertheless the two Spaniards did accompany them to Michoacan at least. Learning by his inquiries that the coast was twelve or fourteen days' journey distant according to the direction taken, Cortés was glad, because, as he says, "it seemed to me that in discovering it I should do your Majesty a very great service, especially as all who have experience and knowledge in the navigation of the Indies have held it certain that with the finding of the South Sea in these parts, there must also be found rich islands, with gold and pearls and precious stones, and many other secrets and marvellous things; and this has been affirmed and is still affirmed by men of letters and learned in the science of cosmography." He conse-

[7] The best, and in fact almost the only authority for this record, is the letters of Cortés himself, which, when carefully examined, are tolerably complete and satisfactory on the subject. Later writers have presented but versions—always incomplete and often incorrect—of that given by the conquistador. Some of them wrote without having all the letters before them; others used carelessly those that they had; no one so far as I know has added anything from trustworthy sources.

[8] 'Antes de agora teniendo alguna noticia de la dicha mar, yo avisé á los que tienen mi poder de ciertas cosas que se habian de suplicar á V. M. para la mejor y mas breve expedicion del dicho descubrimiento...aquel aviso mio no sé si se habrá recibido, porqué fué por diversas vias.' *Cartas*, 160. 'Tenia noticia de aquella Mar de tiempo de Motecçuma.' *Gomara, Crónica*, in *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, ii. 154.

[9] With Parrillas or Montaño, probably the latter, and in any case shortly after August 1521.

quently sent four Spaniards, "two by certain provinces and other two by others," accompanied by a few friendly Indians, with instructions not to stop until they reached the sea, and once there to take possession in the name of Spain. One party went one hundred and thirty leagues through many and rich provinces, took possession of the ocean by setting up crosses on its shores, and returned with samples of gold from the region traversed and a few natives from the coast. The other party went farther, one hundred and fifty leagues according to their report, and were absent a little longer; but they also reached the coast and brought back natives. The visitors from both directions were kindly treated and sent back *muy contentos* to their homes. All this occurred before the end of October 1521, at which time Cortés sent out an expedition[10] which, within a month or two, subjected a province of Oajaca, but not on the coast.

For a time following this expedition Cortés was busied in selecting a site and preparing to rebuild the city of Mexico; but in the mean time the lord of Tehuantepec, on the South Sea, "where the two Spaniards had discovered it," sent chieftains as ambassadors with gifts and an offer of allegiance to Spain. About this time also the two Spaniards who had been sent to Michoacan returned accompanied by King Caltzontzin's brother. It is nowhere stated that these two reached the coast, and it is not probable that they were identical with either of the two parties already mentioned as having taken possession of the South Sea. These events took place before the end of 1521, because they were followed as Cortés tells us by the transactions with Cristóbal de Tapia, who arrived in December,

In January 1522 Pedro de Alvarado started southward, added the force already in Oajaca to that which he took from Mexico, and on March 4th wrote that

[10] 'Acabados de despachar aquellos Españoles que vinieron de descubrir la mar del sur' he sent the expedition south on Oct. 31st.

he had occupied Tututepec on the coast,[11] pacified the province, and taken formal possession of the southern ocean. Whatever else had been accomplished before May 15, 1522, is stated by Cortés in his letter of that date as follows: "I have provided with much diligence that in one of the three places where I have discovered the sea,[12] there shall be built two caravels of medium size and two brigantines, the former for discovery and the latter for coasting, and with this view I have sent under a competent person forty Spaniards, including master-builders, carpenters, smiths, and marines. I have also provided the villa with all articles needed for said ships; and with all possible haste the vessels will be completed and launched; which accomplished, your Majesty may believe it will be the greatest thing since the Indies were discovered." In an introductory note of the same date he repeats the substance of what I have quoted respecting the importance of this discovery and the building of the vessels "near the coast ninety leagues from here;" and adds that he has already a settlement of two hundred and fifty Spaniards on the coast, including fifty cavalry. So far Cortés' own narrative. The additions or variations by later writers require but brief notice which may be given in a note.[13]

[11] About midway between Acapulco and Tehuantepec.

[12] That is at Zacatula. The other two points referred to were Tehuantepec and Tututepec.

[13] *Cartas*, 169, 258–69. Also same letter (3d) in the editions of Barcia, Lorenzana, etc. According to Cortés, *Residencia*, ii. 118–19, Juan de Umbría was commander of one of the South Sea parties. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii., says that Cortés sent Francisco Chico with three Spaniards and some Indians to explore 'all the southern coast,' and seek a fitting place for ship-building. These went to Tehuantepec, to Zacatula, and to other pueblos. This agrees well enough with Cortés, although Herrera seems to imply that the four went together, visiting Tehuantepec and Zacatula. Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex. Viage*, introd. vii.–x., follows Herrera, implying, however, still more clearly that all the four went together in one party. This is not probable, for it directly contradicts Cortés' statement that the parties took separate routes and that the sea had been discovered in two places only; besides the expedition against Tututepec was undertaken at the request of the lord of Tehuantepec who complained of hostilities on the part of those of Tututepec, whose cause of offence was that the Spaniards had been allowed to reach the coast. Therefore it is unlikely that the four Spaniards had traversed the whole coast from Tehuantepec to Zacatula or *vice versa*, passing directly

It is certainly remarkable that we have no further details respecting the establishment of a settlement of two hundred and fifty Spaniards at Zacatula—nothing beyond the bare statement that such a villa had been founded before May 15, 1522; yet it is not likely that there is any error, except perhaps an exaggeration of the force, since the reënforcement on the abandonment of Tzintzuntzan could hardly have arrived so early; for as we have seen the military expedition had not yet been sent by way of Michoacan to the coast, and it is expressly stated that that expedition was intended not for the foundation, but the protection of Zacatula. It appears that Juan Rodriguez Villafuerte, the commander, had first been sent with some forty mechanics to found a settlement and begin the work of ship-building, many native workmen, chiefly Tescucans, coming a little later; and large numbers of carriers being employed to bring material from Vera Cruz and Mexico. With the town except as a ship-building station we are not concerned here.[14]

Writing October 15, 1524, just before starting for Honduras, Cortés reports what progress had at that date been made in his South Sea enterprise. He

through the hostile province of Tututepec. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 155–7, and a writer in the *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 29, give the same version, the latter adding that in consequence of this expedition Acapulco was discovered by Gil Gonzalez Dávila in 1521! Herrera in another place, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. i., gives the name of Gonzalez de Umbría to the man who first brought samples of gold to Cortés from Zacatula.

Herrera and Navarrete, *ubi supra*, also speak of a party, not mentioned by Cortés, which was sent *via* Jalisco but was never heard of. The reference is probably to the doubtful expedition of Villadiego sent to Michoacan before that of Parrillas. The same authors state further that Guillen de Loa, Castillo, and Roman Lopez, with two others, passed through the country of the Zapotees and Chiapas to Soconusco, and back by water to Tehuantepec. It is not unlikely that such a trip was made, but if so it must have been several years later than is implied by these writers. Prescott, *Conq. Mex.*, iii. 237, erroneously states that one of the two first detachments sent to the coast reached it through Michoacan, and continues without any authority that I know of, 'on their return they visited some of the rich districts towards the north since celebrated for their mineral treasures, and brought back samples of gold and California pearls'!

[14] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 54 et seq. It appears that Simon de Cuenca was associated with Villafuerte in the command; and according to some authorities the latter did not come until the time of Olid's expedition. The Indians were somewhat insubordinate on several occasions.

speaks of the expedition of Olid to Michoacan in the middle of 1522; the subsequent sending of a part of Olid's force to Zacatula, where he had and still has four vessels on the stocks; the foundation of the villa of Segura at Tututepec, its subsequent abandonment, and the revolt and reconquest of the province; the conquest of Colima in 1523–4, resulting in the reports of Amazon isles rich in gold and pearls, and the discovery of a good port—doubtless Manzanillo or Santiago; and finally the departure of Olid and Alvarado for the conquest of Central America.

For the delay in completing and launching the vessels he offers good excuses to the emperor, explaining the extreme slowness and difficulty of transporting all needed articles except timber across the continent from Vera Cruz, and stating further that the tedious work of transportation when once completed had to be begun anew on account of the destruction by fire of the warehouse at Zacatula with all its contents "except a few anchors which would not burn."[15] A new stock of supplies was ordered and arrived at Vera Cruz about June 1524. The work was now in a good state of advancement, and Cortés believed that if pitch could be obtained the vessels might be ready by the end of June 1525. Neither does he omit to state that they will have cost him over eight thousand pesos. Here he expresses more extensively and more enthusiastically than elsewhere his ideas of the grandeur and importance of his schemes, stating clearly what his plans were in words that have already been translated in this chapter.[16]

His intention was, in brief, to despatch his fleet at the end of July 1525, with orders to follow the coast north-westward until the strait should be found, or, by

[15] By cédula of June 1523 the king had enjoined Cortés to hasten the search for a strait. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xxiii. 366. In the later trial of Cortés there was an absurd theory broached that the delays were intentional, the ships having been built really as a means of escape from the country with embezzled millions. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 27.

[16] See note 4.

arrival at India, New Spain should be proved a part of the Asiatic continent as had been at first supposed. His hope was, first, to discover the strait and thereby shorten by two thirds the route to India; second, to find and conquer for his king rich islands and coasts hitherto unknown; and third, at the least, to reach India by a new route and open communication between Spain and the Spice Islands *via* New Spain.[17] By an inaccurate but natural conception of one passage in this letter of Cortés, Venegas and Navarrete, the latter a most able and painstaking writer, generally regarded as the best modern authority on Spanish voyages, as well as other writers of less note who have copied their statements, have been led to believe that Cortés intended with the Zacatula fleet to sail southward toward Panamá in search of the strait.[18]

Again in letters of September 3d and 11th, 1526, after his return from Honduras, Cortés says: "Long ago I informed your Majesty that I was building certain vessels in the South Sea to make discoveries; and although that is a very important enterprise, yet on account of other occupations and occurrences it has

[17] *Cortés, Cartas*, 275–8, 287–9, 304, 307–8, 314–15.

[18] *Navarrete*, in *Sutil y Mex., Viages*, introd., x.; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 142–8. In the passage alluded to, *Cortés, Cartas*, 315, the writer says the vessels 'will sail at the end of July 1525 down the same coast, '*por la misma costa abajo.*' This at first caused me some trouble, since it seemed to conflict more or less directly with the view I have presented of the geographical ideas held by Cortés and others of his time. That Cortés should still have a slight hope of finding a narrow strait in the south would not be very strange, though he implies on the same page that he had given up such hopes; but that he could expect by coasting southward, in case the strait were not found, to reach India and prove it all one continent with New Spain, seemed altogether absurd if his geographical ideas were such as I have attributed to him, such as he and others seemed to hold, and such as could be consistently held at the time. I had devised various means more or less ingenious and satisfactory of surmounting the difficulty, when I discovered that Cortés habitually used the term *costa abajo* or 'down the coast' to indicate what we term 'up the coast,' that is northward. For instances of this use of the term where there is no possible doubt as to his meaning, see the instructions to Francisco Cortés in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 466, and also two cases in *Cortés, Cartas*, 491. I suppose this use of the term 'down the coast' may be accounted for by the fact that from the first the main Asiatic coast was ever present to the eyes of navigators; their great aim was to sail down that coast to India; and the distance to be sailed from New Spain before they could turn in that direction, a distance utterly unknown and always underestimated, was left out of the account!

been suspended until now, when the vessels are ready. I send as captain Diego de Ordaz...I believe he will sail during the month of——."[19] He still has in view the same schemes of discovery as before, and is as enthusiastic as ever in his hopes of success. He even proposes, in case the emperor will grant him certain emoluments, to go in person to conquer for Spain all the Asiatic main and islands, pledging his word to get the best of the Portuguese in one way or another.[20]

The vessels are represented as being at Zacatula and *muy pronto para partir.* There is nothing to indicate that they were not the same vessels he has been writing of before and the only ones yet built on the coast, although their number and class are not mentioned. Navarrete, followed by Prescott, says that the brigantines originally built at Zacatula were burned when ready to be launched.[21] If such was the case the vessels referred to by Cortés must have been built since that date and during his absence in the south. This would seem strange; and especially so is the fact that Cortés says nothing of either burning or rebuilding. Not knowing the authority for Navarrete's statement, I regard it as erroneous.

Whatever vessels these may have been, they were soon despatched, though in a direction somewhat different from that originally intended. In July 1526, Guevara's vessel, which had started from Spain with Loaisa's fleet bound to the Moluccas, but which had become separated from the consorts after entering the Pacific through the strait of Magellan, arrived on the coast below Zacatula, being thus the first to reach this

[19] A blank in the original.

[20] During Cortés' absence Albornoz had proposed to use his fleet for a voyage to the Moluccas. *Carta*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 496–7. And Ocaña urges that Cortés ought not to be trusted with such an expedition. 'If Cortés goes to make it he will die with a crown.' Letter in *Id.*, i. 532.

[21] *Sutil y Mex., Viaje*, introd., x.; *Prescott's Hist. Conq. Mex.*, iii. 270. Navarrete refers in a general way to a manuscript in the Royal Academy of Madrid, as containing much information on these matters; perhaps he gets this fact from that manuscript. The same statement is made in *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 29. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 140–9, says it is not known whether the vessels sailed or not—probably not. See note 24.

coast by water direct from Europe.[22] In his September letters, Cortés says he has sent a pilot to bring Guevara's vessel to Zacatula, and has proposed to the captain, as his own vessels are nearly ready to sail and for the same destination, namely, the Spice Islands, that all four vessels go together.[23] But very soon there came from the king to Cortés an order, dated June 20, 1526, to despatch an expedition to the relief of Loaisa at the Moluccas. As the order was imperative and haste essential, the idea of following the coast round to India had to be given up temporarily, and three vessels under Álvaro de Saavedra were sent from Zacatula October 31, 1527, direct to the East Indies, where one of them arrived safely in March 1528, the others being lost.[24]

Before starting across the Pacific, Saavedra's fleet made a trial trip up the coast to the port of Santiago in Colima. It merits notice as the first navigation of the waters above Zacatula. The vessels left the latter port on July 14th and reached Santiago the 24th. The voyage is not mentioned in the regular narrative of the Molucca expedition; but the diary of one of the three vessels has been preserved, containing more geographical details than can be utilized here.[25]

Between the date of the letter last referred to and

[22] The original documents on this voyage are to be found in *Navarrete, Viajes*, v. 176–81, 224–5. See also *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 488; *Herrera*, dec. iii.–iv.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 280–1.

[23] *Cortés, Cartas*, 372–5, 489–90.

[24] *Navarrete, Col. Viages.*, v. 95–114, 440–86. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 258–9, this series. The port from which this expedition sailed is called Siguatanejo or Cihuatlanejo, in the province of Zacatula. This name is given on modern maps to a point on the coast a few leagues south of the Zacatula River. It is but fair to state that Saavedra's three vessels are spoken of as two *navíos* and a *bergantin*, which would not agree in class with those originally built at Zacatula, namely, two brigantines and two caravels. Yet there was great want of care in writing these terms. It may also be noticed that if the two brigantines were burned, the two caravels with Guevara's vessel may have made up Saavedra's fleet of three if we disregard the class. In a later document, *Cartas*, 543–4, Cortés says this expedition cost him over $60,000.

[25] *Saavedra, Relacion de la derrota que hizo un bergantin que salió el 14 de Julio del año 1527 del puerto de Zacatula en Nueva España, juñtamente con dos navios, á las órdenes de Alvaro Saavedra Ceron, etc., etc., que entró en el puerto de Santiago en 19° y 40′ de altura.* In *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 88-91. The following names are given: Port of San Cristóbal, Cape Motin, Port Magdalena, and Port Santiago. The latter port near Manzanillo still retains the name.

his departure for Spain early in 1528, Cortés ordered the construction of four vessels at Tehuantepec to replace those sent away under Saavedra, intending to despatch them to the same destination by the northern or coast route and thus to carry out his original plan. The four vessels were nearly completed when he went to Spain, and a fifth was subsequently built.[26] Their fate is told in the captain-general's letter of October 10, 1530. As soon as the members of the audiencia arrived in Mexico they arrested the superintendent left in charge of the completion of the fleet, probably Francisco Maldonado, took away the pueblos through the services of whose inhabitants the work was being done, doubtless under the system of repartimientos, and thus caused the work to be abandoned. The rigging and every movable thing were stolen and the hulks left to decay. The workmen passed a year in idleness, and the hostile oidores even went so far as to enforce the payment of their wages during this time from Cortés' estate.[27] At the time of writing Cortés tells the emperor that his workmen are scattered and the vessels much damaged; he knows not if the work can be resumed. He regrets the loss of 20,000 castellanos in this enterprise more than all his other losses aggregating over 200,000 castellanos. Yet he does not altogether lose courage. "May the Lord grant that the devil no longer impede this great work," he writes, and expresses great expectations from the coming of the new audiencia.[28]

Despite the loss of his five vessels, as we learn from

[26] It is stated in *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 29, that Francisco Maldonado was ordered to build these vessels to replace those burned at Zacatula, which cannot be correct in any view of the matter.

[27] There was something to be said on the other side in these troubles of Cortés with other authorities as may be seen in *Hist. Mex.*, ii., this series.

[28] *Cortés, Cartas*, 505–6. Also letter of April 20, 1532. *Id.*, 513–14. The name of Cortés' agent having been Maldonado, and the same name having been connected with a voyage made, or claimed to have been made, later, some writers, as Ross Brown, *L. Cal.*, 14, and Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 49, have confounded the two dates, and speak of a voyage by Maldonado from Zacatula northward in 1528, touching at Santiago River, but never returning. I know of no foundation for such a statement. Hernandez, *Geog. B. Cal.*, 10–11, tells us of a voyage also from Zacatula in 1524 in two vessels, which

a letter of April 20, 1532, Cortés at once went to work on four others, two of which were built at Tehuantepec and two at Acapulco; but his personal enemies were determined to prevent the realization of his plans. In the work of transporting material and fitting out the vessels at Acapulco he employed some of his Indian vassals, paying them, as he claims, for their labor; but certain alguaciles, instigated by those high in authority, forbade the employment of the natives. Cortés had seen a royal order to the effect that the audiencia were not to interfere in any way with his expeditions of discovery, and now he was much disheartened. "It seems that neither by land nor by water am I to be permitted to render any service; and if they had told me so before I had expended all my estate the harm would have been less."[29]

Thus I have brought the record of the conqueror's efforts on the South Sea coast down to 1531, at which time the coast from Panamá to Zacatula had become well known through explorations by water. One trip had been made to Colima; while land exploration had extended that knowledge still farther northward to the region of the present San Blas.[30] Vessels had been built at three different points; communication by water between the Pacific ports had become of quite common occurrence; and voyages had been made between New Spain and the true India. Four vessels were now on the stocks at Acapulco and Tehuantepec, and it is not unlikely that other small craft were under sail or at anchor on the coast. In a subsequent chapter, when the thread of Cortés' explorations shall again be taken up, it will be seen that, notwithstanding his despondent mood at the time just referred to, his brave spirit was by no means daunted.[31]

touched at Jalisco, Sinaloa, Sonora, or California, but were never heard of more. Some believe the commander to have been Juan Aniano!

[29] *Cortés, Cartas*, 513–14; *Navarrete, Col. Doc.*, iv. 175–7.

[30] That is, leaving out of the account Guzman's expedition described in the next chapter.

[31] See, also, references to Cortés' earlier efforts in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 18; *Payno*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép. ii. 198–9; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 7.

CHAPTER II.

NUÑO DE GUZMAN IN SINALOA.

1530–1531.

GUZMAN'S PLANS AND MOTIVES—A GRAND ARMY—NAMES OF OFFICERS—MURDER OF A KING—MARCH THROUGH MICHOACAN AND JALISCO—CROSSING THE RIO GRANDE—MAYOR ESPAÑA—AT OMITLAN AND AZTATLAN—AUTHORITIES—ADVANCE TO CHAMETLA—MAP—QUEZALA PROVINCE—PIASTLA—CIGUATAN, PROVINCE OF WOMEN—ON TO CULIACAN—TOWN OF COLOMBO—LOCAL EXPLORATIONS—SAMANIEGO REACHES THE PETATLAN—SEARCH FOR THE SEVEN CITIES—LOPEZ CROSSES THE SIERRA TO DURANGO—FOUNDING OF THE VILLA DE SAN MIGUEL DE CULIACAN—SITE AND TRANSFERS—LIST OF POBLADORES—GUZMAN'S RETURN TO JALISCO—FOUNDING OF CHAMETLA—NUEVA GALICIA—COMPOSTELA THE CAPITAL—GUZMAN GOVERNOR—HIS DOWNFALL.

THE first exploration of the far north was destined to be by land and not by sea. We have seen Nuño de Guzman sent to Mexico in 1528 from Pánuco as president of the audiencia and governor of New Spain. The year during which he held these positions at the capital, like every other year of his New World life, was one of dissensions. By the end of 1529 he had made himself thoroughly hated by nearly all classes. This fact did not trouble him seriously; but the signs of the times portended for him danger and downfall. Cortés, his foe, but lately an absent criminal on trial before a bitterly hostile tribunal, was now being fêted in Spain as a mighty conqueror. His popularity and prospective return signified for Guzman not only removal from office, but a residencia, exposure of crimes, persecution by foes maddened with long-continued wrongs. He realized that absence was his best policy. But a mere running-away

from present dangers was by no means all of the crafty lawyer's plan. His departure should be with flying colors, and in its ultimate results a grand triumph. Victory was to be wrested from the jaws of defeat and disgrace. Cortés owed his success to his having won a new kingdom for Charles: Guzman might also triumph; might atone most effectually in royal eyes for past offences, humble a hated rival, and win for himself wealth, power, and fame by adding to the Spanish domain a mightier realm than had yet been conquered in the New World. Where should he seek for such a field of conquest? Nowhere assuredly but in the north-western land of mystery. Guzman was well acquainted with the geographical ideas of navigators and scholars of his time, ideas which I have noticed in the preceding chapter; and there is some evidence that he had thought of an expedition to the north even in the days of his highest prosperity.[1] He had just presided at the trial of Cortés, and from the voluminous testimony offered had become familiar with the great captain's schemes. He now resolved to make those schemes his own, to execute them in person, and to reap the resulting benefits. A nobler nature might have hesitated at taking so mean an advantage of his rival's absence; to Guzman such an advantage but brightened his visions of success.

Having once determined on the expedition, Guzman, in view of the expected return of Cortés, lost no time in his preparations; nor did he neglect any of the advantages afforded by his high position. Details of these preparations, however, and of Guzman's

[1] It is also said that Guzman had some special information which made him the more sanguine. An Indian in his service from the country north of Pánuco, and whose father had visited the regions of the far north-western interior, told of rich and populous towns. *Castañeda*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, série i. tom. ix. 1–5, repeated in *Davis' El Gringo*, 58–9; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, iv. 22; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 167–8, and other modern works. This seems to have been the beginning of the reports respecting the Seven Cities, so famous a little later. Whether the tales were founded on a knowledge of the Pueblo towns of New Mexico, or were pure inventions, the reader can judge perhaps as well as I; either foundation is perfectly possible and satisfactory.

march through Michoacan and Jalisco have already been presented.[2] In December 1529 he marched from the capital at the head of five hundred Spanish soldiers and ten thousand Aztec and Tlascaltec allies, the most imposing army in some respects that had yet followed any New World conqueror. Peralmindez Chirinos and Cristóbal de Oñate were his chief captains, and Pedro de Guzman, a kinsman of the president, bore the standard, a golden virgin on silver cloth. Forty are said to have been hidalgos of Spain, gentleman-adventurers, exempt from all military service except fighting.[3] The native warriors were decked in all their finery, Aztecs and Tlascaltecs vying with each other in display as the army marched proudly from the capital.

The route lay through Michoacan and down the Rio Grande de Lerma to the region of the modern Guadalajara. This first stage of the advance was signalized by the brutal and unprovoked murder of King Tangaxoan Caltzontzin, after he had been forced by torture to furnish thousands of servants for the northern expedition, and to relinquish all the little wealth that remained to him. Later progress was in keeping with the bloody beginning. In May 1530 the several divisions of the army were reunited after having overrun the whole of what is now southern and eastern Jalisco. Some detachments seem to have penetrated as far northward as the sites of Lagos,

[2] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 293–5, 341 et seq., this series.

[3] The names of officers mentioned in the different narratives of the expedition are: 'José Angulo, Francisco Arzeo, Barrios, Cristóbal Barrios, Francisco Barron, Hernando Perez de Bocanegra, Diego Vazquez de Buendía, Juan de Búrgos, Juan del Camino, Hernan Chirinos, Pedro A. Chirinos, Cristóbal Flores, Francisco Flores, Hernando Flores, Nuño de Guzman, Pedro de Guzman, Juan Fernando de Híjar, Miguel de Ibarra, Lipan, Gonzalo Lopez, Francisco de la Mota, Juan Sanchez de Olea, Cristóbal de Otañez, Cristóbal de Oñate, Juan de Oñate, Juan Pascual, García del Pilar, Diego Hernandez Proaño, Lope de Samaniego, Hernando Sarmiento, Juan de Sámano, Cristóbal de Tapia, Torquemada, Francisco Verdugo, Juan de Villalba, Francisco de Villegas, Villaroel, and Zayas. Two chaplains and a Franciscan started with the army. *Frejes, Hist. Breve.* Friars Juan de Padilla and Andrés de Córdoba were with the army in Sinaloa, and Brother Gutierrez became cura there. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 422–3; *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 355.

Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas, and Jerez. Guzman's advance was marked everywhere by complete devastation, and few pueblos escaped burning. No attention was paid to the rights of the former conquerors, Ávalos and Francisco Cortés, but the policy was to make it appear that the country had never been conquered, and that the present conquest was not an easy one; therefore such Indians as were not hostile at first, were soon provoked to hostility, that there might be an excuse for plunder and destruction and carnage, and especially for making slaves. This chapter of horrors continued to the end of the expedition, but outrages were considerably less frequent and terrible in the far north than south of the Rio Grande. A garrison was left at Tepic, the germ of the later Compostela, and on May 29th Guzman crossed the Rio Tololotlan into unexplored territory, of which he took formal possession under the name of Greater Spain, a title designed to eclipse that of New Spain applied to the conquest of Cortés. Passing on up the coast, and spending forty days at Omitlan, on what is now the San Pedro River, where Guzman heard of Cortés' arrival and the downfall of the first audiencia, the army in July went into winter quarters at Aztatlan, probably on the River Acaponeta,[4] where they remained until December, suffering terribly from flood and pestilence, and being obliged to send back to Michoacan for supplies and for Indians to fill the place of the thousands that had perished.[5]

[4] On the location of Omitlan, see *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 358–9, this series. I find in Ponce, *Relacion Breve*, lviii. 62–72, some additional information which seems to put the doubt as to Aztatlan between the Acaponeta and the stream next south instead of the one next north, or Cañas. He travelled in the country in 1587, and says: 'Half a league beyond San Juan Omitlan was the Rio San Pedro, which used to run farther south past Centipac one league from the Rio Grande; eight leagues beyond the San Pedro was the Rio Santa Ana, after passing two arroyos, and two leagues farther was the Acaponeta River and pueblo. Between the two rivers, or on the Sta Ana (not quite clear), was San Felipe Aztatlan.'

[5] The leading authorities on Guzman's expedition are as follows: *Guzman, Relacion; Id., Relatione; Id., Relaciones Anónimas* (*1ra, 2a, 3ra, 4ta*); *Id., Ynformacion sobre los Acontecimientos de la Guerra.* In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvi. 363–75; *Lopez, Relacion; Pilar, Relacion; Sámano, Relacion;*

Forced to leave Aztatlan lest his whole army should perish, for men were dying every day, Guzman sent an exploring force under Lope de Samaniego, who brought back a favorable report of a place called Chametla where the natives were friendly and had furnished a supply of food for the army. This was the first entry, November 1530, of Europeans into the territory since called Sinaloa, the first crossing of the line which marks the territorial limits of this volume. After Samaniego's return Pilar was sent southward in search of Lopez, who had long been expected with supplies. Then Verdugo and Proaño were sent forward to make preparations; and in a few weeks Guzman advanced with the main army, leaving Cristóbal de Oñate at Aztatlan with a few men. Lopez and Pilar soon came up from Jalisco with reënforcements and stores, and all proceeded northward to join the governor.

The province and town of Chametla were on the river next above that now known as the Cañas, the boundary of the present Sinaloa. The river still retains the name of Chametla, and an anchorage at its mouth long bore the same name.[6] It is the region of

Carranza, Relacion sobre la jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman. In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 347–73. The preceding are narratives of men who took part personally in the expedition. The most important general references are *Oviedo*, iii. 561–77; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vii. cap. viii.; lib. viii. cap. i.–ii.; lib. ix. cap. ix.–xii.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 266–7, 352–422; *Mota Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 23–66; *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.; Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 41–68, 118–21. For additional information about these authorities, and for list of many more, see *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 373–4, this series.

[6] Humboldt's map and some others, however, locate the port of Chametla at the mouth of the Cañas. In locating rivers and towns visited by early explorers on this part of the coast, I have in every case carefully compared the statements of the original authorities with the best modern maps. The result in nearly every instance is satisfactory, although I have not the space to lay before the reader the steps by which it has been reached, and although it would be easy in most cases to find statements in some document not consistent with my conclusion. The original chroniclers often wrote from memory after a lapse of time, and were careless and contradictory in their statements of time and distance. The expedition halted usually at several towns in a province and the army was often divided along the route; hence each writer in estimating distances between two provinces bases his estimate on a different pueblo. Moreover no account was taken of the several branches of a stream or of several crossings of the same stream. It was always 'un rio' and 'otro rio.' The maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with

the present Rosario. The natives, hospitable from the first, had sent back food for the famishing army, and had furnished a thousand carriers to bring their luggage from the southern camp; but they were un-

Map of Guzman's Expedition, 1531.

used to such labor, and their temporary masters incapable of leniency even to voluntary servants; therefore

many of the eighteenth, some 25 or 30 of which are before me, aid but little in the task, since they were evidently made from some of the documents we are considering, and consist for the most part of a series of parallel rivers running into the sea in the order mentioned, their number being much greater than that of the streams actually existing. Taking into consideration these sources of confusion, together with the imperfection of the best modern maps, I deem it remarkable that Guzman's route can be so satisfactorily located, and that writers have been so much perplexed and disagreed so widely.

the carriers ran away. The native chiefs, moreover, became impatient at the prospect that the Spaniards would remain in their province as long as they had in Aztatlan. Lopez soon arrived, as we have seen, from the south with warriors, carriers, slaves, and hogs; the carriers from Michoacan were distributed among the Spaniards, and the slaves from Jalisco sold at one dollar a head.

Guzman was again master of the situation, now that his army was restored to something like its original strength; and finally it was easy to provoke acts of hostility sufficient to afford the slight color of justification required for robbing and burning. Yet the work was much less complete in Sinaloa than in northern Jalisco, and several caciques kept up their friendly relations, furnished guides, and opened roads for the northern advance undertaken late in January 1531, after a stay at Chametla of about a month.[7] The 16th of January Guzman had written to the king announcing his intention to start within eight days for the 'province of women' said to be not far distant. If not prevented by excessive cold he would continue his march to latitude 40°, believing Chametla to be in 25°; then he would turn inland and cross to the other sea. He had heard of five vessels which sailed up this coast four or five years ago, and suspects they belonged to Sebastian Cabot's East Indian fleet.[8]

A march of four or five days brought the army to a province of Quezala seven or eight leagues beyond

[7] From 20 days to two months according to different narratives. According to Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 351–5, an army of natives between Aztatlan and Chametla made a show of resistance merely, as they explained later, to see the 'big deer,' or horses run. This author, followed by Navarrete, ignores all resistance of the natives of Sinaloa and also for the most part all outrages committed on them. His narrative is largely filled with a description of reception ceremonies at each pueblo. No hens were found north of Chametla. *Guzman, 1ra Rel. Anón.*, 288–9; *Lopez, Rel.*, 444. The start was about Jan. 24th, according to Guzman's letter.

[8] Jan. 16, 1531, Guzman to king, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 408–14. The letter is chiefly filled with complaints of the way he is being treated by the authorities in Mexico, and charges against Cortés. He has discovered three large islands named Concepcion. Another letter of Jan. 15th, *Id.*, xiv. 406–8, is to the Consejo de Indias on legal matters.

Chametla on a smaller stream. It was apparently the region about the modern Mazatlan.[9] The people were different in language, dwellings, and in other respects from those met farther south, but they made little or no opposition, though Herrera says several towns were destroyed. The country before them was barren, mountainous, or obstructed by lagoons, and explorers were sent forward from each halting-place. The army moved on from Frijolar, the last Quezala village, in the first week of February.[10]

Piastla was the next province, ten or twelve leagues farther up the coast on a river that still retains the name. The inhabitants were hostile and several encounters occurred with the uniform result that the natives were defeated and their towns destroyed. The auxiliaries here became clamorous to return home; several were hanged and one burned in the attempt to quell insubordination. One squadron escaped but were killed by the natives in attempting to reach Jalisco, except one man who returned to camp to tell the story.[11] Here the houses for purposes of defence were built round interior courts; horrid masses of snakes with intercoiled bodies and protruding heads lay in the dark corners of the dwellings, where they were tamed, venerated, and finally eaten; and it was noted that the women were more comely here than elsewhere. Ash Wednesday, February 22d, was passed at Bayla village, and about the first of March the army moved on.

Ciguatan, "place of women," was a province of eight

[9] Cazala, Culipara or Colipa, Quezala, and Frijolar, or Frijoles—the latter so named from the abundance of beans—were the ranchería passed, none of which names seem to have been retained. Puimos is also named by Lopez. *Relacion*, 440.

[10] Three Spaniards died at Culipara and two at Quezala. Two Spanish officers were degraded in rank here for an attempt to desert. *Guzman, 3ra Rel., Anón.*, 449; *Pilar, Relacion*, 258; *Guzman, 4ta Rel. Anón.*, 474; *Sámano, Rel.*, 282.

[11] The Piastla towns in the order visited were: Piastla, Pochotla, La Sal, Bayla, and Rinconada; but Samaniego, sent to explore, found both banks of the river lined with pueblos down to the sea. La Sal, so named from heaps of salt found there, was probably on the northern branch of the river.

pueblos on a river of the same name, also called in Spanish Rio de las Mugeres, and apparently to be identified with the stream now known as Rio de San Lorenzo. The name Quilá used in the narratives is still applied to a town on that river. The rich and mysterious isles of the Amazons had been from the first one of the strongest incentives to north-western exploration in the minds of both Cortés and Guzman. The cosmographer by his vagaries had furnished the romancer with sufficient foundation for the fable; the tales of natives from the first conquest of Michoacan had seemed to support it; and as Guzman proceeded northward and drew nearer to Ciguatan his hopes were greatly excited. Natives along the route were willing to gratify the Spanish desire for the marvellous, or perhaps the interpreters' zeal outran their linguistic skill; the women of Ciguatan were represented as living alone except during four months of the year, when young men from the adjoining provinces were invited to till their fields by day and rewarded with their caresses at night. Boy babies were killed or sent to their fathers; girls were allowed to grow up. These details with some variations are repeated by each writer as having been told before they arrived, and as corroborated more or less completely by what they saw and heard at Ciguatan, where they found many women and few men. But, as several of them admit, it was soon discovered that the men had either fled to avoid the Spaniards or to make preparations for an attack.[12] The Amazon bubble had burst; but the soldiers were by no means inclined to forget the marvels on which their imagina-

[12] Lopez, *Rel.*, 443, says only three males and 1,000 women were found in one town. Armienta, *Apuntes para la Historia de Sinaloa*, says: 'Estos pueblos se hallaban en la época habitados por mugeres solas, en cumplimiento de un voto religioso que las obligó á vivir separadas de los hombres por un período de 20 años Aztecas.' He calls the Amazon towns Abuya and Binapa at the base of the Tacuchamona range, on the other side of which was Quezala, confounded with the later and more northern Cosalá. He also describes the reception at Navito by 60,000 natives. This narrative, written for a Sinaloa newspaper, seems to be mainly taken from Tello's work.

tions had so long feasted; they continued to talk long after they returned to Mexico of the wonderful City of Women.[13]

About the middle of March Guzman left Ciguatan, where a conspiracy of the Spaniards had been revealed and the ringleader hanged, and passing Quilá, Aquimola, or Quimola, and Las Flechas, passed on to the southern branch of the river next northward, that now known as the Rio Tamazula, arriving at a town called Cuatro Barrios.[14] Thence the army marched down the river, crossing at Leon and passing Humaya, a name still applied to the northern branch of the river, until they reached Colombo, which seems to have been one of the largest towns in the Culiacan province, and was perhaps not far from the junction of the two rivers or the modern site of Culiacan. The inhabitants had fled, but were pursued and defeated, first by Samaniego and then by Guzman, who took many captives, including a brother of the provincial ruler.[15] Colombo was the head-quarters of the army during the stay of seven months, and but little is said of the town of Culiacan, which seems to have been a little farther down the river.

From Colombo the Spaniards marched down the river nearly to the sea, passing many native towns; but, finding no satisfactory prospect of farther advance north-westward by the coast, they returned, and after some additional explorations meagrely and confusedly described, celebrated holy week, 2d to 9th of April, at Colombo. After easter, Lopez, the maestre de campo, was sent to explore, 'by another way,' perhaps up the

[13] Oviedo, iii. 576–7, heard these tales from the soldiers in Mexico; but meeting Guzman later in Spain was told the truth. This author says the chief pueblo was a well-built town of 6,000 houses. He also names Orocomay as another Amazon pueblo. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. iii., calls the town Zapuatan.

[14] Armienta, *Apuntes*, speaks of Cuatro Barrios as now called Barrio y Moras. He also speaks of a spot on the way thither still called Vizcaino for a native of Vizcaya who died there.

[15] Lopez, *Relacion*, 446–8, implies that military operations in this part of the expedition were chiefly under Cristóbal de Oñate and himself. He gives many details.

Rio Humaya[16] to a village of Cinco Barrios, whither Guzman marched and waited twenty days, while Lopez penetrated some fifteen leagues northward into the mountains; but no further pass being found all returned again to Culiacan. Samaniego was sent again to attempt the coast route, and succeeded without much difficulty in reaching the Rio de Petatlan—so called from the *petates*, or mats, with which the natives covered their dwellings—now the Rio de Sinaloa. But he found no large towns or rich provinces, only a comparatively barren tract inhabited by a rude people, and returned to join his commander.

As a matter of fact the country north of Culiacan was by no means impassable; nor were the difficulties much greater than had already been overcome; but after the disappointment respecting the Amazon country, of which so much had been expected, the northwest had no charms that could rekindle the hopes of Guzman and his men. Two destinations had been talked of when the expedition left Mexico, the Amazon isles and the Seven Cities. Disappointed in his search for the former, Guzman now determined to seek the latter by crossing the sierra eastward. During Samaniego's absence two exploring parties had been sent out, and one of them had found a pass. In May the army set forth, and marched some twenty-five leagues, much of the way up the Mugeres River, the headwaters of which they also crossed far up in the mountains later, to a town of Guamochiles. Lopez was sent forward, and after twenty days sent back a message that he had crossed all the sierras, had reached a town, and was about to start for a large province three days distant. Guzman at once despatched Captain Sámano to join the maestre, and soon started himself, although so ill that he had to be

[16] But possibly the Tamazula. The way in which the narrators speak of 'a river,' 'the river,' 'another river,' Rio de Mugeres, Rio de Pascua, etc., is simply exasperating. Sámano, however, *Relacion*, 285, says the exploration was up a river flowing into that of Culiacan; and Lopez, *Relacion*, 450–3, also mentions a junction of streams.

carried in a litter. For many days the Spaniards and allies pursued their toilsome way over difficult mountain passes, forty leagues in all, as García del Pilar estimates it, and when almost across the range met Lopez returning with the report that a march of seventy leagues across the plains had led to nothing. The country afforded no supplies, and to advance was sure destruction. Slowly and despondently Guzman retraced his steps, with great hardships and losses, especially of horses, to Culiacan, or Colombo, where he arrived on Santiago day, or July 25th. Exactly what regions Lopez had explored it is impossible to say, since no points of the compass are given and the distances are evidently much exaggerated. In a general way we may suppose that he ascended the Tamazula, crossed the sources of the Mugeres, or San Lorenzo, reached a branch of the Rio Nazas, and advanced nearly to the eastern limit of Central Durango.[17]

Back in Culiacan Guzman occupied himself with the foundation of the Villa de San Miguel, also sending out several minor expeditions in different directions to keep the natives in subjection and obtain supplies.[18] Captain Diego de Proaño was made al-

[17] Lopez, *Relacion*, 455–60, gives a somewhat detailed account of his trip, which is briefly as follows, and may be compared with the map in this chapter: Oñate had found a pass in the region where Lopez had been before. From Guamochiles (there are some indications that this town was near that of Cinco Barriós) crossed the Rio de Mugeres near its source, over a range 4 leagues up and 6 down to a pueblo; 8 or 9 days up and down to some plains, a fine river, and a pueblo; had a battle on the river near a great bend; some explorations up and down the river; a messenger sent back to Guzman. Then 'east as before' nearly 60 leagues through a Chichimec country, to a river 'very large for one flowing inland;' it flowed sometimes east and sometimes south; down it a short distance; then left it and went south 3 days with nothing to eat to a river and a settlement of 50 houses. Left Hernan Chirinos and returned with 5 men by a different route through great valleys in 3 days to the river where the fight had occurred. Here met Sámano with news that Guzman was coming. Lopez went to meet Guzman, who against Lopez' advice resolved to recall the men and give up the exploration.

[18] It is not impossible that the explorations of Oñate and Angulo to be mentioned in a subsequent chapter and represented by most authors as having been made after Guzman's departure, should be included in these expeditions. In one of them Samaniego visited the coast, and according to Guzman, *3ra Rel. Anón.*, 459, discovered a fine bay which he named San Miguel, formed by an island eight leagues in circumference and about one league from the

calde mayor of the new villa, and one hundred soldiers, fifty cavalry, and fifty infantry were left as vecinos, Brother Álvaro Gutierrez being the curate in charge. Land was allotted to each citizen with such swine and cattle as could be spared from the army. Many of the surviving carriers from the south were obliged to remain much against their will; by a system of repartimientos each settler was entitled to the services of a certain number of natives; and authority was granted to enslave all hostile Indians. Large stores of beads and other trifles were also left to be bartered with the natives for food. It is difficult to determine the exact site which was chosen for the villa, or that to which it was transferred in this or the following year, and from which it was at an unknown date again moved to or near the spot now occupied by the city of Culiacan. It is probable, however, that the original location was on the Rio de Mugeres, or San Lorenzo, near its mouth.[19]

Having completed his arrangements for the new settlement, Guzman with his army started southward in the middle of October, and returned to Jalisco by the same route he had come, without incidents calling for mention. On the way, however, or very soon after

main. Herrera, *Descrip. de las Ind.*, cap. xx. ii.(ed. 1730), not only describes such an island under the name of Guayabal, but locates it on his map as extending nearly the whole distance from the Rio de Culiacan (Pascua) to the Petatlan (Nra Señora). This is remarkable, as no such island exists.

[19] Lopez, *Rel.*, 461, says it was on the Rio de Mugeres. In *Guzman, 3ª Rel. Anón*, 459, it is located on the Rio de Aguatan (Ciguatan?). Herrera, dec. iv. lib. ix. xi., says it was near the Mugeres. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 355, and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 421–2, say it was at Navito, which is near the mouth of the San Lorenzo. According to the *1ra Rel. Anón.*, 292, and *2da Rel. Anón.*, 304, it was in the Horabá Valley, soon moved down the river five leagues to a site two leagues above tide-water; and finally many old maps put San Miguel on the stream next south of the Culiacan. Tello, who says the town was transferred the same year (erroneously given as 1532) to Culiacan, tells us that Melchor Diaz was made alcalde mayor—as he was a little later—and names as the first pobladores the following:—Pedro de Tobar, Diego Lopez, Estévan Martin, Juan de Medina, Pedro de Nájera, Cristóbal de Tapia, Juan de Bastida, Lázaro de Cebreros, Maldonado Bravo, Pedro Álvarez, Alonso Mejía Escalante, Juan Hidalgo de Plasencia, Diego de Mendoza, Pedro de Garnica, Pedro Cordero, Juan de Barca, Diego de Torres, Juan de Soto, Juan de Mintanilla, Juan de Baeza, Álvaro de Arroyo, Sebastian de Evora, Alonso Cordero, Pedro de Amendia, Alonso de Ávila, Juan Muñoz, and Alonso Rodriguez.

his return, he formed a small settlement at Chametla,[20] of whose early annals we know little or nothing beyond the fact that it maintained for years a precarious existence, sometimes being abandoned altogether.

Back in Jalisco Guzman gave but the slightest attention to the far north, confining his efforts to the organization of his government, the distribution among his partisans of lands south of the Rio Grande in the regions which he pretended to have reconquered, and in the foundation of Spanish towns. By royal order the name of Nueva Galicia was substituted for the more pompous one of Mayor España, applied by Guzman; it included all the newly discovered regions from Jalisco northward; and Don Nuño was made its governor, retaining for a time his title also of governor of Pánuco, and even pretended to retain that of president of New Spain. Compostela was made the capital. Soon the governor became involved in troubles which brought about his downfall; but these troubles have been fully recorded in another part of my work, where also an analysis of Guzman's character has been given.[21] Of this pioneer explorer in the far north much may be said in regard to his ability, but otherwise his character presented not a single praiseworthy or attractive feature. He died in poverty and disgrace; but the misfortunes of his last years awaken no sympathy, nor would they do so had they included burning at the stake. I shall still have occasion to refer to some of his acts in opposition to the efforts of Cortés.

[20] Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 184, says that Guzman founded Chametla on his way north.

[21] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 365–72, 457–61.

CHAPTER III.

CORTÉS, GUZMAN, AND CABEZA DE VACA.

1532-1536.

VOYAGE OF HURTADO DE MENDOZA—INSTRUCTIONS AND MISHAPS—GUZMAN'S VERSION—A NEW FLEET—VOYAGE OF BECERRA AND GRIJALVA—MUTINY OF JIMENEZ—DISCOVERIES—EXPEDITION OF HERNAN CORTÉS—MARCH THROUGH NUEVA GALICIA—COLONY AT SANTA CRUZ—FAILURE—EVENTS AT SAN MIGUEL DE CULIACAN—VAGUELY RECORDED EXPLORATIONS—OÑATE AND ANGULO—EXPEDITION OF DIEGO DE GUZMAN—TO THE RIO YAQUI—INDIAN TROUBLES AT SAN MIGUEL—RAIDS FOR PLUNDER AND SLAVES—SPANIARDS FOUND IN THE NORTH—NARVAEZ IN FLORIDA—CABEZA DE VACA IN TEXAS—WANDERINGS ACROSS THE CONTINENT—ROUTE—DID NOT REACH NEW MEXICO—ARRIVAL ON THE YAQUI AND AT SAN MIGUEL—SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

WE left Cortés in 1530 disheartened at the successful efforts of his enemies to impede the construction of four vessels then on the stocks at Acapulco and Tehuantepec.[1] The new audiencia, however, gave him at first a little encouragement, and even ordered him to persevere in his schemes of north-western discovery.[2] It required but little to rekindle all the conqueror's old enthusiasm, and accordingly early in 1532 he had the two vessels at Acapulco, the *San Miguel* and *San Marcos*, ready to start.[3] Diego Hurtado de

[1] *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 205–8.

[2] And this according to the royal order of July 12, 1530, by which the audiencia is to notify Cortés that he must begin the building of his vessels within a year and have his fleet ready to sail in two years, under penalty of losing his privilege. *Puga, Cedulario*, 41.

[3] Sr Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex. Viage*, introd., xi.–xii., states that Cortés bought these two vessels in Nov. 1531 from Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte. As this author obtained his informarion from a *precioso manuscrito* in the royal academy I will not question the accuracy of the assertion; at the same time I think they were the same vessels already referred to as built by Cortés at Acapulco. If he bought them of Villafuerte it was perhaps because he had sold them to that officer in the time of his despondency. Guzman

Mendoza, a kinsman of the captain-general,[4] was chosen to command this fleet, the first to navigate the Pacific above Colima.[5] Hurtado's instructions are extant and in several respects interesting.[6] He is to follow the coast at a distance of eight or ten leagues at sea, but always in sight of land, and to keep a specially sharp lookout seaward for land in the west. In case such land is discovered, great precautions are prescribed in dealing with the natives, the present purpose being not to conquer but to avoid a conflict and seek information. Great care must be used to learn what vessels the natives have, and if they prove superior to those of the Spaniards the fleet is not to risk capture, but is to return and report. Twenty leagues beyond the latitude of Colima, if the western land be not found sooner, the fleet was to turn westward for twelve or fifteen leagues, and at that distance to continue up the coast until the limit of Guzman's exploration was passed. This limit was to be recognized by the sierra approaching the sea, the obstacle which had stopped Guzman's progress. Beyond this point Hurtado was to land and take possession at different places, exploring the shore, ports, and rivers for a hundred or a hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to return, and report to Cortés from the first Spanish port he might reach.

The two vessels sailed from Acapulco in May or June 1532,[7] the *San Marcos* as flag-ship, while the

claimed, *Proceso del Marqués*, 344, very likely the document consulted by Navarrete, that he, Guzman, had built the vessels for a pearl voyage, but they were confiscated by the oidores after his departure and sold to Villafuerte and by him to Cortés. They were not fit for discovery, nor were supplies and arms sufficient.

[4] 'Un primo mio que se dice Diego de Hurtado.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 304. See also *Proceso del Marqués del Valle*, in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, xv. 301.

[5] We have seen that three of Saavedra's vessels in 1527 went up to Port Santiago in Colima. Rumors of other and earlier expeditions by Cortés, Anian, Maldonado, etc., have no foundation in fact. 'J'ai trouvé dans un manuscrit conservé dans les archives de la vice-royauté de Mexico, que la Californie avoit été découverte en 1526. J'ignore sur quoi se fonde cette assertion.' *Humboldt, Ess. Pol.*, 309.

[6] *Cortés, Escritos*, 196–205; *Col. de Doc. Inéd., para la Hist. de España*, iv. 167–75. The instructions bear no date.

[7] Cortés, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 541, says they sailed in

San Miguel was under the command of Juan de Mazuela.[8] Touching at the port of Santiago in Colima, just above the modern Manzanillo,[9] where he took on board some supplies. Hurtado sailed to the port of Jalisco,[10] where he wished to obtain water, but was forbidden by Nuño de Guzman's orders, and was obliged to set sail immediately by a gale of wind, though Guzman charged him with having landed and taken supplies by force.

Some months later one of the vessels, probably the *San Miguel*, was driven ashore in the bay of Banderas, just below Matanchel, and her company, weakened by sickness and famine, were attacked by the natives and all killed save two or three, who escaped to Colima to tell the story, while Guzman took possession of all that could be saved from the wreck; or at least he was accused by Cortés of having done so.[11] From

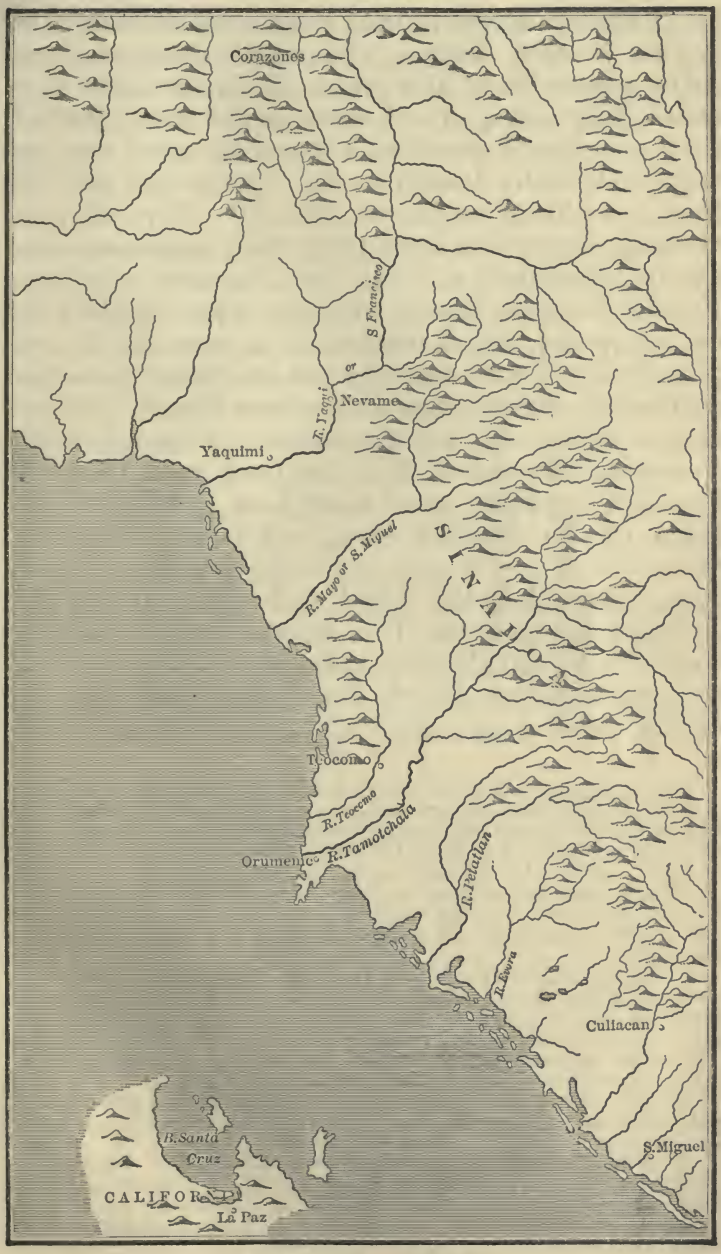
May. Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, 288, makes the date Corpus Christi, or May 24th, in which he is followed by Ramusio, *Navig.*, iii. 339. Lorenzana, *Cortés, Hist.*, 323, Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 151–2, and Burney, *Chron. Hist. Discov.*, i. 165–7, give the date as May simply. I think May 24th was probably the date, but have left it indefinite, because Navarrete, with access perhaps to original documents, says positively it was June 30th. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 91, follows Navarrete. Payno, *Soc. Mex. Geog., 2da Ep.*, ii. 199, says May 1530. In the *Noticias de Exped.*, 670, the date is given as March 20, 1531. Taylor, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, 14, makes it June 3, 1531. The matter is not important as no other date is known in connection with the voyage.

[8] Also treasurer, Francisco de Acuña was *maestro* of the *San Miguel;* Alonzo de Molina, purveyor; Miguel Marroquin, maestre de campo; Juan Ortiz de Cabex, alcalde mayor; Melchor Fernandez, pilot. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 288.

[9] Navarrete calls the port also Guatlan. Cortés in his instructions to Saavedra in 1527, *Navarrete, Col. Viages*, v. 454, calls it Aguatan.

[10] The port of Jalisco, or Matanchel, was immediately south of the modern San Blas, and not apparently identical with it. I find no name for any corresponding harbor on modern maps. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 490–1, says it was the port of Banderas where Hurtado was forbidden to enter.

[11] Guzman's story, as told in connection with later legal proceedings, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 439–49, is as follows: The maestre of the vessel landed with six men to find out what part of the coast they were on. Four of them were killed by the Indians, and three came to Purificacion and reported to the alcalde, Híjar, who went to see the vessel. On arrival it was found that she had gone to pieces, and the remaining 17 men, under Francisco Rodriguez, had gone inland, where all were killed by the Indians. From the vessel nothing was saved but a few broken and rotten spars, ropes, sails, etc. In 1534 Guzman could not swear to details, since Híjar had attended to the matter; but the property was his because found abandoned in his territory, and because Cortés' expedition was unauthorized. Still if any one thought he had a claim he might bring suit and justice would be done.



EXPLORATIONS, 1532–6.

these survivors were learned some particulars respecting the voyage. Having at the start discovered and taken possession of the group of islands which they called Magdalena, since known as the Tres Marías,[12] they were tossed about in a storm for seven or eight days, and finally landed in an "arm of the sea" extending eight or ten leagues inland.[13] Here they remained over twenty days, until their provisions were nearly exhausted and the men became mutinous. Finally Hurtado, taking with him a part of the force on one vessel, sailed northward to continue the exploration, while the malcontents attempted to return southward, with what result we have seen.[14] "Nunca mas se supo de él" is the conclusion of several writers respecting Hurtado;[15] but the next year Diego de Guzman, exploring northward from Culiacan, found relics of the ill-fated crew, and learned from the natives that the commander with twenty or thirty men, having left the vessel and gone up the Rio Tamotchala, now the Rio Fuerte, to the villages, were killed when sleeping, sickness and fatigue having rendered them careless.[16] The few men left in charge of the vessel were also killed by the Indians a little

[12] Yet it appears that in March 1532 Pedro de Guzman was in command of a brig at Matanchel; and that sailing on the 18th he took possession for Don Nuño of the islands called Ramos, Nuestra Señora, and Magdalena. So at least it was claimed in 1540. *Proceso del Marqués*, 319–21. Guzman, in *Id.*, 344–6, complains of Hurtado's act in taking new possession.

[13] Gomara and Herrera state that this port was 200 leagues beyond Jalisco; Navarrete's authority says the voyagers located it in 27°; Taylor thinks it was near the Mayo River. Of course conjectures on the matter amount to very little.

[14] It is fair to give also Guzman's version. He says they anchored in Chametla, where 38 men refused to go on, and remained with the vessel. Twenty of them came by land to Compostela, where they were arrested. The other 18, under Francisco Cortés (Rodriguez?), came down by sea to Purificacion and landed, as elsewhere described (see note 11). *Proceso del Marqués*, 346. Navarrete also says that 20 men came down by land.

[15] We are informed by Navarrete that Hurtado and his men were drowned, and he implies, while Mofras states clearly, that they met their fate at the Tres Marías.

[16] *Guzman, Relacion*, 101–2; *Guzman, 2da Rel. Anón.*, 297. See also *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. i. cap. vii.; lib. vii. cap. iii.; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 485, 490–1; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 235. Guzman, *Proceso del Marqués*, 346, says that Hurtado, a negro, and an Indian slave were killed for their outrages on the natives.

later, and the 'wooden house' in which the strangers came was driven ashore and broken up at the mouth of the Rio Petatlan, now the Sinaloa. Cortés attributed the failure of this expedition to the hostility of Guzman, preventing his landing for supplies and repairs.[17]

Assured that the *San Miguel* was lost, and receiving no tidings of the *San Marcos*, Cortés had still left two other vessels on the stocks at Tehuantepec. He went in person to the coast to superintend their completion and out-fitting.[18] The command was given to Diego Becerra, like Hurtado a relative of Cortés,[19] who sailed on the *Concepcion* as capitana with Fortun Jimenez[20] as piloto mayor. Hernando de Grijalva commanded the *San Lázaro* with Martin de Acosta as piloto.[21] They set sail from Tehuantepec on the 29th or 30th of October 1533.[22]

The second night out of port the vessels were separated and never met again. Captain Becerra was an arbitrary and disagreeable man, disliked by all under his orders, and it is more than probable that Grijalva had no desire to rejoin his commander. The official

[17] *Real Provision, 1534*, 35.

[18] Cortés states that he lived for a year and a half in a small house on the shore and even aided personally in the work. *Real Provision*, 1534, 35–6. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 422, this series; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 541–51.

[19] *Ib.* The hidalgo Diego Bezerra de Mendoza, one of the Bezerras of Badajoz or Mérida. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 232–3.

[20] A Biscayan, whose name is written Fortunio, Ortuño, and Ortun.

[21] Romay, *Cuenta de lo que ha gastado el Marqués del Valle, Armada de 1533*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 298–313, names also the following officers: Juan Ochoa, escribano; Francisco Palazuelos, surgeon; and padres Martin de la Coruña, Juan de San Miguel, and Francisco Pastrana. Military officials besides Becerra and Grijalva: Bernaldino de Hinojosa, treasurer; Pedro de Fuentes, alguacil mayor; Juan de Carasa, contador; Antonio de Ulloa, maestre de campo; and Fernando de Alvarado, veedor. Juan de los Pinos, maestre, and Martin Perez de Lescano, contra-maestre, of the *Concepcion*; Juan García, maestre of the *San Lázaro*. There were 43 sailors and maritime officials, to whom was paid 7,499 pesos.

[22] From the 'puerto de Jucatan (Jucutlan?), llamado la Bahía de Santiago de Buena Esperanza, donde se fabricaron los navios,' *Grijalva, Relacion.* Probably the modern San Diego in 16° 1′. Navarrete, in *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, xiii.–xvii.; Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 52–4, and Lorenzana, *Cortés Hist.*, 323–4, say that the expedition sailed in 1534.

diary of Grijalva's voyage has been preserved,[23] but unfortunately it is of slight importance for my purpose, as it only records, for the most part, a series of nautical minutiæ of adventures in open sea, of courses and latitudes not to be depended on, and all apparently south of the latitude of Cape Corrientes. In the course of his wanderings, however, Grijalva discovered the islands now known as the Revilla Gigedo group, landing on Socorro, and naming it Santo Tomás from the day of that saint, Dec. 20th. The northern islands of this group were styled Los Inocentes. From a point on the Colima coast the *San Lázaro* sailed southward in February 1534 to Acapulco, where after refitting she was sent on another expedition in a vain search for islands in the south and south-west.

Grijalva, it appears, was not the only one in the fleet who desired to be rid of Captain Becerra; but the pilot Jimenez and his companions accomplished their purpose in a more criminal manner. Soon after parting with the *San Lázaro* they murdered Becerra while asleep,[24] wounded the few who cared to oppose their acts, and at the earnest request of two Franciscan friars on board landed both padres and the wounded on the Colima coast at Motin,[25] whence some of the party brought the news to Cortés.

[23] *Relacion de la Jornada que hizo á descubrir en la Mar del Sur el Capitan Hernando de Grijalva, etc.*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 163–72; also in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 128–42. I have also the MS. copy made from the original in Spain by Mr Buckingham Smith. This belonged to the valuable collection of the late E. G. Squier, added to my own since that gentleman's death. Some drawings in this manuscript, representing mermaids, or 'men-fish' seen on several occasions during the voyage, have been published as above, and in the atlas of *Sutil y Mex. Viage.* Herrera, dec. v. lib. vii. cap. iii–iv., doubtless saw this document.

[24] 'Decretando en el cruel tribunal de su alevosa intencion, apagar las luces de sus sentidos con la funesta mano de su atrevimiento,' etc., is the flowery style in which Salazar tells the story. *Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 442–4. Bernal Diaz says some of Becerra's men were also killed. In *Proceso del Marqués del Valle*, 301, the murderer is called Martin Ruiz de Bertinclona, and this in a legal document by the representative of Cortés.

[25] The name Motin was not, as might be supposed, given at the time. A Cape Motin is mentioned in the diary of the first voyage between Zacatula and Santiago. *Saavedra, Relacion*, 89. Taylor, *L. Cal.*, 14–15, thinks it was in the vicinity of Mazatlan. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 485–6, 490, says P. Martin de Jesus was one of the friars. He was one of the most prominent of early Franciscans in Michoacan. See note 21.

Some time later—we have no exact dates—three or four sailors brought the *Concepcion* into the port of Chametla, or perhaps Matanchel,[26] and their brief tale is all we can ever know of their companions' fate. It seems that the wicked Jimenez, freed from uncongenial authority, sailed on in accordance with the dead captain's instructions till he reached a bay on an island coast as he supposed. Attempting to land and take possession, he was killed with over twenty of his companions, and the few left took advantage of a favorable wind to bring the vessel to Chametla.[27] Nuño de Guzman at once conceived the idea of refitting the craft thus providentially thrown into his hands, and undertaking a voyage of discovery on his own account. The sailors brought from the new island reports, and perhaps samples, of pearls, which proved an additional incentive. He at once seized the vessel and by a pretence of trial and legal formalities tried to detain the surviving sailors and thus keep Cortés in ignorance of his plans, but they managed to escape and were not long in acquainting the captain-general with what had occurred.[28]

[26] Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, 288–9, says two sailors. Cortés, *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 35–6, says that two started to come to him to report, but were arrested by Guzman. In Icazbalceta's introduction to tom. ii. xxv.–vi. it is stated that 20 men escaped to Jalisco. Salazar, *Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 442–4, makes them return to the port of Jalisco instead of Chametla. Guzman, *Proceso del Marqués*, 346–7, says the vessel grounded at Espíritu Santo. See, also, *Oviedo*, iv. 607, on this voyage.

[27] Guzman testified, *Proceso del Marqués*, 346–7, that two men came across from the island before the massacre to Purificacion, and thence by land to Compostela, one being killed on the way and the other arrested by Oñate on arrival. (See note 26.) One man on shore escaped the massacre and swam off to the vessel, on which were four or five men.

[28] It appears that the report which first reached Cortés was to the effect that Jimenez had with his men joined Guzman against the captain-general. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 430. According to the *Noticia de Expediciones*, 670, this expedition consisted of three vessels under Barrera and Grijalva. They went up to 26°, saw rivers which they named Santiago, San Pedro, and Clota, when they heard that Hurtado was yet sailing along the coast. Parted by a hurricane, Barrera returned to Acapulco, while Grijalva took refuge behind a small island which he called Ballenas, between 28° and 29°! Mr Jarves founds his romance of *Kiana* on the theory that two of Grijalva's ships were never heard of except in the Hawaiian Islands, where the arrival of Spaniards in olden time is recorded in native tradition. Unless his information respecting the tradition is more correct than that on the voyage, I fear his theories will not be generally accepted.

Other vessels must have been far toward completion when Becerra's fleet sailed from Tehuantepec, for as early as September 1534 Cortés stated to the audiencia that he had four large ships ready to continue the exploration. No sooner was the result of Becerra's voyage known from the sailors who had landed at Chametla, than complaint was made to the audiencia of Guzman's acts. Consequently that tribunal the 19th of August ordered the governor of New Galicia to give up the vessel he had seized and by no means to undertake any expedition to the island discovered by Jimenez; but again the 2d of September another order was issued enjoining Cortés also from undertaking a voyage to that island, on the ground that Guzman was understood to have already sent a ship thither and 'scandal' was feared in case the two hostile leaders should meet. This was made known to the marquis on the 4th, and the next day he presented a long protest against that order, recapitulating his past services and the sacrifices he was making at an advanced age in the emperor's service. He called attention to the great cost of the vessels that had been lost and of those now ready to sail, alluding to his direct authority from the government to undertake voyages of discovery, and finally declared that Guzman neither had sent nor could send an expedition, as he had neither men nor vessels, the *Concepcion* being stranded on the coast.[29]

Respecting the action taken by the audiencia on this protest we only know that Gonzalo de Ruiz was sent to New Galicia to investigate Guzman's acts and arrest other offenders, restoring any property that might have been taken from Cortés.[30] But, either disgusted with the slowness of that tribunal to do him

[29] The documents referred to are given in the *Real Provision sobre Descubrimientos en el Mar del Sur.*

[30] Commission and instructions to Ruiz dated Sept. 14th, 22d, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 429–39. Herrera, dec. v. lib. vii. cap. iv., says the audiencia informed Cortés it could do nothing, Guzman's province being a separate government not under the jurisdiction of the Mexican tribunal.

justice, or more probably fortified by some documentary authority from its oidores, Cortés resolved not only to despatch a third expedition, but to command it in person. Volunteers were called for, including families for the permanent occupation of the new island. The prestige of the great conqueror, the apparent confirmation of his well known views respecting the South Sea islands, and the current report of the pearl discovery were all-powerful; Cortés soon had more applicants than he could accommodate. A large store of supplies was prepared,[31] and late in 1534 or at the beginning of 1535 three vessels were despatched from Tehuantepec for Chametla, probably under Hernando de Grijalva. They were the *San Lázaro, Santa Agueda*, and *Santo Tomás*, and arrived safely at their first destination, no particulars of the voyage being known.

A little later, in the spring of 1535,[32] Cortés started for Chametla by land at the head of a large force,[33] not at all averse as we may well believe to a conflict with the governor of New Galicia. But Guzman, too weak to make a successful fight, kept out of the way, being called to the valley of Banderas by Indian difficulties, and afforded the captain-general no pretext for hostilities. There was, however, some correspondence between the two rivals. The 20th of February Guzman, at Compostela, commissioned Pedro de Ulloa to go and meet Cortés, and to serve on him a legal warning not to enter his jurisdiction, or if he had already done so to retire. Ulloa found Cortés four days later at Iztlan, and at Ahuacatlan on the 25th

[31] But Mendoza in his letter to Cárlos V. says the expedition was composed of 'quelques fantassins et un petit nombre de cavaliers assez mal pourvus des objets nécessaires.' *Tenaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 286–7. Also in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 364–5.

[32] Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, xvii.; *Id., Viages Apóc.*, 27–8, says erroneously it was in Aug. 1534. Taylor gives the date Aug. 1531.

[33] A witness in a subsequent lawsuit testified that there were 400 Spaniards and 300 negroes. Also in *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 92–3. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 233–4, says the colony consisted of 320 persons, including 34 married couples.

received his formal reply. The captain-general denied the right of the governor to prevent the passage through his province of an officer engaged in the service of his Majesty, warning Guzman to place no impediment in his way under penalty of punishment. This reply reached the governor before March 9th, on which date he wrote to the audiencia protesting against his rival's determination to invade New Galicia.[34] The sea and land expeditions having been reunited at Chametla, Cortés sailed for the north-west about the middle of April,[35] taking on board his fleet of three vessels, for the *Concepcion* seems to have been found in such a condition as to be unserviceable,[36] about one third of his entire force with thirty horses.[37]

Having sighted a point named San Felipe, and an island of Santiago whose identity is purely conjectural, the fleet entered on May 3d the bay of Santa Cruz, so named from the day, where, according to the statement of the survivors, Jimenez had perished with his company; and where, in fact, relics of that unfortunate band were shortly found. This bay was on the eastern coast of the peninsula later known as California, and is generally supposed to be identical with the present La Paz.[38] On the day of landing

[34] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 448–50; xiii. 443–5. Híjar, alcalde at Purificacion, testified later that Cortés entered his office and by force took from under his bed two *tiros de artillería. Id.*, xvi. 539–47. Guzman writes June 7th and 8th, 1535, giving an account of Indian troubles claimed by him to have been caused by the bad policy of Cortés while passing through Jalisco. *Id.*, xiii. 416, 445. Cortés in a letter of June 5, 1536, speaks of having stopped a few days at Compostela during this trip. *Cortés, Cartas*, 535–7, 559–60.

[35] Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, xvii.–xxi., says on April 15th. Guzman in letters of June 7th, 8th, 1535, says April 18th. *Cortés, Cartas*, 537; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 415–17, 448. Most writers, save such as have followed Navarrete, make the year 1536.

[36] Although Lorenzana, *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 324, Clavigero, *Storia Cal.*, 149–51, Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 155–8, and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 555, say that she was refitted.

[37] According to Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, 289, 300 Spaniards, 37 women, and 130 horses were left under Andrés de Tapia. Guzman says he took 113 peones and 40 horsemen, leaving 60 horsemen. *Cortés, Cartas*, 537; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 417, 448.

[38] There is so far as I know no very strong proof for or against this identity; but it was favored by the Spaniards from the earliest times. Marcou, *Notes*, 5, says the bay became known in later years as Bahía de los Muertos on account of the massacre of Jimenez, Becerra (!), and others.

formal possession was taken for Spain, and the act duly recorded in legal form.[39]

Remaining at Santa Cruz with his smallest vessel Cortés sent the other two across to the main to bring over a part of the remaining force and supplies. These vessels seem to have made the trip successfully and were sent back to bring the remaining colonists.[40] In this attempt they were less fortunate, being driven up the coast to a river which they called San Pedro y San Pablo, where they were detained several months. Finally they came down to the port of Guayabal,[41] learned that the colonists had come up overland to San Miguel, and started for Santa Cruz with supplies, more needed than additional mouths to feed as was correctly judged. One vessel crossed the gulf successfully, but the other, probably the *San Lázaro*, was wrecked on the Jalisco coast, and her men returned to Mexico, as did the colonists from San Miguel, perhaps, since we hear no more of them.

At the earnest request of his men Cortés now took command of one of the two remaining vessels, and with Grijalva in charge of the other, again crossed over to Guayabal; narrowly escaped shipwreck at the entrance of that harbor; and, having loaded both vessels with supplies, started to return. The voyage was a rough one. A falling yard killed the pilot, Anton Cordero, and Cortés was obliged to steer him-

[39] *Cortés, Auto de Posesion que de las Tierras que habia descubierto en el Mar del Sur, tomó el Marqués del Valle en el puerto y bahía de Santa Cruz, 3 de Mayo 1535.* In *Navarrete, Col. Viajes*, iv. 190–2; *Proceso del Marqués*, 306–8. Martin de Castro was the escribano, and the witnesses, Dr Juan Gonzalez de Valdivieso, alcalde mayor, Juan de Jaso, Alonso de Navarrete, Fernando Arias de Saavedra, Bernardino del Castillo, and Francisco(?) de Ulloa. May 10th, Cortés caused to be publicly read the royal order authorizing him to rule over the countries he might discover. Same witnesses, except Castillo, and Alonso de Ulloa instead of Francisco, all captains. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 490–6.

[40] *Cortés, Escritos*, 292–3, followed by Navarrete. Others say that all three vessels were sent across at first, the smallest returning; then Cortés went over with that vessel and met Grijalva's vessel laden with supplies bought at San Miguel.

[41] Eighteen leagues from San Miguel according to *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. ix. Respecting this port and island of Guayabal, see chap ii. note 18 of this vol.

self; but at last he succeeded in reaching the coast, and after being driven southward some distance, returned and anchored at Santa Cruz, where some of the colonists had died of hunger, and others now died of over-eating.[42] Grijalva also succeeded in touching the new coast far south of Santa Cruz, but was forced to cut his cables and was driven to Matanchel. Cortés waited in vain for his companion, and realizing that with only one vessel the colony must surely perish, decided to return to New Spain to fit out a new fleet and send relief. Another motive for this resolve was the news that Mendoza had arrived as viceroy. This information, with an earnest request from the wife of Cortés for his return, was brought up by a vessel said to have been under Francisco de Ulloa. The latter was left in command of the colony of thirty Spaniards, with twelve horses and supplies for ten months; Cortés rejoined Grijalva at Matanchel; and both returned in the *Santa Agueda* and *Santo Tomás* to Acapulco.[43]

Of events that immediately followed the return of the captain-general we know but little; of the colonists' experiences at Santa Cruz, absolutely nothing; but in accordance with Viceroy Mendoza's advice or orders, with his wife's entreaties, and not improbably

[42] Bernal Diaz says that 23 died of hunger and half the remainder of over-eating.

[43] Memorial of Cortés to the emperor in 1539, in *Id.*, *Escritos*, 292–3, 301–2; *Navarrete*, *Col. Viajes*, iv. 203–4. Respecting this returning fleet there is much confusion in the authorities. Navarrete does not mention any vessel sent after Cortés, and thus implies that the colony remained without vessels, and that only the two mentioned returned to Acapulco. But all others state that the vessel was sent, and Bernal Diaz tells us that Ulloa was in command. Cortés himself, *Proceso del Marqués*, 317, says three vessels were sent to him. Most of the authorities also state that two other vessels were despatched by Mendoza which met Cortés returning fleet and returned with it. Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, 290, says Cortés returned with six vessels, having been joined at Santiago by the two sent out by his wife. According to Herrera, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. x., Cortés with two vessels met the *Santo Tomás* at sea; all three returned to Jalisco; set afloat the vessel already stranded there (the *San Lázaro?*); met two craft at Santiago; and returned to Acapulco with six. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 120, says he returned with five vessels after having left others for Ulloa and the colony. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 156–7, affirms that Grijalva's vessel, having returned, was one of those sent by the viceroy to bring back Cortés.

with his own inclinations at the time, the result of the expedition having been a bitter disappointment, Cortés sent vessels to bring back the unfortunate colonists, perhaps at the end of 1536. Respecting the voyage of these vessels nothing whatever is known.[44] It should be noted that there was as yet no suspicion that the newly found land was anything but an island, and that no other name than Santa Cruz had been applied to it.

We have seen the vessels of Hurtado, Jimenez, and Cortés successively touching at different points on the

[44] Mendoza says most of the colonists died of hunger. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 286–7. Lorenzana, *Cortés, Hist.*, 324, and other writers date the return early in 1537; but most of them also place the beginning of the voyage in 1536 instead of 1535. Cortés, *Escritos*, 292–3, 301–2; *Navarrete, Col. Doc.*, iv. 203–4, says he intended to return with aid; but the relatives of some of the colonists complained to the viceroy, who ordered him to bring them back, and he obeyed. The king in 1541, *Proceso del Marqués*, 398–9, has been told that Mendoza took all the accounts and maps of the voyage, and refused to give Cortés a license to send succor to the officer left in command of the colony. Guzman's version, *Id.*, 347–8, is that he welcomed Cortés in New Galicia, though he maltreated Indians on the way, kept him in his own house four days, supplied the army all they needed, and helped them on to Espíritu Santo (Chametla), whence Cortés sent a vessel to Matanchel for maize. Having sent his men across by Guzman's aid, Cortés found nothing to live on, and his men were on the point of starvation until succored again by Guzman. By abandoning the country Cortés had given up all claim if he ever had any. Moreover at the end of 1535, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xvi. 1–37, Guzman had four or five witnesses examined under oath, all of whom testified to the poverty of the country discovered; to the fact that many perished of hunger, and more would have died but for succor; that Cortés treated his men badly, taking away their clothing, etc.; that Tapia and Cortés had taken away Indians against their will; that the Indians of Santa Cruz were very low beings, eating their own excrement, cohabiting in public, and approaching their women from behind like beasts; and that the country had no gold. This evidence was submitted in 1541 to the courts in Madrid.

The following are miscellaneous references for brief and more or less superficial accounts of Cortés' expeditions to California under Hurtado, Becerra, and Cortés, most of them being additional to those given in the preceding pages: *March y Labores, Marina Española*, ii. 194–200; *Galvano*, in *Voy. Select.*, 39–41; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 35–7; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 441–50; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 109–21; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 309; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, i. 200–12; *Dalrymple's Hist. Col., Voy.*, i. 35–6; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 224–5; *Calle, Not. Mem. Sac.*, 108; *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, ii. 15–16; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 441–2; *Robertson's Hist. Amer.*, ii. 144; *Ruschenberger's Voy.*, ii. 422–3; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 52–4; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 25; *Forbes' Cal.*, 7–9; *Payno*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ép. ii. 199–209; *Lassepas, B. Cal.*, 165; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. pt. v. 7–8; *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 312–14; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 292–3; *Camargo*, in *Nouv. An. Voy.*, xcix. 184; *Walpole's Four Years*, ii. 210–11; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 8–9; *Murray's Hist.*

northern coast between 1532 and 1536. Respecting events of the same period on the main at and about San Miguel, where Diego de Proaño had been left at the end of 1531 with one hundred vecinos, the records are not only confused but meagre. Many writers dispose of the period by stating that Nuño de Guzman on departing from Culiacan for Jalisco left an army in the north, which he divided into three divisions under captains Chirinos, Oñate, and José de Angulo, with orders to explore the country northward and eastward; that Angulo and Oñate crossed the sierra toward the east and north-east by different routes not definitely known, reaching the plains of Guadiana, or Durango, but finding only savage tribes and accomplishing nothing in the way of conquest or settlement; and that Chirinos with his force penetrated up the coast to the Yaqui River.[45] Several of the number add erroneously that Chirinos or his officers during this expedition met Cabeza de Vaca, of whom more hereafter.

Of the expeditions of Oñate and Angulo nothing is known beyond the preceding vague references, but it is more than probable that one or both of them

Acct. N. Amer., ii. 66–7; *Dufey, Résumé*, i. 5, 213; *Kennedy's Texas*, i. 209; *Tytler's Hist. Discov.*, 69–70; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 292–3; *Hutchings' Mag.*, i. 111; iii. 399–400; v. 264–5; *Farnham's Life Cal.*, 119–24; *Félix, l'Orégon*, 54; *Frignet, La Cal.*, 6; *Saint Amant, Voy.*, 392–3; *Cortés, Brieven*, ii.; *Cortés, Aventuras*, 300; *Hassel, Mex. Guat.*, 177; *Holmes' Annals Amer.*, i. 59, 68; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 139; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 90; *Monglave, Résumé*, 139–40; *Marchand, Voy.*, i. iii.–iv.

[45] *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 76, 82; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 111–14; *Ramirez, Proceso*, 211–12; *Navarrete, Hist. Jal.*, 57; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 479–80; *Payno*, in *Id., 2da Ep.*, ii. 137–8; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 8; *Id., Not. Son.*, 26–7; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 488 et seq. Beaumont and Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 256, give fuller accounts of Angulo's trip, but add nothing to the above save that he had 50 Spaniards and 400 Indians, and had orders to cross over to Tampico, but was prevented by cold and want of food. Tello says that Oñate 'followed the rivers and coasts to the port of Bato and Ostial,' rested at Culiacan, and in a few days continued his march to Las Vegas and Vizcaino, and thence to the sierra of Capirato. According to Mota-Padilla and Navarrete Oñate went to Aldato, Hostial, and Capirato. Escudero tells us that Angulo went to the coast of the gulf of California; while according to Gil, he went through central Sinaloa to the region of Álamos. It is quite evident that none of these writers have the slightest idea of what they are talking about. Beaumont, however, implies that the expeditions took place after the foundation of the Jalisco towns.

should be included in the miscellaneous explorations already mentioned as having been undertaken by Guzman's orders before he left Culiacan in the autumn of 1531.[46] The northern trip to the Yaqui is better recorded. It was accomplished, however, not immediately after the governor's departure by forces which he left at San Miguel, but in 1533 and probably by a force sent north from Jalisco. It was not commanded by Chirinos, who probably never visited northern Sinaloa, having left Guzman on the way in 1530 and returned to Mexico, but was under the command of Diego de Guzman; neither was it connected in any way with the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca, an event of much later date. We have no definite record of the sending of troops from Jalisco;[47] but of the northern campaign we have two original accounts, one written by the commander Diego de Guzman, and the other by one of his officers whose name is not known.[48]

It will be remembered that while Nuño de Guzman was at Culiacan in 1531, Alcalde Samaniego had been sent northward by the coast route and had reached and named the river of Petatlan. It also appears that after Guzman's departure Alcalde Proaño sent out one of the vecinos of San Miguel who reached the small river next north of the Culiacan, now known

[46] See chap. ii. of this vol. Tello's statement that Guzman accompanied Oñate's division in person confirms this supposition.

[47] Unless it be the statement of the author of the *1ra Rel. Anón.*, 295, 'y á mí mandóme que fuese á la villa de San Miguel, que habia dejado en Culiacan despues que el Cristóbal de Barrios oviese poblado, que dende allí me diese gente que me acompañase hasta la villa.'

[48] The first is the *Relacion de lo que yo Diego de Guzman he descubierto en la costa del Mar del Sur por S. M. y por el Illmo Sr Nuño de Guzman*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 94–103, and in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, xv. 325–38. The second is the *Guzman, 2da Rel. Anón.* The first is an official diary giving all details of dates, distances, pueblos, and minor events, written during the trip and sent to the authorities; while the other is a more general account, omitting most details, naming only the principal rivers, and paying more attention to the general features of the country and the customs of the natives, apparently written from memory some time after the occurrence of the events described. Icazbalceta, *Col. Doc.*, ii. xlv., thinks the anonymous narrative refers to the expedition of Cebreros and Alcaraz, and deems it remarkable that no mention is made of Cabeza de Vaca; but there is no possible doubt that the narrative relates to a much earlier expedition. Herrera, dec. v. lib. i. cap. vii.–viii., gives an account evidently taken from the anonymous relation, under the date of 1532.

as the Mocorito, and gave it his own name Sebastian de Évora. The present expedition under Diego de Guzman left Culiacan Valley early in July 1533,[49] by the same route that Samaniego had followed, and a week later arrived on the banks of the Rio Petatlan, the Sinaloa of modern maps. Exploring this river five leagues toward the sea the Spaniards obtained a quantity of maize, and heard of a town called Tamotchala on a river toward the north. Francisco Velasquez with twenty men was sent in advance and took the town by assault, the inhabitants for the most part jumping into the river and escaping. The rest of the army coming up, remained here eight days and explored the river down to a village called Oremy. This stream of Tamotchala, named by Guzman at this time Santiago, was the Rio del Fuerte, the later boundary between Sinaloa and Sonora.[50] Finding but a small store of supplies, though the banks were well dotted with *petate* huts, the army marched up the river nearly to the sierra, and early in August arrived in the province of Sinaloa, which has given its name to the modern state. Here the dwellings were better, and large fields of maize, in the milk at the time, gave promise of plentiful supplies. The natives at first ran away in fright, but presently returned with green reeds in their hands which they placed on the ground in token of friendship and submission; yet they were suspected of treacherous intent and closely watched.[51]

The 17th of September crossing the river in balsas

[49] The diary has it Aug. 4th, obviously an error of copyist or printer. It may have been July 4th.

[50] July 28th, formal possession taken of the Rio Santiago 15 l. from the Petatlan. *Proceso del Marqués*, 322. Guzman makes the distance from the Petatlan 12 l.; the anonymous narrative 20 l. This river has also been called Zuaque, Ahome, and even Sinaloa. The name Tamotchala, or Tamazula, has also been applied to rivers to the south, thus causing some confusion in historical narratives, but there is no doubt that the Tamotchala, or Santiago, of the first explorers was the Fuerte.

[51] The anonymous writer speaks of leaving the main force and marching up the river with a small party. This in connection with Guzman's statement that he sent such a party confirms the fact that the former writer was one of Guzman's chief officers.

and guided by a Sinaloa native, the Spaniards resumed their march, and having passed three days later the town of Teocomo on a small stream, arrived on the 24th at the Rio Mayo, where they found plenty of dry maize and salt, and spent five days killing their hogs which had been driven up to this point. They named the river San Miguel,[52] and went on in search of a town of Nevame, possibly the origin of the tribal name Nevome, on a larger river; crossed the river the 4th of October, and halted at the town of Yaquimi on its northern bank, where they remained seventeen days, but were unable to overcome the fears of the natives, who had fled at their approach. This river, the largest they had crossed, the present Yaqui, was christened San Francisco.[53] The anonymous narrative of these events, followed by Herrera and others, describes an encounter with the natives at this town, only vaguely alluded to by Guzman. The Yaquis appeared in large numbers, and forbade the Spaniards to pass a line indicated on the ground. Guzman explained his peaceful intentions and asked for food. The Indians offered to bring food if the Spaniards would first allow themselves and their horses to be tied. Guzman did not accede to this modest request, but ordered his men to charge with the battle-cry of Santiago, and the Yaquis were routed after a desperate struggle, in which two Spaniards and twelve horses were wounded.

In the last days of October the river was explored up to Nevame, ten or twelve leagues above Yaquimi, and the author of the anonymous account also went

[52] Guzman calls the river Mayomo. Both accounts make the distance from the Tamotchala 30 leagues. The stream crossed before reaching the Mayo is the Rio Alamos of modern maps. The *Rel. Anón.* does not mention it or the pueblo. Possession was taken, Sept. 29th, of the San Miguel, 40 leagues from the Santiago. *Proceso del Marqués*, 323.

[53] Guzman makes the distance between the Mayo and Yaqui 18 leagues. It is evident that the distances given are of little importance, since we have no means of knowing how far inland or in what direction the route lay between the streams. The *Rel. Anón.* says the Yaqui was reached on the day of Nuestra Señora, or Sept. 8th. Formal possession of the Yaquimi, or San Francisco on Oct. 4th. *Proceso del Marques*, 325.

down to the sea, but found no prospect of a pass northward by the coast.[54] It was now decided to return, and they started the 2d of November. Eight or ten days were spent in exploring the Rio Mayo, and six days on the Rio Teocomo, or Álamos. Here they noticed a piece of blue cloth and a string of nails evidently of European manufacture, and learned of Hurtado's arrival and murder at a town of Orumeme, to the south.[55] From the 1st to the 13th of December they were on the Rio Tamotchala, reached Orumeme near the sea, found more relics, and learned the details of Hurtado's fate. Passing the Rio Petatlan, on Christmas they were at the Rio de Sebastian de Évora, and arrived at Culiacan on the 30th, as Guzman states, or according to the other account, on Christmas eve.[56]

Back at San Miguel from the north Guzman's party found the natives in revolt, and the Christians in great fear and want. The author of the anonymous narrative proceeded southward with a small escort to report to the governor and seek aid. He found the settlement at Chametla in much the same condition as San Miguel, the Indians having revolted and killed Captain Diego de la Cueva and other Spaniards. But little more is recorded about the northern settlements during this period. The colonists at San Miguel, instead of cultivating the soil at first, lived on the supplies left

[54] He noted the western projection of the coast in what is now the Guaymas region, and after returning to Mexico and learning of the discovery of a western land by Jimenez, concluded that the new land was not an island but a south-western projection of the mainland, the mouth of the Yaqui being the head of the gulf thus formed. Thus early was the theory advanced that California was a peninsula. Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 497, also vaguely notices the idea; which seems, however, not to have found a place on any early map.

[55] The *Rel. Anón.* says the relics were noticed on the march northward, but that definite information of Hurtado's fate was obtained from an Indian woman on the return.

[56] Herrera, as I have said, dec. v. lib. i. cap. vii.–viii., follows the anonymous narrative almost verbatim. Tello, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 356–9, Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 79–82, Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iii. 490–7, Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 26–7, and others, give substantially the same version, drawn evidently from the same sources, but makes Chirinos the commander with Cebreros and Alcaraz as subordinate officers, thus confounding this expedition with events that occurred over two years later. Tello also speaks of a battle on the Rio Sebastian de Évora.

by the governor, and on others bought of the natives in exchange for trinkets. Peace lasted until the articles of trade were exhausted, and the Christians began to live by plundering the natives, and by seizing them as slaves whenever oppression provoked resistance. The natives then gradually ceased to cultivate the land, burned their remaining towns, and fled from their persecutors to lead a wild life in the mountains. In a vain effort to regain lost favor at court Nuño de Guzman, regardless of his own past policy and instructions, caused Captain Proaño to be arrested and brought to Compostela for trial, on charge of making slaves in violation of law. Proaño was sentenced to death, but was saved before the audiencia at the intercession of the Oñates; and, according to Beaumont and Ramirez, Cristóbal de Tapia was sent as alcalde mayor to San Miguel.

The policy of kindness introduced by Tapia, as we are told, so disgusted the Spanish vecinos, by depriving them of the profit of the slave-trade, and forcing them to cultivate their own fields, or hire it done, that many left a country which had lost all its charm for them. When Tapia assumed the position or how long he held it we have no record; but in 1536–7 Melchor Diaz was alcalde mayor.[57] It does not appear, however, that the Indian policy in this region was radically changed for the better before 1536; for it was a party of Spanish raiders from San Miguel in search of plunder and slaves in the Petatlan country, who met Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, of whose strange wanderings across the continent I have now to speak.

[57] Dec. 10, 1537, Viceroy Mendoza writes to the emperor that Diaz had come to Mexico, at a date not mentioned, to complain on behalf of the settlers that they had no means of living now that they were not allowed to make slaves. Mendoza regarded it as of great importance that the villa be not abandoned, and had sent the settlers necessary articles to the value of 1,000 pesos, until the emperor should decide on some means of permanent relief. *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 129–30. See also on the matters mentioned in the text, *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iii. 497; iv. 71–4; *Ramirez, Proceso.* 225–6; *Guzman, 1ra Rel. Anón.*, 293–4; *Id., 2da Rel. Anón.*, 303–5; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 87; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 23–4.

Pánfilo de Narvaez with a commission as governor to conquer and rule the province of Las Palmas north of Pánuco on the gulf coast, sailed from Spain in June 1527 with a fleet of five ships and a force of six hundred men. After a somewhat disastrous experience of storms and desertions at Española and Cuba, the fleet was driven by a storm to the western coast of Florida and anchored with four hundred men and eighty horses at Tampa Bay in April 1528. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was treasurer and alcalde mayor of the expedition, and of Narvaez' prospective government of Las Palmas. Against the remonstrance of Nuñez, the governor determined to march inland while the vessels should follow the coast, with which a pilot, Miruelo, professed to be somewhat familiar. The separation was on May 1st; the reuniting of the sea and land forces was never effected. The fleet, losing one vessel and being joined by another from Cuba, seems to have spent about a year on the coast, and, hearing nothing of the army, to have returned to the islands.

Narvaez with his three hundred men and forty horses followed the general direction of the coast, but at a considerable distance inland, suffering many hardships from the natural difficulties of such a march, from want of food, and from occasional though not serious Indian hostilities. In August they again drew near the sea and abandoned the idea of further progress by land. At a bay called by them Bahía de los Caballos, probably not far from the mouth of the Apalachicola River, having made tools from their stirrups and other articles of iron, the Spaniards built five boats. Here ten men were killed by the natives and forty died from sickness; the horses were killed for food and for their skins to be used in providing the boats with water. At last, in September, two hundred and forty-two men besides the officers, all ignorant of navigation, embarked in their frail craft to coast the gulf of Pánuco. They continued the voy-

age about six weeks, tossed by storms, suffering terribly from thirst, hunger, and exposure, landing occasionally, and attacked several times by savages, until early in November the boat commanded by Cabeza de Vaca and one of the others were stranded on an island near the main, and the surviving navigators, naked and more dead than alive, were thrown into the hands of the natives, who were in a condition hardly less deplorable than their own.

Four of the strongest survivors were despatched with instructions to press on, and if possible to reach Pánuco, supposed to be not far distant. Famine and pestilence soon reduced the Spaniards from eighty to fifteen, also carrying off one half of the Indians. The survivors became slaves and were gradually scattered. Alvar Nuñez remained over a year on the island, very harshly treated, and employed chiefly in digging from under the water a root used as food. He afterwards bettered his condition by becoming a trader on the main, traversing the country for many leagues, and exchanging shells and various articles of coast merchandise for skins and other island products. He remained in the service of the Indians, naked like his masters, for nearly six years, naming the island Malhado from his misfortunes there. At the end of that time, in company with the only survivor there, named Oviedo, he escaped from his masters, and went down the coast to a bay which he supposed to be the Espíritu Santo discovered in 1519, crossing four large rivers on the way. Oviedo returned to Malhado, but Cabeza de Vaca became a slave in another tribe, and soon met Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and Estevanico, an Arabian negro slave. All these were of the party wrecked on Malhado Island, but in their subsequent wanderings they had gone far down the coast, meeting survivors from the other boats, and learning the fate of Narvaez and his companions. These had also been wrecked and had perished one by one with very few exceptions. Of the

four sent to Pánuco, one had gone southward, two had died, and one was still with the Indians. Of nearly three hundred who had started from Florida, besides the four now reunited, there remained only five not known to have perished, and not one of the five was ever heard of afterward. The four crossed the continent and reached San Miguel in New Galicia April 1, 1536.

The wanderings of Alvar Nuñez and his party, being the first exploration by Europeans of a large tract of the territory which constitutes my subject, it would be desirable to trace accurately and in detail; but unfortunately the data extant are wholly insufficient for the purpose. The two narratives,[58] although

[58] One was by Alvar Nuñez after his return to Spain in 1537. It was first published at Zamora in 1542, as the *Relacion que dió Alvar Nuñez*, etc.; republished, with additional matter not relating to this part of the author's career, as *Relacion y Comentarios* in 1550; and again in *Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos* in 1736, under the title of *Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez*, followed by the *Comentarios*, and also by an *Exámen Apologético de la Histórica Narracion*, etc., by Dr Antonio Ardoino. The *Exámen* was a refutation of Honorius Philoponus, or Caspar Plautus, who in his *Nova Typis Transacta* severely criticised Cabeza de Vaca's accounts of miracles. An Italian translation appeared in *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 310–30; a French translation in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. vii.; and an English translation by Buckingham Smith in 1851. In 1871 a new edition of this translation appeared with copious notes, not quite completed, however, by reason of the translator's sudden death. This is the most convenient edition for use, and is the one I shall refer to as *Cabeza de Vaca's Relation*.

The other narrative was a report made by the wanderers to the audiencia in Mexico in 1536. This document is not known to be extant in its original form; but from it Oviedo, *Hist. Ind.*, iii. 582–618, made up his account. Mr Smith claims to have noted in his translation all the differences between the two narratives; but either because he did not live to complete the annotation or from some other cause, the work is imperfectly done, not one in ten of the discrepancies being noticed. Other writers have apparently consulted only the first mentioned narrative, and have added nothing to our knowledge of the expedition. Mr Davis, however, in his *Span. Conq. of N. Mex.*, 20–108, has given many careful notes and suggestions. The following works mention the journey of Cabeza de Vaca, more or less fully: *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 24–6; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 73–8, 143–4; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 326; ii. 79; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 52–5; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. v.–vi.; dec. vi. lib. i. cap. iii.–vii.; lib. ix. cap. xi.; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 80–1; *Tello, Hist. N. Gal.*, 358–9; *Villagrá, Hist. N. Mex.*, 13–14; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, 152–3; *Datos Biog.*, 812–14; *Acosta, De Natura Nov. Orb.* (Salmanticæ, 1589), 241; *Hist. Mag.*, new series, 141–3, 204–9, 347–57; *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 28–38; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 145, 227; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, iv. 603–6; *Voiages au Nord*, iii. 257–67; *Overland Monthly*, x. 514–18; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 162–3; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iii. 183–4; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 373–8; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 316–17; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1499–1528; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist.*, 324; *Calle, Not. Sac.*,

doubtless presented in good faith, were written from memory under circumstances extremely unfavorable, and while agreeing in a general way respecting the adventures of the wanderers, they differ widely as might be expected in dates, directions, distances, and all that could aid in tracing the route. Moreover, the statements of each narrative in these respects, even if unembarrassed by those of the other, are fragmentary, disconnected, contradictory, and often unintelligible. Such being the case, a full discussion would require a reproduction of both narratives in full, with a large amount of comment—in fact a monograph on the subject, which of course would be altogether out of place here. I shall therefore confine my comments to remarks of a general nature.

Malhado Island was certainly on the western or northern gulf coast and west of the Mississippi River, because the Spaniards had not crossed that river before embarking in their boats, and in their subsequent wanderings by land there are no indications that they crossed so large a stream.[59] The opinion of the wanderers themselves that the bay was Espíritu Santo is not of much weight; but some great sand-hills are mentioned by Oviedo as a prominent landmark, and the Sand Mounds at the bay called later Espíritu Santo, the highest peak of which is seventy-five feet above the bay, are also noted by the United States coast survey as "forming a marked feature in that otherwise level prairie region."[60] Of all the defi-

102; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 26–7; *March y Labores, Marina Españ.*, ii. 175–87; *Pino, N. Mex.*, 5; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 7–8; *Lafond, Voy.*, i. 199–200; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 145; *Galvano*, in *Voy. Select.*, 35; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 97; *Davis' El Gringo*, 59–60; *Harris' Navig.*, i. 799–805; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 45–64; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 16; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 168–9; *Gallatin*, in *Nouv. An. Voy.*, cxxxi. 244–5; *Robinson's Acct. Discov.*, 342–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1871, 380–1; *Barreiro, Ojeada*, 5; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 480–1; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 9–10; *Navarrete, Hist. Jal.*, 59–60; *Simpson*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1869, 310.

[59] In his first edition Mr Smith seems to have believed Cabeza de Vaca's Bay of Espíritu Santo identical with Mobile Bay; but later he changed that opinion. I can find in the narratives not the slightest foundation for the route northward from Mobile Bay to the Mussel Shoals of the Tennessee River, and thence westward to the junction of the Arkansas and Canadian.

[60] *Oviedo*, iii. 593; *U. S. Coast Survey, Report*, 1859, 325. There seems to

nite locations on the eastern coast of Texas, and I have no doubt that Cabeza de Vaca started from that coast, Espíritu Santo Bay, or San Antonio, has the best claim to be considered the initial point of this journey. The journey was begun in the summer of 1535, apparently,[61] when the captives took advantage of their masters' annual visit to the interior in search of prickly pears for food, to effect their escape.

They seem to have passed north-westward through Texas, following perhaps the general course of the rivers; but of time, distance, or direction nothing definite is stated until after having forded on the way a breast-deep river as wide as that at Seville, they approached the base of a mountain range; probably, as Mr Smith believed, the San Sabá mountains of Texas. Here the Indians wished them to go down toward the sea, but they insisted on going up a river for a day or two and then followed the base of the mountains northward from fifty to eighty leagues.[62] Thence turning westward they crossed the mountains to a village on a fine river, where they received among

be no other point on this coast similarly marked; neither is there, as Mr Smith thinks, *Relation*, 89, any island corresponding to Malhado north of Espíritu Santo Bay with four large intervening rivers; yet why may not the Galveston Island be supposed to answer the condition more or less satisfactorily?—as Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, i. 400–2, indeed thinks probable.

[61] Cabeza de Vaca, *Relation*, 195, says on his arrival at San Miguel in April 1536, that he had travelled unceasingly 10 months; that is since June 1535; but he also says, p. 86, that he was nearly six years about Malhado Island; that is, taking Oviedo's statement, iii. 592, of five and one half years for nearly six years, from November 1528 to May 1534; then waited six months for the tuna season, to November 1534; and then the departure was postponed again for one year, or to November 1535. Again he says, p. 111, they started Sept. 13th, or 13 days after the new moon which came on Sept. 1st, and it is true that in 1535 the new moon fell within a day or two of Sept. 1st. Oviedo, iii. 602, says that they met to escape in October of the seventh year, probably meaning 1534, and then postponed their flight until August of the next year, or 1535. Cabeza de Vaca, p. 122, also speaks of spending eight months with one tribe soon after starting, a period reduced by Oviedo, iii. 603, to eight days. The above may serve as a sample of the confusion that appears throughout the narratives.

[62] Cabeza de Vaca, *Relation*, 145–9, says the range seemed to come from the North Sea, and that they followed the mountains inland for over 50 leagues. Smith thinks this part of the journey was westward. Oviedo, iii. 605–6, says the range extended directly north, and was followed 'derecho al norte' 80 leagues more or less. Both narratives mention a copper hawk-bell presented by the Indians at the end of this stage of the march, and Oviedo gives the total distance travelled up to this point as 150 leagues.

other things "cowhide blankets;" that is they were not far from the borders of the buffalo country. At this point Cabeza de Vaca breaks off what little continuity the narrative has given to the route, by the remark that they passed through so many peoples that "the memory fails to recall them;" then they crossed a great river coming from the north, thirty leagues of plain and fifty leagues of mountains, forded a "very large" river, and arrived at plains lying at the foot of mountains. Oviedo disposes of this part of the journey by saying that they went forward "many days." The two great rivers would seem to be the Pecos and Rio del Norte; but they were guided by the Indian women to where a river—possibly 'the' river—ran between ridges, and where they found the first "fixed dwellings of civilization." The inhabitants lived on beans, pumpkins, and maize, and were called the Cow Nation from the immense number of buffalo killed farther up the river. They were probably still on the Rio del Norte, since no large river is mentioned as having been crossed to the west; and they were below Paso del Norte, as there is no evidence that they visited what have since been known as the Pueblo towns.[63]

From this point, after much argument with the natives respecting the route to be taken, they went up a river for seventeen days, apparently westward, then crossed the river and travelled another seventeen days, also west, to some plains lying between high mountains.[64] Soon after they came to a land of maize,

[63] That the 'fixed dwellings of civilization' were not the many-storied Pueblo houses is clear from the fact that if so they would surely have been mentioned as they were later when reported in the north, and also from the fact that new dwellings of the style used here were built for the accommodation of the visitors. Davis, *Span. Conq. N. Mex.*, 97–8, thinks they were on the Pecos to which they had crossed over from the Canadian or Red river. I find nothing to show that they went near the Canadian or Red river, and as to the buffalo killed up the river, perhaps no more is meant than that such was the general direction of the buffalo country.

[64] Respecting the river thus followed for 17 days there is much difficulty. According to Cabeza de Vaca, *Relation*, 160–6, the Indians said that the maize country was toward the west, but that the best way to get there was by going up the river northward; otherwise, that is by going directly west, no food would be found for 17 days. They also said that up the river (another

beans, pumpkins, and cotton, and of permanent habitations. Some small houses were of adobe, but most were of *petates*, or cane mats. Here they heard of populous towns with very large houses in the north, clearly the Pueblo towns, and were given some turquoises and emeralds also said to have come from there. From town to town through this country they travelled for eighty or a hundred leagues as they estimated it, to a town which they named Corazones, because the inhabitants gave them deer's hearts for food. This Pueblo de Corazones was in north-eastern Sonora on the head-waters of the Yaqui or Sonora rivers. One day later, at least, they were on the Yaqui and heard of other Christians.[65]

From the foregoing it appears that Alvar Nuñez and his companions, Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico, starting from the Texas coast in the region between Galveston and mouth of the Rio San Antonio, traversed the present states of Texas and Chihuahua to north-eastern Sonora; that they did not probably at any time reach so high a latitude as the Canadian and Arkansas rivers;[66] that the mountains first met in

river?) were their enemies who could give no food, and advised the Spaniards not to take that route. The Spaniards, however, were not willing to go up the river north to the buffalo country, because that would be a circuitous way; therefore, against the advice of the natives, they went up the river westward and found, as the Indians had predicted, no food for 17 days. This is all absurd except in the supposition that they were at or near the junction of two streams and went up the Conchos westward instead of the Rio del Norte north-westward. But Oviedo, iii. 609, implies on the other hand, that they went up the river northward for 15 days, and then turned west for twenty days to the land of maize.

[65] According to the *Relation*, 173, one day's journey beyond Corazones they were detained 15 days by the rising of the river. This swollen river was certainly the Yaqui, because it is spoken of later, p. 176, as 'the river to which Diego de Guzman came, when we first heard of Christians.' But Oviedo, iii. 611, tells us the swollen river was 30 leagues from the Corazones, implying perhaps that the latter was not on the Yaqui. Cabeza de Vaca speaks of Corazones as 'the entrance to many provinces on the South Sea.' Coronado was here a few years later, and nearly all the early writers speak of the town, several locating it in the valley of the Sonora. Yet it is also said, *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. p. 49, that Arrellano of Coronado's expedition founded a town of San Gerónimo de los Corazones here, and later transferred it to the 'Valley of Señora.' Its exact location is unknown and not very important.

[66] By Castañeda, *Relacion*, 120, 122, Coronado's expedition is said to have learned that Vaca and Dorantes passed through a pueblo on the plains far

coming from the east were the San Sabá range of western Texas; that the Rio Grande was crossed between Paso del Norte and the Presidio del Norte; that in passing through Chihuahua they either went up the Conchos[67] and thence north-westwardly, or up the Rio Grande[68] and thence westwardly to the head-

CABEZA DE VACA'S ROUTE.

waters of the Yaqui; that they did not visit the Pueblo towns of New Mexico or Arizona, although they heard of them;[69] and that there is nothing to indicate a journey down the Gila Valley.

northeast of Santa Fé. This report is probably the only foundation for the opinion of Davis and Smith; but the latter seems to have changed his opinion, though his editor did not. But this testimony of Castañeda is completely overthrown by that of Jaramillo in his narrative of the same expedition, *Relacion* in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 159; *Ternaux*, 37, that they met an old Indian who said he had seen four other Spaniards 'mas acia la Nueva España,' that is farther south.

[67] Cabeza de Vaca's relation favors this route, and Espejo in 1582 heard among the Jumanas, not far above the mouth of the Conchos, that the party had passed that way. *Espejo, Relacion*, 107; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 385. Davis' objection that the Conchos is not long enough for a journey of 34 days along its banks, is of little weight, since it is not implied in the narrative that the last 17 days' trip was on the river. Smith, *Relation*, 162, 169, favors a westerly course from the Conchos junction.

[68] Oviedo's narrative would favor this route.

[69] The editor of Smith's translation, 235, thinks the route from the Arkansas 'marked by indications which leave little room for doubt' and clearly implies that the wanderers passed through the Pueblo towns. Davis, *Span. Conq. N. Mex.*, 70, 96, seems to hold the same opinion, but qualifies that opinion, and shows his doubts on the subject, by the remark that New Mexico then extended much farther south than now.

Respecting the personal adventures of this first party of overland travellers in the north, there is not much to be said. Soon after leaving the coast of Texas they were called upon by the natives to heal their sick, and were so fortunate as to be very successful in their first cases. Their reputation as medicine-men of remarkable powers was thus firmly established. Their method of healing was by laying-on of hands and repeating the prayers of their church. The Spaniards believed as firmly as did the Indians that they were aided in their cures by supernatural interposition, and devout Catholics yet believe this.[70] Whatever may have been the cause of their success, it satisfactorily accounts for the safety with which they made the trip. They were received with uniform kindness by each new tribe, supplied always with the best the natives had, besieged at each town with petitions for a longer stay and exercise of their healing powers, and finally escorted to the next people on the way, often by thousands of attendants. The narratives are largely filled by descriptions of the manners and customs of the different tribes visited.

On the Yaqui River the wanderers saw a buckle and horseshoe in the possession of a native, and on making inquiries heard that other Christians had visited the country by sea, the reference being perhaps to Hurtado and Cortés. As they passed southward down the river they heard of other visits during which the strangers had pillaged the country, burned the pueblos, and carried away men, women, and children as slaves. Soon traces of Spanish invasion became frequent; reports were current that the invaders were even now in the province; the natives had left their fields and towns, were hiding in the mountains, and begged the new-comers to protect them, refusing to believe Nuñez and his party to be in any way con-

[70] Gleeson, *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 45–64, advocates this view. The criticism of Caspar Plautus in the *Nova Typis Transacta*, already referred to, was directed not so much against the probability of miracles as against the probability that such miracles would be wrought for any but a priest.

nected with the destroyers of their race. At last they met the Spanish raiders under Diego de Alcaraz on the Rio Petatlan, by whom of course they were kindly received, and to whom they were at once most useful; for the soldiers had for some time been unable to find either Indians or food, and were much discouraged. Under promise of protection by their new-found friends, the natives agreed to return to their towns and again cultivate the soil. Alcaraz, however, if we may credit Cabeza de Vaca, when his immediate necessities had been relieved found the pledges given great obstacles to his plans, sent the wanderers south under Cebreros, and renewed his outrages on the natives.

The travellers were met at Culiacan by Melchor Diaz, the alcalde mayor, most hospitably entertained, and taken to San Miguel, where they arrived on the 1st of April and remained until the middle of May. We have already seen in what condition the province was at this time. "The deserted land was without tillage and everywhere badly wasted; the Indians were fleeing and concealing themselves in the thickets, unwilling to occupy their towns." Alvar Nuñez and Dorantes were urged by Diaz to give the unhappy province the benefit of their influence on the natives. Difficulties were encountered at first on account of the outrages of Alcaraz; but the faith of the Indians was strong in the wise men from the east; the captain "made a covenant with God not to invade or consent to invasion, nor to enslave any of that country and people to whom we had guaranteed safety;" and Cabeza de Vaca had the pleasure of knowing, before his departure, that many of the natives had returned to their homes. The writer adds most positively that if the Indians have not since behaved properly, it is the Christians' fault.

Sent southward under a strong escort, the party were well received by Governor Guzman at Compostela, and also by the viceroy and by the marqués del

Valle in Mexico, where they arrived July 25, 1536. After having prepared a report of their travels, and according to Beaumont a map of the countries visited, for the viceroy and audiencia, the company separated. The negro Estevanico became the slave of Mendoza. Alonso del Castillo Maldonado seems to have remained in Mexico, but is not again heard of in connection with northern history. Andrés Dorantes started for Spain, but returned and entered Mendoza's service for projected northern explorations, which never were carried out, while Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Lisbon in August 1537. The latter was again sent to the New World in 1540 as governor and captain-general to rule over the fierce tribes of the Rio de la Plata in South America. His experience in this new field was but a series of contentions with rivals and enemies, who charge him with deeds of cruelty and injustice wholly inconsistent with the idea of the man's character which is formed by reading his relation. He returned to Spain in 1545 as a prisoner, and in 1551 was condemned by the council of the Indies to loss of all his titles and banishment to Africa. Whether or not the sentence was executed is not known. There is some evidence that he was afterward pardoned.[71]

[71] Many notes might be added on the discrepancies between different writers, but this would amount simply to a list of errors by such writers in taking their information from the original narratives. The prevalent statement that Chirinos was in command of the party that met Cabeza de Vaca has already been noticed. Another error frequently met is the division of the name Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, making Maldonado a fifth member of the party; this is done by Mota-Padilla, Tello, Beaumont, Clavigero, Gomara, and by many later writers. It is stated, and perhaps correctly, by Alegre, Ribas, Tello, and Beaumont, that some 500 of the friendly natives who served Alvar Nuñez as escort, changed their homes and settled permanently on the Rio Petatlan. If so they came merely from a little farther north in Sonora and not from Florida, Texas, New Mexico, or even Chihuahua, as some writers imply.

CHAPTER IV.

NIZA, ULLOA, CORONADO, AND ALARCON.

1537-1542.

GOVERNORS TORRE AND CORONADO IN NEW GALICIA—MENDOZA A RIVAL OF CORTÉS—EXPEDITION OF MARCOS DE NIZA—DISCOVERY OF CÍBOLA—FACT AND FICTION—CORTÉS AGAIN IN THE FIELD—RIVAL CLAIMS—VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE ULLOA—CALIFORNIA—CASTILLO'S MAP—EXPEDITION OF FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ DE CORONADO—THROUGH SONORA—TO ZUÑI, MOQUI, COLORADO CAÑON, NEW MEXICO, AND QUIVIRA—FAILURE AND RETURN—SETTLEMENT IN SONORA—SAN GERÓNIMO DE LOS CORAZONES—MELCHOR DIAZ CROSSES THE RIO DEL TIZON—HIS DEATH—INDIAN HOSTILITIES—SAN GERÓNIMO ABANDONED—VOYAGE OF HERNANDO DE ALARCON TO HEAD OF THE GULF—UP THE BUENA GUIA IN BOATS—CORTÉS GIVES UP THE STRUGGLE—PEDRO DE ALVARADO ON THE COAST—MIXTON WAR—NEW GALICIA TO END OF THE CENTURY.

DIEGO PEREZ DE LA TORRE, appointed governor of Nueva Galicia in 1536, arrived the year following at Compostela, where Cristóbal de Oñate had been acting as governor for a short time since Guzman's departure. Torre's Indian policy was radically different from that of Guzman, and it was not without a marked effect for the good of the province; but it was too late to atone for past outrages, or to evade the storm of general revolt that was gathering. The governor, however, was spared the humiliation of failure. While engaged in a campaign against revolting tribes, after winning a hard-fought battle, he was accidentally killed early in 1538. Oñate again became acting governor; but before the end of the year the viceroy appointed Francisco Vazquez de Coronado to succeed Torre. The new ruler left Oñate still in command as lieutenant-governor, and himself made a tour of his

province, subsequently engaging in an expedition to the far north. An attempt was made to continue Torre's policy toward the natives, and for a few years the general outbreak was deferred.[1]

Guzman was now out of the way, but Cortés had a new and powerful, though more honorable, rival in Viceroy Mendoza, who also cherished an ambition to acquire fame and wealth as a conquistador, and like the others looked northward for a field of conquest. To his credit it may be said that he proposed to found his fame largely on a lenient and just treatment of the native races. When Alvar Nuñez and his party came to Mexico Mendoza had frequent interviews with them respecting the lands they had visited; he bought the negro Estevanico, and finally secured the services of Andrés Dorantes to go with fifty men on a new expedition. This project was never carried out;[2] but it was arranged that Governor Coronado, soon after his appointment, should go north to San Miguel on a visit of inspection, and with him were sent several Franciscans accompanied by the negro Estevanico and by a party of liberated slaves from the region of Culiacan. The plan was to introduce the new Indian policy or to confirm the changes already made by the influence of Cabeza de Vaca, and under cover of this policy to send out a small party to prepare for the advance of a larger force of conquerors.

After some preliminary embassies from San Miguel, composed of the freed slaves, or as certain authors say of friars,[3] by which the natives were convinced of

[1] See *Hist. Mex.*, ii. chap. xxii., this series.

[2] 'Je ne sais pas comment il se fit que l'affaire n'eut pas de suite.' *Mendoza*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 287; *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 355.

[3] Torquemada, iii. 357–8, and Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, iv. 141–5, speak of two Franciscans who went in 1538 with a captain bent on conquest and gold. At a certain place the captain turned to the right, was stopped by the sierra, and returned. The padres went to the left; one of them returned on account of illness; the other advanced over 200 leagues until he heard of a people wearing clothes, houses of many stories, walled towns on a great river, the Seven Cities, and Quivira. This padre, who was probably Juan Olmedo,

EXPLORATIONS OF 1539–42.

the Spaniards' good faith, Marcos de Niza, chief of the Franciscan band, with father Onorato, Estevanico, the freedmen, and many natives of Culiacan, left San Miguel March 7, 1539.[4] At the Rio Petatlan Onorato was left ill, and Niza pursued his way northward "as the holy ghost did lead him," being received with kind attentions, gifts, and triumphal arches all along the way.[5]

Some twenty-five leagues beyond Petatlan, by a route not far inland apparently, the friar met Indians whom he understood to have come from the land where Cortés had been, and who affirmed it to be an island and not a part of the continent; in fact Niza himself saw the natives pass to and from the island, which was only half a league from the main. Thus early in his narrative[6] does the venerable padre begin

returned and reported to his superior Marcos de Niza. See also, *Salmeron, Relaciones*, 6–7; *Gil* in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 481. Arricivita *Crón. Seráf.*, prologo 3, mentions this trip as having been made by P. P. Juan de la Asuncion and Pedro Nadal. It extended 600 leagues to a river in 35°. Garcés, *Doct. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., i. 364–5, also names P. Asuncion. I think it most likely that these accounts refer to Niza's trip confounded also perhaps with later ones, although Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 163–4, seems to regard it as a distinct expedition.

[4] Instructions of November 1538 given in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, iii. 325–8; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 249–53; *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vii. They present no noteworthy feature. The country was of course to be carefully explored, and frequent reports were to be sent back.

[5] There are some vague and confusing statements respecting a province of Topira in the mountains, rich in gold and emeralds, whose inhabitants were warlike, fighting with silver weapons, but willing to be Christians. Some documents seem to imply that Niza found this province soon after starting; others that it was reached by Coronado or his men after Niza's departure. The province was probably that known later as Topia, embracing parts of Sinaloa and Durango. See letters of Coronado and Mendoza in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 287–90, 349–54; *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 354–5.

[6] *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades por el P. Fr. Marcos de Niza*, in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, iii. 325–50. This is Niza's diary from the original in the Spanish archives. Italian translation in *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 356–9; English, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 366–73; French, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 256–84. Also letters of Mendoza, Coronado, and other officials, giving original but unimportant information on certain parts of the trip in *Id.*, 287–90, 349–54; *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 354–5; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 136; *Oviedo*, iv. 18–19. Castaneda's inaccurate account, in *Ternaux*, as above, 10–14, is also probably from original sources. Andrés García testified in Spain, 1540, that his son-in-law was a barber who shaved Niza and heard from him many details of the trip! Others testified in a general way to Niza's return and reports. *Proceso del Marqués*, 393 et seq. A full account from the original diary in *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. viii. Whipple, in *Pac. R. R. Explor.*, iii. 104–8, and Davis, *Span. Conq. N. Mex.*, 114–31, have

to draw on his imagination for facts. He also heard of thirty other inhabited islands where pearls were to be found. There is clearly something worse than exaggeration in this part of the diary, whatever may be the truth of the charge made by Cortés that all of Niza's pretended discoveries were pure inventions or founded only on the reports of natives brought to Mexico by Cortés himself.[7]

A journey of four days across a desert brought the friar to a tribe who had never heard of the Christians, but who gave food and called their guest Hayota, or Sayota, "man of God," and told him of large settlements four or five days inland, where the people dressed in cotton and had golden ornaments and implements. Three days later he reached a large town called Vacapa, or Vacupa,[8] where he remained from March 28th until after easter, or the 6th of April,

given in notes their ideas of the route which Davis places nearer the coast than Whipple. For a poetical version printed in 1610, see *Villagrá, Hist. N. Mex.*, 15. Other accounts more or less full and accurate, but containing nothing original, are found in *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, prologo, 3; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 27; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 145–9; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 235; *Torquemada*, iii. 358, 372; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 271–3; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 163–4; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 236–7; *Salmeron, Relaciones*, 7; *Alarcon*, in *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 368. Additional references: *Gallatin*, in *N. An. Voy.*, cxxxi. 245–6; *Greenhow's Or. Cal.*, 56–60; *Möllhausen, Reisen*, i. 432; ii. 156, 211; *Galvano, Voy. Select.*, 43; *Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov.*, i. 189–93; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, iii. 375; *Davis' El Gringo*, 61, 70–1; *March y Labores, Marina Españ.*, ii. 225–6; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 481; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 65–6; *Brōēne's L. Cal.*, 16; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, iv. 23; vi. 69; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 170–4; *Brackenbridge's Mex. Letters*, i. 80; *Barreiro, Ojeada*, 5; *Montanus, Neue Welt*, 234–5; *Montanus, N. Weereld*, 207–9; *Frost's Half Hours*, 122–8; *Barber's Hist. West. St.*, 546–8; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 145; *Ind. Aff. Rept.* 1863, 388; *Murray's N. Amer.*, ii. 69–72; *Hutchings' Mag.*, i. 111; *Lardner's Hist. Mar. Discov.*, ii. 98; *Lact, Novvs Orbis*, 292, 297–9; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, June 12, 1863; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 145; *Uring's Hist. Voy.*, 374.

[7] Cortés' memorial of June 25, 1540, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. xxviii.–ix.; *Cortés, Escritos*, 299–304; *Navarrete, Col. Viages*, iv. 209, etc. Cortés states that with a view of enlisting Niza's services, he had imparted to him what he had learned from the natives during his voyage. The friar treacherously disclosed the information to the viceroy and on it founded his narrative. It is stated that Niza had been guilty of like dishonorable conduct in Guatemala and Peru.

[8] Whipple, *Pac. R. R. Repts.*, iii. 104, conjectures that the eastern settlement heard of was that now represented by the Casas Grandes of Chihuahua. For a description of those ruins see *Native Races of the Pac. States*, iv. 604–14, this series. Whipple also locates Vacupa at Magdalena on the Rio de San Miguel. This is nothing but a conjecture, but perhaps as accurate a one as could be made. It is adopted by some other writers.

sending native messengers to the coast, and also despatching the negro in advance and arranging a system of signals by which he might report his discoveries. Four days after his departure there came messengers with a large cross, the sign agreed upon to indicate that Estevanico had discovered or heard of a country larger or richer than New Spain; and also a verbal message of such wonderful things that even the credulous friar hesitated to believe them. The Indians sent to the coast also returned, and brought back natives with reports of thirty-four inhabited but barren isles, the people of which were large and strong, wearing ornaments of pearl-oyster shells, and bearing cow-hide shields. Three Indians of a tribe called Pintados, from the east, and claiming to know something of Cíbola, together with two of the islanders, set out with Niza to overtake Estevanico, who had sent a second cross. In three days he came to the people who had told the negro of Cíbola and its seven cities, thirty days' journey beyond, where they had been to get turquoises. They also spoke of the provinces, or kingdoms, of Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. For five days the party went on through settlements, the last of which, well watered and pleasant, near the site of Tucson as Whipple thinks, was not far from the borders of a desert crossed in four days.

Details of Niza's subsequent adventures, observations, and falsehoods, with conjectures—for nothing more definite is possible—respecting the route followed, belong to another part of my work.[9] It suffices here to say that he continued his journey until late in May when he looked from a hill upon Cíbola, which he regarded as larger than Mexico, though said to be the smallest of the seven cities. A cross being raised, possession was taken of the country as New San Francisco. Fray Marcos could not enter the town, as the people were hostile and had killed the negro and sev-

[9] See *Hist. New Mex.* and *Ariz.*, this series.

eral of his native companions. In latitude estimated as 35° it was understood that the coast opposite turned abruptly westward. The return was by the same route "with more fear than food;" and Niza reached Compostela at the end of June, accompanying Coronado to Mexico late in August. There seems to be no good reason to doubt that the friar really went from Culiacan through Sonora, across the Gila Valley, and thence north-westward to Cíbola, one of the Zuñi pueblos. Despite the gross exaggerations resulting from Niza's credulity and lively imagination, it is evident enough that his story may have been remotely founded on the true state of things at that time. Except the so-called turquoises there was no foundation for the tales of great wealth to which this explorer's reports gave currency in Mexico.

Though bitterly disappointed at the failure of his colonization scheme of 1535–6, the marqués del Valle was by no means ready to give up all the brilliant hopes which had so long filled his heart; or, if he had such an inclination at first, the reports of Alvar Nuñez kindled his enthusiasm as they did that of Mendoza. So long as northern conquest promised but slight reward, relations between captain-general and viceroy were somewhat friendly; but with reports of great cities causing renewed popular interest, serious hostility was developed between the two. Cortés claimed the exclusive right to make explorations in the north. In September 1538 he wrote to the council of the Indies that he had nine good vessels ready for a voyage, only lacking pilots.[10] Mendoza's act in despatching Niza, to whom Cortés had confided all he had learned about the north, was strenuously but vainly opposed by the captain-general, who, on hearing the friar's marvellous tales, became alarmed lest another should reap the fame and wealth for which he had

[10] *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 193; *Cortés, Escritos*, 280–1.

toiled so earnestly, and resolved to get the start of his rival by sending out a fleet at once.[11]

The *Santa Agueda*, *Trinidad*, and *Santo Tomás*, of one hundred and twenty, thirty-five, and twenty tons respectively, were put under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, and having on board sixty soldiers and

[11] In his memorial of June 28, 1540, Cortés, *Escritos*, 303–4; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 213, says that Mendoza hearing of Ulloa's departure sent men to the ports where the fleet might touch to prevent the voyage; and also on the return to hear what had been accomplished. Thus a messenger sent from Santiago to Cortés was seized and tortured with a view of obtaining information. The viceroy also ordered that no person be allowed to leave New Spain without his permission, so that no aid could be sent to Ulloa. Bernal Diaz, however, *Hist. Verdad.*, 234, says the expedition was sent by the express order of the audiencia. In his memorial of 1539 Cortés announces that Ulloa is ready to sail, and asks that no restrictions be placed on his sending expeditions to the countries he had discovered. *Escritos*, 294–5. The state of feeling between the different would-be conquerors after the receipt of Niza's reports is best shown by legal proceedings in Spain in 1540–1. *Proceso del Marqués*, 300–408. Cortés, Guzman, Alvarado, and Soto each by an attorney urged upon the royal council his title to Cíbola. Each had a license for northern discovery, obtained in the hope that in the vague northern somewhere was a mighty nation, etc., to make the finder famous, powerful, and rich. Now this prize had been found by a fifth party, the viceroy, through Niza, and Mendoza was said to be preparing to follow up the discovery. Something must be done. Soto was authorized to conquer and govern 200 leagues on the Florida coast, and was at the time engaged in active explorations. That Cíbola was included in his territory was a fact known to all the world, so clear that a child might comprehend it. As yet his obtuse adversaries had the assurance to deny that Cíbola was in Florida.

Cortés, who in general terms would admit the right of no other to make northern discoveries at all, had authority to explore and conquer on the South Sea coasts toward the Gran China; he had spent large sums of money, had sent several armadas, and had another ready; indeed he had already discovered Cíbola, or the lands immediately adjoining. It was doubtful whether Niza had found anything, but he had probably merely repeated the reports obtained from Cortés. Had it not been for Guzman's opposition he would now be in full possession of Cíbola and the country far beyond. Everybody knew that Soto's claim was absurd, Florida being a long way off. As for Don Nuño, he was simply governor of New Galicia, and would do well to attend to his own business. Guzman, for his part, was also licensed to make northern *conquistas*, and had done so for many leagues. Both the lands discovered by Cortés (Santa Cruz) and Cíbola were notoriously in his jurisdiction, just adjoining in fact his actual settlements. Cortés never had any right to go north, his license being for the west, or toward India; but if he had any such right he had forfeited it by not retaining possession of the island he claimed to have discovered. He could not have made the voyage anyway without Guzman's aid; nor could Niza have gone so far north but for Guzman's earlier conquest. Alvarado figured less prominently, but he too had a license for South Sea exploration, and thought it well to keep his claim alive before the consejo. All agreed on one point, that Mendoza had no right to continue his efforts. The fiscal rendered an opinion that each party, being so strongly opposed, was probably wrong! and the council at last gave 30 days to prove where Cíbola was, the decision being practically in favor of the viceroy as representing the crown.

three friars in addition to the crew, sailed from Acapulco July 8, 1539.[12] Just before reaching Santiago the *Santa Agueda* broke her mast in a storm and the fleet did not leave this port till the 23d of August. The details of Ulloa's voyage have for the most part no geographical importance, as but very few of the points mentioned can be identified; yet as the first exploration of the gulf to its head, the voyage has a certain degree of historic value, and I therefore condense the details in a note.[13] The *Santo Tomás* having been lost on the Culiacan coast, the other two vessels

[12] There is no doubt about this date. The many errors of different writers need not therefore be noticed here.

[13] Sailed from Santiago Aug. 23d; *Sto Tomás* lost Aug. 27th–8th, and the others driven to Guayabal; thence across to Sta Cruz, which they left Sept. 12th. Two days across to Rio S. Pedro y S. Pablo, having an island in front 4–5 miles out; 15 leagues up the coast to two large rivers two l. apart; 18 l. to large lagoons and shallows; 17 l. passing a bay of 4–5 l.; 16 l.; at noon next day a cape of white sand on a level coast in 29° 45′ named C. Rojo; near by was a river forming a lagoon, and several other rivers; next day a fine port with two entrances in a fine country (Guaymas?); two days and a half or 40 l. to many islands on the left, also Cape Llagas; 30 l. to where the coasts were only 12 l. apart with two islands in the middle 4 l. apart; a river seemed to enter here; 50 l. of sandy and barren shores; water chalky white, high mountains to be seen in the N. W.; 10 l. to where the water was black and turbid and only 5 fathoms deep; crossed over to western shore where depth was still less; a strong flux and reflux of the waters every six hours, the sea appearing to flow into and from a lagoon, or else there was a great river; viewed from the mast-head the shores seemed to unite at a distance of 1 league; possession was taken, apparently on the California side.

Down western coast a few leagues to a large port on a mountainous coast, having an island in front; passed between a mountainous island and the coast into port S. Andrés (Gomara and Venegas seem to locate this port at the head of the gulf); between coast and another island over 180 l. in circumference 1 or 2 l. out; Oct. 11th, another large island (Tortuga?) on left and a great bay on right; Oct. 13th in a fine bay surrounded by mountains, with two small islands and rivers; Oct. 16th, a cape with high mountains near Sta Cruz (La Paz); Oct. 18th, entered Sta Cruz; sailed Oct. 29th; Nov. 10th, they were 54 l. from California (from Sta Cruz?) and saw the Pearl Island; vessels separated 3 days; Nov. 18th, 70 l. from Sta Cruz; Nov. 24th, vessels separated; land seen in the N. W.

Nov. 26th they met near a lagoon 30 l. in circumference (Magdalena B., *Navarrete*) with a deep narrow channel, near a mountain; fight with Indians Nov. 29th (or Dec. 2d); Dec. 4th, sailed 8–10 l. to a fine port S. Abad with rivers (Magdalena B., *Burney*—Sta Marta B., *Navarrete*); 20 l. farther lost anchors, and driven back to the lagoon (or to S. Abad); Dec. 17th, to Pt Trinidad (on Margarita Isl., *Navarrete*) and thence to where the anchors were lost, 35 l. from the lagoon; 63 l. farther by Jan. 1, 1540, to a point in front of several high mountains; 35 l. in five days to Cedros Isl., large and inhabited, the chief of the S. Stephano group of three, possession taken Jan. 22d; advanced 18 l. but driven back; several vain attempts to go farther north until Mar. 24th; *Sta Agueda* sent back April 5th; April 18th arrived at Santiago. These details are from Preciado's account in Ramusio.

after crossing over to Santa Cruz followed up the Sonora coast, entering probably the port now called Guaymas, noting the numerous islands a little above, and finally reaching a point near the mouth of the Colorado where the low sandy shores seemed to unite about a league off. It was the opinion of most of the officers that they did so unite, forming a gulf and making Santa Cruz a part of the main.[14]

The 18th of October, having passed down the peninsula coast, the fleet anchored in Santa Cruz Bay. Rounding the cape in November, Ulloa continued up the outer coast, entered probably Magdalena Bay, was wounded in a battle with the natives, and remained from January to April at or near Cedros Island, since known as Cerros. Thence he made several ineffectual attempts to sail northward, but according to the diary[15] the farthest point reached was only about eighteen leagues above the island. The map made by Domingo Castillo in 1541, from the results of this voyage only, so far as the outer coast is concerned, names the northern limit Cabo del Engaño, or Cape Disappointment, as does also the historian

[14] Below on the California coast some are said to have been disgusted at the idea of making so long a voyage without positively settling the question; but this doubt was in relation to an inlet just above Sta Cruz which it was thought might be a strait. *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 343.

[15] *Ulloa, Relatione dello Scoprimento che nel nome di Dio va à far l'armata dell'illustrissimo Fernando Cortese*, etc. In *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 339–54; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 397–424. The writer was Francisco Preciado, perhaps one of the friars, but I think not, from the part he took in the fighting. Full accounts from the same source, or exhibiting a few variations of unexplained origin, are given in *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. viii.–x.; *Sutil y Mex., Viaje*, xxi.–v., app. 15; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 293–7. See also *Navarrete, Viajes Apóc.*, 28–9; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 234; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, 292–3; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 158–60; *Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov.*, i. 193–210; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, 151; *Cortés, Hist.*, 324; *Cortés, Escritos*, 280–1, 294–5, 303–4; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 93–4; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, v. 856; *Galvano*, in *Voy. Select.*, 43; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 123, 128; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 142–3; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, 450; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 15–16; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 26–7; *Id., Or. and Cal.*, 56–7; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 9; *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 605–7; *Montanus, N. Weereld*, 205–7; *Id., N. Welt*, 232–4; *Mora*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ix. 311; *Gordon's N. Amer.*, 92; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 68–9; *Hines' Voy.*, 349; *Findlay's Directory; Domenech's Deserts*, i. 225–6; *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 124–5; *Fédix, l'Orégon*, 55; *Forbes' Cal.*, 9; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 151; *Hutchings' Mag.*, iii. 400; *Murray's Hist. Trav.*, ii. 68; *Poussin, l'Orégon*, 18–19; *Ruschenberger, Voy.*, ii. 424; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, April 18, 1864; *Tytler's Hist. Discov.*, 70–3; *Frost's Half Hours*, 110–19.

Gomara.[16] At last, on April 5th, the vessels parted company, the *Santa Agueda*, the weaker of the two, being sent back under command of the chief pilot to report to Cortés. She arrived at Santiago April 18th, remained a few days, and then went south.[17] Of Ulloa's voyage on the *Trinidad* after the separation absolutely nothing is known. It is probable that he never returned, the only original evidence to

CASTILLO'S MAP, 1541.

the contrary being the statement of Bernal Diaz that he came back to Jalisco, where he was soon waylaid and killed by one of his own men.[18]

[16] Map published by Lorenzana in *Cortés, Hist.*, 328. The author also went with Alarcon in 1540, but did not in that voyage visit the western coast of the peninsula.

[17] This must have been the occasion already referred to (note 11 of this chapter) when the messenger to Cortés was tortured by Maldonado acting under Mendoza's orders. Cortés states further, *Escritos*, 303–4, that the vessel, having lost her boat and anchors, was obliged to enter the port of Guatulco, when the crew were seized and the vessel was lost.

[18] *Hist. Verdad.*, 234. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 83–4, says Ulloa came back to Acapulco in May 1540.

It should be noted here that the name California was first applied to the region before known as Santa Cruz in the narrative of Ulloa's voyage. It was applied to a locality, probably that of Santa Cruz itself, though this is not quite certain; and it was soon extended to the whole peninsula. The origin of the name afforded grounds for much conjecture, no evidence beyond conjecture being adduced, until the truth was known. The most plausible theory was that the name was a corruption of some imperfectly understood native words; another being that it was deliberately formed by Cortés and his associates from Latin or Greek roots. In 1862 Edward E. Hale discovered the source from which the name was obtained in an old romance, the *Sergas de Esplandian* by Ordoñez de Montalvo, popular among the adventurers of the time of Cortés, and in which was mentioned an island of California "on the right hand of the Indies, very near the terrestrial paradise." There is no evidence respecting the circumstances under which the name was given, nor is any likely ever to be found. It was given between 1535 and 1539, and not by Cortés, for he never even used the name. It will be remembered that Ulloa was left on the peninsula in command of the colony in 1536; and I hazard the conjecture that the place of their sufferings, or possibly one of the islands in the vicinity, was named California by the disgusted colonists on their departure, as a term of ridicule. This may be the reason that Don Hernan never wrote the name. I treat the general subject somewhat more fully elsewhere.[19]

Governor Coronado received Niza's report, despatched Melchor Diaz and Juan de Zaldívar with fifteen men to verify it, and hastened to Mexico to raise an army for the conquest of Cíbola and its seven cities. At the capital the friar scattered his marvellous tales broadcast; he was made provincial of

[19] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. 64–8, this series.

the Franciscans and thus was secured the earnest coöperation of that order. Coronado affected secrecy and mystery the better to excite popular interest. Mendoza, no less enthusiastic, lent to the scheme the full aid of his influence and authority. The response was as immediate and satisfactory as had been those to the calls of Guzman in 1529 and of Cortés in 1539, notwithstanding the disastrous termination of both expeditions. Three hundred Spaniards, including many gentlemen of good family and high rank, with eight hundred Indian allies were enlisted without difficulty. Mendoza wished at first to take command in person, but the state of affairs in Mexico making this impracticable Coronado was made captain-general of the expedition. He had the entire confidence of the viceroy, and was at this time popular with his men; though it appears that he had no real military authority over many of his gentleman officers, who were bound only by their promise. Mendoza went to Compostela, and cheered the army by a parting address in February 1540. A maritime expedition under Pedro de Alarcon was to coöperate with the army, but as there was no communication between the two branches, the voyage will be noticed later.

At Chametla, Lope de Samaniego, the maestre de campo, who it will be remembered had served under Guzman and had been first to reach the Petatlan River, having imprudently entered a pueblo with but few companions, was killed by the natives. His death was much regretted, and was terribly avenged by the hanging of such inhabitants of the town and vicinity as could be caught. Here also Diaz and Zaldívar joined the army, coming back from a preliminary exploration undertaken from San Miguel in the preceding November by Coronado's order. They had followed Niza's route and reached Chichilticale, perhaps on the Gila River, but had found little or nothing to justify the padre provincial's glowing statements. Their report was made secretly, but its purport leaked out,

and it required all Coronado's zeal and renewed asseverations by Niza to revive the hopes of the army.[20]

After fifteen days of rest and preparation at San Miguel,[21] the general, taking with him fifty horsemen, a few foot-soldiers, his best friends, and all the friars, started northward about the middle of April, leaving the main army under Captain Tristan de Arellano with instructions to follow fifteen or twenty days later and to await further orders at the valley of Corazones. The advance was slow, difficulties of the way being much greater than they had been represented, although the natives were always friendly. Late in May he reached the valley of Corazones, where he learned that the coast was five days distant, that seven or eight inhabited islands lay opposite, and that a ship had been seen to pass. Next he marched to Chichilticale, the "red house," probably the structure since known as the Casa Grande on the Gila, then as now a roofless ruin.[22] The 23d of June

[20] Mendoza, in a letter dated Jacona (Mich.), April 17, 1540, *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 291–8, says that Diaz was stopped by extreme cold more than 100 leagues beyond Culiacan, and found it impossible to reach Cíbola, but acquired much information from the Indians about that province, and sent back Zaldívar with a letter to the viceroy which was received March 20th. Both Diaz and Zaldívar doubtless returned to Chametla, whence the latter was sent south with the letter. Mendoza's return to Mexico was delayed by an attack of fever in Colima.

The standard and original authorities on Coronado's expedition are: *Castañeda, Relation du Voyage de Cíbola; Coronado, Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada*, by an unknown writer; *Jaramillo, Relacion que dió el Capitan;* and several printed letters of Coronado and Mendoza. Mota-Padilla gives some unimportant details from unknown sources not the preceding; most of the early chroniclers devote considerable space to the subject; and many modern writers have given their versions and comments. Interest in the expedition, however, centres in the far north, and for bibliographical details and a list of authorities I refer the reader to *Hist. N. Mex. and Ariz.*, this series.

[21] According to *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 115–17, Coronado sent troops from Culiacan to S. Sebastian de Coras (?) and hanged 150 natives for no offence. This may be a reference to the affairs at Chametla. The author is very bitter against Coronado.

[22] Jaramillo gives more details of the route: From the Rio Sinaloa (Fuerte), five days to Cedros Creek; three days to the Rio Yaqui; three days to a creek on which were straw huts; two days to the creek and pueblo of Corazones. Through a kind of pass to the valley of Señora (Sonora), *on the same creek;* one day along the creek to Ispa; four days through a desert to Nexpa Creek (Sta Cruz River, *Simpson*, 325. Gila River, *Squier* in *Amer. Rev.*, Nov. 1846, 6); two days down this creek, turned to right and followed Chichilticale Mts. for two days, N. E.; crossed the mountains to a stream in a deep cañada;

he entered the country beyond and directed his course north-eastward. Fifteen days later he was on the Rio Vermejo, or Rio de Lino, now the Colorado Chiquito; and about the 10th of July he came in sight of the famous towns of Cíbola. The one first approached, and named Granada, was built on a high rocky mesa accessible at one point only. It doubtless stood where now are seen the ruins of Old Zuñi.

Particulars of Coronado's further explorations, though interesting, important, and somewhat complicated, belong obviously to the annals of Arizona and New Mexico. An outline is all that is required here.[23] During his stay of five months at Cíbola with his advance guard, Coronado sent Captain Tobar to Tusayan, or the Moqui towns, Captain Cárdenas to the great cañon of the Colorado farther west, and Captain Alvarado far east to Cicuye, or Pecos, in New Mexico. In December, the main army under Arellano having meanwhile arrived from the south to join him, Coronado marched east and went into winter quarters in the province of Tiguex, or country of the Tiguas, in the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte, near the mouth of the Puerco. The natives were well disposed at first, but outrageous oppression soon made them hostile, and the winter was spent in war. The natives of Tiguex were defeated, but left their pueblos and would not submit. In May 1541 Coronado crossed the river and started out into the plains north-eastward in search of great towns and precious metals reported to exist in that direction. One division of the army returned to Tiguex in July and Coronado himself in September. He had penetrated as he believed to 40°, and had very likely reached Kansas between the Arkansas and Missouri rivers. The limit was a province called Quivira, and though

three days N. E. to Rio S. Juan (June 24th); two days N. to Rio de las Balsas; two short days N. E. to Barranca Creek; one day to Rio Frio; one day, through a pine forest, to a creek; two days N. E. to Rio Vermejo; two days to Cíbola.

[23] See *Hist. N. Mex. and Ariz.*, this series, for full details.

he found a populous country and large villages of wigwams, there were no gold and silver, no powerful kingdoms, no advanced civilization. It should be noted, however, that popular belief in the wealth of Quivira increased notwithstanding Coronado's failure, so that the place played a prominent part in later conjectures and reasonings about what must exist in the far north. Moreover by a strange error, apparently of the historian Gomara, Quivira and most of Coronado's discoveries were soon transferred to the northern Pacific coast, where they figured on maps for many years. Meanwhile expeditions were also sent far down the Rio Grande and up as far as Taos. In the spring of 1542, when ready for a new campaign, Coronado was seriously injured in a tournament, and on convalescence determined, against the will of his officers, to give up the expedition. Some friars were left behind, who were afterward killed, and in April the return march was begun.

At Chichilticale Captain Gallego was met, with a small reënforcement from Mexico and Culiacan. His march had been through hostile tribes who resisted every step, and his exploits gave him great fame as an Indian-fighter. The chronicler believes that with his little company of twenty-two men Gallego would have gone on and penetrated the rich country described by El Turco. Here the gentlemen renewed their requests for a further prosecution of the conquest; but neither the leader nor the army would listen to their pleadings; at least the latter would not, for Coronado seems to have lost all real control. The march homeward through Sonora was marked by several encounters with the natives, and by the discovery of an antidote for the poisoned arrows. At Culiacan the army arrived in a sad state of insubordination. Coronado, still unwell, was unable to make his authority respected either as commander or as governor of the province, and it was only with much difficulty and by a lavish distribution of gifts and promises

that the army was induced to accompany him to Mexico.[24] This last stage of the return was begun late in June, and after a difficult march, during which the soldiers were constantly deserting, the sick captain-general arrived in the capital with barely a hundred men.[25] He was coldly received at first by the viceroy, who was naturally much disappointed at the failure of his grand scheme of conquest; but his explanations seem to have been finally accepted as satisfactory, he was honorably discharged from his command, and as soon as his health would permit resumed his duties as governor of New Galicia.

I have now to note the progress of events in the territory since called Sonora, during Coronado's stay in New Mexico from 1540 to 1542. Arellano in command of Coronado's main force had left San Miguel in April 1540 and marched to Corazones Valley.[26] Here he began the foundation of a town to be named San Gerónimo; but the site was soon changed to the valley of Señor, or Señora, perhaps the original form of the name Sonora, still applied to the valley as to the state. The site was probably in the region between the modern Hermosillo and Arizpe, but all details of exact location in the different authorities are hopelessly confused. Captain Maldonado was sent

[24] From Culiacan each one went where he pleased. *Coronado, Relacion*, 154.

[25] Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 274. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 167–9, and others date the arrival in Mexico as March 1542.

[26] 'My idea is, that the town of Corazones on the Sonora River, was Sonora, so called because it was eminently the town of the province of corazones, in which it was situated; that San Hieronimo de los Corazones was situated according to Coronado 10 or 12 l. from the sea, and...40 l. from Sonora, on the Suya River; which would place it...on a river which is now called S. Ignacio.' *Simpson*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1869, 325. Possibly the above was clear to Mr S. San Gerónimo, 12 l. from the later town of Sonora. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 163. The valle del Señor was that of the San Miguel River. *Whipple* in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, iii. 108–12. Corazones Valley probably on Mulatos Rio, where Yecora lies. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 237. Señora Valley 10 l. beyond Corazones. *Coronado, Relacion*, 147–8. Corazones in the lower part of Señora Valley. *Castañeda*, 157. According to *Benavides, Reqveste*, 109–10, Corazones was the first pueblo in Señora Valley, and 6 l. beyond was the larger pueblo of Agastan, a name which I find nowhere else.

down the river to the gulf in the hope of finding a port or meeting Alarcon's fleet, but accomplished neither object. In October captains Diaz and Gallego arrived at San Gerónimo from the north, having been despatched by Coronado from Cíbola. Diaz was to remain in command at the new settlement with eighty men, and to put himself if possible in communication with Alarcon. Gallego was to proceed to Mexico with reports for the viceroy, and Arellano with the main force was to join the general at Cíbola, as he did in December.

Leaving Diego de Alcaraz in command at San Gerónimo, Melchor Diaz soon started with twenty-five picked men, and Indian guides, in search of Alarcon. He probably went down the river to the gulf and thence proceeded north-westwardly, not far from the coast. We have no particulars of the march, estimated at a hundred and fifty leagues, until he reached the region about the mouth of the Colorado, a river named by Diaz Rio del Tizon from the custom of the natives of carrying a fire-brand with which to warm themselves, and which was perfectly understood by the Spaniards to be the same river discovered nearer its source by Cárdenas from Cíbola and the Moqui towns. The natives were so large and strong, it is gravely stated, that one of them easily bore upon his head a burden which six Spaniards could not move. On reaching the river, Diaz heard that the vessels had been seen below, and after travelling three days to a point which he considered fifteen leagues from the mouth, he found letters from Alarcon, buried at the foot of a tree. The letters announced the voyager's return to New Spain and his discovery that California was not an island. The party then went up the river for five or six days in search of a ford. They finally crossed on rafts in the country of a hostile tribe who plotted their destruction, but whose plans were discovered and circumvented. There is no evidence that Diaz went above the mouth of the Gila. After cross-

ing he proceeded down the river and coast for an unknown distance, reaching a region where the ground is said to have been so hot and trembling as to be impassable. Finally, in attempting to drive away a dog which was worrying the sheep brought for food, he threw his lance, and, his horse still running, was pierced in the thigh by the weapon which had stuck point uppermost in the ground. He was carried back toward San Gerónimo for twenty days, but died before his party arrived there early in 1541.[27]

Alcaraz at once sent to Coronado the report of Diaz's death, with the further information that the natives were hostile, the soldiers mutinous, and the prospects of the colony bad. Captain Tobar was sent south from Tiguex, and on his arrival caused the arrest of some of the worst native chieftains; but Alcaraz freed them for a ransom of cloth. As soon as their chiefs were released the Indians attacked the Spaniards and killed seventeen with poisoned arrows before they could regain the settlement. Tobar now changed again the site of San Gerónimo, transferring it forty leagues northward to the valley of Suya, perhaps identical with the Rio San Ignacio of modern maps, in the vicinity of Magdalena. About August 1541 Tobar returned to Tiguex, and is said to have taken with him the best of the soldiers, leaving the most unmanageable at San Gerónimo. In the spring of 1542, when Captain Cárdenas arrived from the north he found the town empty. Before its final abandonment most of the remaining force had deserted and fled toward Culiacan under Pedro de Ávila. Of the deserters some were killed by the savages, others were detained by Saavedra at San Miguel, and the rest fled toward Mexico. The natives took advantage of the colony's

[27] Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 158-9, says that Diaz after crossing the river travelled four days, found no people, and resolved to return; on the return he was wounded by the shaft and not the point of the lance; and died Jan. 18th. According to *Coronado, Relacion*, 149, he crossed the river 30 l. from its mouth, travelled westward 5 or 6 days, returned for want of water, and was killed during the return.

defenceless condition to renew their hostilities. One morning they suddenly attacked and took the town, killed Alcaraz and several other Spaniards, with many native servants, cattle, and horses, and retired laden with booty. The survivors[28] started on foot next day for Culiacan, where they finally arrived after having been succored on the way by the ever faithful natives of Corazones. Coronado on his return march found the natives still hostile, but disposed to keep out of the way, and he seems to have made no stop at the deserted San Gerónimo. Thus unfortunate were the earliest attempts to settle the territory of Sonora.

In connection with Coronado's expedition, Hernando de Alarcon, chamberlain of the viceroy as Bernal Diaz asserts, was ordered to proceed up the coast by water, to carry supplies and otherwise coöperate with the army. Alarcon's instructions were made with a knowledge of Ulloa's explorations, and of the probability of having to ascend a river in order to reach the prescribed latitude of 36°. Still, as no river had been seen and nothing whatever of its course was known, it is somewhat remarkable that so much confidence was felt in the meeting of the land and sea forces.

With the *San Pedro* and *Santa Catalina*, the latter in command of Marcos Ruiz de Rojas, Alarcon sailed, probably from Acapulco,[29] May 9, 1540. At Santiago, in Colima, having repaired the damages resulting from a gale, he took on board additional men waiting there and directed his course to Guayabal, or the port of San Miguel. Here he learned that Coronado had already left Culiacan, and also found the *San Gabriel*, laden with provisions for the army. Hence the fleet of three vessels sailed up the coast,

[28] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 237–8, says that of 40 only a priest and four men escaped; also that the revolt was caused by the outrages of Alcaraz.

[29] The port is not named in the diary. Simpson, *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1869, 315–16, says Natividad, but this is not consistent with his touching later at Santiago.

noting, as is claimed, several harbors not seen by Ulloa, to the shoals near the head of the gulf where Ulloa had turned back. Alarcon's men wished to return, also the shoals seemed impassable, but he sent out the pilots Nicolás Zamorano and Domingo del Castillo, who found a passage, through which, after grounding and narrowly escaping wreck, the vessels were brought and anchored at the mouth of the river.

August 26th two boats, one of them having on board Alarcon, Rodrigo Maldonado the treasurer, and Gaspar del Castillo the contador, with twenty men, started up the river, towing being necessary at times by reason of the rapid current. The natives soon made their appearance in constantly increasing numbers; at first hostile and menacing, so that Alarcon had often to retire to the middle of the stream, but gradually becoming appeased and consenting to an exchange of gifts. After a few days, persuaded that the Spaniards were children of the sun, they brought food in great abundance, volunteered to aid in towing the boats, and finally consented to make Alarcon their chief if he would remain. The narrative of the voyage is for the most part filled with unimportant particulars of attempted conversations with the Indians, and efforts to learn something of Coronado. Most of Marcos de Niza's names were unknown to the natives, who nevertheless gratified their visitors with not a few tales of grand rivers, mountains of copper, powerful chieftains, and traditions of bearded white men, which they or their ancestors had heard of some time and somewhere. One or more 'old men' usually accompanied Alarcon in the boat, keeping him supplied with these vagaries; and they talked also of an old woman, Quatazaca, who lived without eating on a lake, or near the sea, or by a mountain, in the country where copper bells were made.

Natives were met who had been at Cíbola, and

who seemed to have some knowledge of Niza's visit and the fate of the negro Estevanico. At one place the natives were found to be greatly excited because two of their number had brought from Cíbola the news that white men had again made their appearance there. Alarcon calmed their fears by the assurance that those at Cíbola were like his own men, children of the sun, and would do the Indians no harm. It was proposed to send messengers to Cíbola, the distance, or rather that part of it lying in an uninhabited country, being represented as only ten days' journey; but none of the officers would volunteer to make the attempt, and the natives excused themselves from furnishing supplies and guides, wishing the Spaniards to remain and help them conquer their foes of Cumana. Quicama, and Coana are the only places named on the river, and respecting their location nothing definite is stated.

Early in September the boats started down the river, reaching the ships in two days and a half. There is absolutely nothing in the narrative, beyond the last statements, on which to found an opinion as to how far Alarcon went up the Colorado on this trip; but after some preparations for careening and repairing the *San Pedro,* he started again, thinking that Coronado might in the mean time have heard of his presence in the country. He started September 14th and went up again to Quicama and Coana. At the latter place he met a Spaniard who had been left there in the first trip, and who had been kindly treated. Farther up an enchanter from Cumana planted reeds on the banks, which by their magical power were to stop the progress of the boats, but failed to do so. At the home of the last 'old man' who served as guide, Alarcon erected a cross, buried at its foot letters for Coronado or others who might find them, and having received a message from the chief of Cumana declining to visit the Spaniards, started to return to the gulf.

Before turning back Alarcon says he passed a place where the river flowed between high mountains; he states also that he went eighty-five leagues—which may mean any distance from 100 to 250 miles—up the river; and further that he advanced four degrees beyond the latitude reached by Ulloa. The mountain pass with a medium estimate of distance would seem to indicate a part of the Colorado above the Gila and below Bill Williams Fork; but Melchor Diaz found Alarcon's letters two months later at a distance which he estimated to be only fifteen leagues from the mouth, so that if these were the only letters deposited, Alarcon's statement of distance is grossly exaggerated. It may also be noted that he mentions no stream corresponding to the Gila, as he would naturally have done had he passed its mouth.[30]

The name Buena Guia was given to the river from a part of the motto on Mendoza's coat-of-arms, and on the shore, near the mouth, at a place called La Cruz, a kind of chapel was built and dedicated to Our Lady of Buena Guia. The return was in October or November probably, and the fleet touched at several points on the coast during the voyage southward. At the port of Colima, probably Natividad,[31] Pedro de Alvarado was found with his fleet. He attempted to exercise some authority over Alarcon, who, after delivering to Luis de Castilla and Agustin Guerrero his narrative of the voyage,[32] sailed away in the darkness of the night "to avoid scandal."

[30] Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 170–1, and other writers say that Alarcon reached 36°. This comes from his instructions or from the statement that he went 4° farther than Ulloa.

[31] Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 170–1, says Purificacion.

[32] This narrative, *Alarcon, Relatione della Navigatione & Scoperta che fece il Capitano Fernando Alarcone*, etc., sent to the viceroy from Colima, seems to be the only original authority on this voyage. It was translated and published in *Ramusio, Navig.*, iii. 363–70; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 425–39, and *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. 299–348. Herrera, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xiii.–xv., also gives the narrative nearly in full. Alarcon intended to write a more complete account, but probably never did so. *Alarcon* and *Ulloa, Relacion del Armada*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 218, is a brief and unimportant narrative of both expeditions. For copy of the map made by Castillo, one of Alarcon's pilots, see p. 81 of this volume. Other references are as

Most writers state that Mendoza was exceedingly displeased at Alarcon's want of success, though it is not easy to understand in what respect he failed to carry out the spirit of his instructions. Torquemada affirms that one cause of Mendoza's dissatisfaction was that fuller reports of the voyage were sent to the king than to himself, and that Alarcon claimed the honor that was due to the viceroy. He says further that Alarcon retired in great disgrace and sorrow to Cuernavaca, where he fell sick and died. But the current statements on this subject are doubtless erroneous, for there are extant, and bearing date of May 31, 1541, instructions[33] from Mendoza to Alarcon for a second voyage and a new attempt to communicate with Coronado and with Melchor Diaz, whose departure from San Gerónimo was already known. In the document[34] Alarcon is spoken of as the discoverer of the Buena Guia, of which river he is ordered to make further explorations, as also of an estero said to exist at the head of the gulf.[35] Another proposed voyage is mentioned, probably to be directed up the outer or Pacific coast, under Zúniga, with whom Alarcon was to communicate if possible. From another document[36] we

follows: *Torquemada*, i. 608–9; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 235–6; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 170–1; *Salmeron*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 6; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, v. 856–7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 129; *Cortés, Hist.*, 325; *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 1–6; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, iv. 318; *Calle, Not. Sac.*, 108; *Galvano*, in *Voy. Select.*, 46; *Sutil y Mex., Viaje*, xxviii.; *Gallatin*, in *N. A. Voy.*, cxxxi. 255–8; *Camargo*, in *Id.*, xcix. 187–8; *Whipple's Report*, 112–13; *Simpson's Coronado's March*, 315–16; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, i. 211–16; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 16–17; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 29; *Id., Or. and Cal.*, 58–9; *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, ii. 168–82; *March y Labores, Marina Españ.*, ii. 222–7; *Montanus, N. Weereld*, 210; *Meline's Two Thousand Miles*, 138; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, Feb. 21, 28, April 4, 18, 1862; *Findlay's Directory*, i.; *Frignet, La Cal.*, 7; *Poussin, l'Orégon*, 235; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 66–70; *Ives' Col. Riv.*, 19; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 305–6; *Marchand, Voy.*, i. viii.; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 95; *Möllhausen, Reisen*, i. 113; *Id., Tagebuch*, 405–8; *Murray's Hist. Trav.*, ii. 73–8; *Payno*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 199.

[33] *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 1–6.

[34] Taylor, *Browne's L. Cal.*, 16–17, seems to have noticed this document, but becomes very much confused in its use, applying it to the first voyage which he represents as having begun May 31, 1541.

[35] This is doubtless the Brazo de Miraflores laid down on Castillo's map though not mentioned in Alarcon's narrative. It perhaps corresponds with the slough extending northward from the Port Isabel of modern maps.

[36] *Visita á Mendoza* in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 110.

learn that three vessels were made ready for this second voyage, which was prevented by the breaking-out of the Guadalajara revolt, of which more elsewhere, and during which Alarcon was stationed with thirty men at Autlan.

As we have seen, Niza's reports broke off all friendly relations between Mendoza and Cortés. The latter sent out Ulloa against the viceroy's wishes. He protested against the fitting-out of the expeditions under Coronado and Alarcon, and prepared a new fleet after Ulloa's return. He struggled hard to maintain his prestige and authority as captain-general, and called upon the emperor to prevent Mendoza's interference with his plans.[37] His efforts proving fruitless he determined to go in person to lay his grievances before the throne. He started early in 1540, and spent three of his remaining seven years of life in vain efforts to obtain redress. Formal courtesy at first, followed by cold neglect, was all the satisfaction he received at court. Great injustice had been done him in the New World, and the emperor was basely ungrateful; yet in his last quarrel Cortés had an opponent in Mendoza, against whom his oft-repeated and frivolous charges are to be regarded for the most part as the ravings of a soured and disappointed old man.[38]

Before Cortés went to Spain a new rival to both captain-general and the viceroy had entered the field of South Sea conquest in the person of Pedro de Alvarado. His operations in the south and in Jalisco, with his licenses and plans, have been noted in sufficient detail elsewhere.[39] In 1539 he made ready in

[37] In 1539 Cortés sent commissioners to Spain with the statement that he had five vessels ready to continue Ulloa's explorations under his son D. Luis Cortés, and that he was building four other vessels. He demanded that Mendoza's expedition be prevented by royal order. *Cortés, Escritos*, 296–9; *Pacheco* and *Cardenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 317.

[38] *Cortés, Mem. al Emp.*, in *Cortés, Escritos*, 299–309; *Id.*, 319–21; *Cortés, Peticion contra Mendoza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 62–73; *Prescott's Hist. Conq. Mex.*, iii. 338–45; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 164–7. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 474 et seq., this series.

[39] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. and *Hist. Mex.*, ii. this series.

the Guatemalan ports a fleet of a dozen vessels, the largest and most costly yet seen in the Pacific, and brought it with a large force of men to the Colima coast in 1540. Whatever his intentions at first, after Niza's reports he resolved to direct his course to the north. Mendoza instead of quarrelling with Alvarado opened negotiations with him, which resulted in an agreement signed in November 1540, for a joint prosecution of northern discovery and conquest. Mendoza became owner of one half the fleet; Alvarado received one fifth of all profits and advantages accruing from the viceroy's expeditions under Coronado and Alarcon, while for twenty years expenses and profits were to be equally shared.[40] Don Pedro returned to the coast to superintend preparations for departure; but in the early summer of 1541, in response to an urgent appeal for aid from Acting-governor Oñate, he landed his men and marched inland. He lost his life during the campaign, and his men after doing garrison duty in Jalisco during the war were disbanded and scattered. The death of Alvarado's wife without heirs left the entire fleet in Mendoza's possession.

The Mixton war, in which Alvarado lost his life as just mentioned, raging from 1540 to 1542 during Coronado's absence in the far north, was the most formidable and wide-spread struggle for liberty ever made by the native races in any part of Mexico. The Jalisco tribes killed their encomenderos, abandoned their towns, and took refuge on fortified peñoles, or cliffs, believed to be impregnable. At the end of 1540 Guadalajara, already moved to the Tacotlan Valley, was the only place north of the river and east of the sierra still held by the Spaniards. Strong forces of soldiers under different leaders were repeatedly repulsed by the native warriors. Alvarado marched rashly inland only

[40] *Alvarado* and *Mendoza, Asiento y Capitulaciones.* Signed in Michoacan November 29, 1540. In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 351–62; xvi. 342–55; *Mendoza, Instruc. á Aguilar.*

to be defeated and killed. Mendoza was alarmed for the safety not only of New Galicia but of all New Spain, and he marched north at the head of a large army. In a short but vigorous campaign he captured the peñoles one by one, by siege, by assault, by stratagem, or through the treachery of the defenders, ending with Mixton, the strongest of all, and returned southward in 1542. Thousands of natives had been killed in battle; thousands cast themselves from the cliffs and perished; thousands were enslaved. Many escaped to the sierras of Nayarit and Zacatecas; but the spirit of rebellion was broken forever.[41]

There is little more to be said of New Galicia that concerns my present subject. The province was now explored and conquered, though there were occasional revolts on the northern frontier. The audiencia was established in 1548, and was moved with the capital about 1561 to Guadalajara, a town transferred to its modern site in consequence of the Mixton war. The president of the audiencia was governor of the province, extending, after the separation of Nueva Vizcaya, to the northern lines of the modern Jalisco and Zacatecas; and the jurisdiction of the body in judicial matters extended over the whole north. So did the bishopric founded in 1544, the see being with the capital transferred from Compostela to Guadalajara. The Franciscans had accompanied the conquerors in all their movements; and while they founded no missions of the regular type of more northern regions, they were actively engaged in the work of conversion before 1600, as were members of other orders to a slight extent. Agriculture made some progress, and stock-raising much more. Many new towns were built. Rich mines were worked, especially in Zacatecas, where the town of that name was founded in 1548, and in favor of which region during the first excitement the rest of the province was well nigh

[41] For details of the Mixton war and subsequent Nueva Galician annals see *Hist. Mex.*, ii. chap. xxiv. this series.

depopulated; and again before the end of the century the southern Zacatecas mines were nearly, though temporarily, abandoned for the northern about Nombre de Dios, some of the explorers penetrating much farther north. Besides soldiers in active service, and miners in Zacatecas at certain times, it is not likely that there were more than five hundred Spaniards in New Galicia before 1600.

CHAPTER V.

ANNALS OF NUEVA VIZCAYA.

1554–1600.

Zacatecas Mines—Mercado's Silver Mountain—Ibarra's Private Explorations—Mendoza and the Franciscans—Ibarra as Governor—Province of Nueva Vizcaya—Expedition—At San Juan—Founding of Nombre de Dios and Durango—To Copala or Topia—Grand Reports—Indé and Santa Bárbara Mines—March to Sinaloa—Villa of San Juan—Tour in the Far North—City of Pagme—San Sebastian de Chametla—Death of Ibarra—Progress in Durango—List of Governors—Annals of Sinaloa—Murder of Friars—Villa Abandoned—Montoya's Expedition—Bazan's Entrada—San Felipe de Sinaloa—Franciscan Convents—Four Martyrs—Arlegui's Chronicle—Jesuit Annals—In Sinaloa—The Anuas—Martyrdom of Father Tapia—In Topia—Tepehuane Missions—Santa María de Parras—Exploration and Conquest of New Mexico.

After the Mixton war the wild tribes of the frontier, corresponding to the northern parts of the modern state of Zacatecas, continued their hostilities to some extent until their subjugation by peaceful means was authorized by viceroy and king. After several minor efforts by Oñate and others, Juan de Tolosa with a few Spaniards, friars, and natives reached the Bufa mountain in 1546, and soon succeeded in pacifying and converting the savage inhabitants, who in return revealed the existence of rich silver lodes. Tolosa was joined in 1548 by Oñate, Bañuelos, and Diego de Ibarra; the rich mines of San Bernabé, San Benito, Pánuco, and others were discovered and worked. The town of Zacatecas was founded, and a mining rush to this region well nigh depopulated other parts of New Galicia. In 1552

Ginés Vazquez de Mercado marched into the regions to the north, but was defeated and wounded in a battle near Sombrerete, after which for a time no entradas were authorized by the government. Two years after Mercado's failure, however, Francisco de Ibarra began a series of exploring and prospecting tours by which in eight years he brought to light the mineral deposits of Fresnillo, San Martin, Sombrerete, Nieves, and many others up to and beyond the line of the modern Zacatecas. So rich were these mines and so liberal the policy of Ibarra and his associates that before the end of the century the southern districts in their turn were nearly abandoned for a time.[1]

Mercado's entry in 1552 had been in search of a mountain of silver, which he did not find. The foundation of the reports which attracted him was not improbably the famous iron mountain still bearing the fortune-hunter's name near the city of Durango.[2] The annals of the region beyond the line of the modern Durango begin with Ibarra's explorations of 1554–62, which covered a broad territory and brought to light many mines, but which, being private enterprises, are not recorded so far as details are concerned. It does not appear that these private explorations, however, extended beyond the limits of what is now Durango.

In one of Ibarra's earliest tours he was accompanied by the Franciscan Gerónimo de Mendoza, who from the mining camp of San Martin went on with one soldier into unexplored territory, and began missionary work on the Rio Suchil, meeting with much success, and soon calling upon his provincial for assistance. In

[1] For further particulars on Zacatecas annals down to 1600 see *Hist. Mex.*, ii., this series.

[2] On this mountain—a mass of magnetic iron ore 900 by 1,900 varas and 686 varas high, containing 460,000 tons of metal assaying 20 or 75 per cent of pure iron—see *Ferrería de Durango*, in *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 334–40; *Mota-Padilla, Hist. N. Gal.*, 203; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 231–2; *Weidner* in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, vi. 60; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 8–9; *Frejes, Hist. Breve.*, 127–9; *Museo Mex.*, i. 28–34.

1556 Mendoza was joined by three friars, Pedro de Espinareda, Diego de la Cadena, and Jacinto de San Francisco, with a young *donado,* or assistant, named Lúcas. About the same time Mendoza departed for Spain. Meanwhile, or a little later, there were troubles with the natives, but Ibarra came to the rescue, pre-

NUEVA VIZCAYA, 1600.

venting an abandonment of the work, and not only pacifying the Indians but collecting many of them into a mission community. The site was fixed after one or two transfers, and a church built where Nombre de Dios now stands; indeed the establishment was probably known as San Francisco del Nombre de Dios even at this early date. A few Spanish settlers seem to

have gathered here, and there are indications even of some irregular steps by Martin Perez, the alcalde of Zacatecas, toward the founding of a town.[3] It appears also that Father Cadena and Lúcas, before 1562, extended their missionary labors northward to the Guadiana Valley, where Durango was founded later, still working in connection with Ibarra's mining explorations.[4]

About 1561 Francisco de Ibarra, by reason of his past services, and by the influence of his uncle Don Diego of Zacatecas, who had married the viceroy's daughter, was commissioned as governor and captain-general to conquer and rule the northern regions not yet subjected to Spanish dominion. A reported wealthy province of Copala was the particular object of the viceroy's project, which he had entertained for some years, but had hitherto found no opportunity of carrying out. But soon the name of Nueva Vizcaya, or New Biscay, was applied by Ibarra in honor of his native province in Spain. The original commission and other documents are not extant so far as I know; therefore exact dates, names, and boundaries cannot be given. The line of Nueva Vizcaya, however, was practically that which now separates Jalisco and Zacatecas from Sinaloa and Durango. It was probably intended to confine the new province to territory east of the main sierra; but Ibarra was able to extend his authority over the coast provinces as well, on the

[3] 1553 is given by some as the date of Mendoza's arrival at Ojo de Berros, but there is no reason to doubt that he came with the party that discovered San Martin, that the discoverer was Ibarra, or that his operations began in 1554. *Ibarra, Relacion*, 464; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 97–103; *Morfi, Diario*, 340–1; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 30–40; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 503–4; *Torquemada*, iii. 344. Father Mendoza was a native of Vitoria, Álava, Spain, and a nephew of the viceroy of the same name. He came with his uncle to Mexico, and was captain of the viceregal guard before he became a Franciscan. He came north in 1553, being sent to use his influence in quelling disturbances among the Zacatecas miners. He died at Madrid. *Ramirez, Not. Hist.*, 10–11; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 22, 257–64.

[4] Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 35, says Cadena founded a town there which attracted many Spaniards; though on p. 58 he credits the founding to Juan de Tolosa. There is a tendency on the part of missionary chroniclers to claim everything for their order; and among most authorities in the early annals of these regions there is hopeless confusion of dates.

ground that they were for the most part unoccupied, and not provided with Christian instructors.[5]

The governor fitted out his expedition at Zacatecas and the San Martin mines, enlisting about one hundred Spaniards besides many native auxilaries.[6] Martin Gamon, an intimate friend of the governor, joined the army with twelve trusted comrades and was made maestre de campo.[7] Four Franciscans, Fray Pablo Acebedo, Brother Juan Herrera, and two whose names are not known, accompanied the force, which in June 1562 arrived in the San Juan Valley, apparently the site of the later San Juan del Rio, which was for a long time a kind of head-quarters. Here some of the men became mutinous and deserted; and Gamon for insubordination and insolence was sentenced to death. The sentence being approved by the viceroy, the maestre de campo, who had escaped to San Martin, was brought back and executed. The rest of the year was passed in camp at San Juan, and in various minor explorations not recorded. Here the force was considerably increased by recruits from the different mining camps.

In 1563 was formally founded the town of Durango, in the Guadiana Valley, near where Father Cadena, as already related, had formed a settlement of natives called apparently San Juan Bautista de Analco. Alonso Pacheco was sent from San Juan in the

[5] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 525 et seq.; *Mota-Padilla, Hist. N. Gal.*, 107. Before this Alonso de Zurita, *Memorial*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 333; *Id.*, introd., xlvi.-vii., had asked the king to give him authority to form a new province in the north. Ibarra himself, *Relacion*, 468, says he was made governor of 'toda la tierra adentro de las minas de San Martin en adelante.' Beaumont, 'gobernador de la gran laguna de Copala en la tierra adentro, entre donde sale el sol y el norte, y que no se arrimase al norte y poniente (que era de Tzíbola que Coronado anduvo) y que asimismo no fuese hacia el sur ni á la mar de él que era Chiametla, Topia, y Tzinaloa.' He was to use force only after exhausting mild means. *Galería de Vireyes*, 214–15.

[6] *Expedicion de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1563*, MS., 13, is an account in Aztec, with Spanish translation by Prof. Galicia, of the part taken in the expedition by the Aztec auxiliaries.

[7] Beaumont, *Crón. Mich.*, v. 467 et seq., represents Gamon as having been the first to plan the enterprise. Morfi, *Diario*, 354, tells us that the 12 under Gamon were famous as criminals, and that a place in Durango bears Gamon's name.

spring[8] with live-stock, seed, implements, and authority to distribute lands to settlers; and in July Ibarra came to organize a municipal government. He called the town Durango in memory of the Basque city; but for a century it was better known as Guadiana. It was intended as the capital of New Biscay, and to the task of promoting its prosperity the governor devoted much attention. To this end he not only pursued a most liberal policy in other respects, but having opened rich mines in the Aviño district, he threw them open to all who wished to work, on the sole condition that they were to build houses and remain in the country. Bartolomé Arriola was left at the capital as lieuteuant-governor, and was succeeded in 1565 by Martin Lopez de Ibarra. There were at first thirteen vecinos.[9]

It was also in 1563 that the villa of Nombre de Dios was formally founded and its municipal government organized by Governor Ibarra.[10] But it will be remembered that this was not the actual beginning of the settlement, and that there may have been an alcalde appointed before.[11] At any rate the alcalde mayor of San Martin soon claimed jurisdiction over the citizens of the new villa who disputed his authority. Oidor Orozco, being in Zacatecas, took upon himself the defence of the jurisdiction of his audiencia of New Galicia, while Ibarra, called back in haste from

[8] April 14th is given as the date of foundation in *Dos Repúblicas*, Feb. 8, 1879.

[9] Some particulars in *Ramirez, Not. Hist.*, 17–19; *Id., Hist. Dur.*, 12. See also *Ibarra, Relacion*, 472–4; *Beaumont*, v. 531–8; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 6–7; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 219–21; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 7–11; *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxiv.; *Laet, Novvs Orbis.*, 289–90. Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 58, names Tolosa as the founder; and others writers give various dates from 1551 to 1563.

[10] *Ibarra, Relacion*, 468–9; cabildo records as cited in *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 83–104; Oct. 6, 1563, viceroy's decree authorizing the foundation. *Id.; Nombre de Dios, Descripcion de la villa, 1608*, 331, 338; the alcalde seems to have been Alonso García, one of the earlier settlers.

[11] Mota-Padilla, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 107, says the town was founded in 1562 by Diego de Colio, alcalde of San Martin. Others say that Martin Perez, alcalde of Zacatecas, was the founder in about 1558, and that Colio was alcalde of Nombre de Dios. But it appears that Colio (Celio or Celis) was alcalde of San Martin, and the one whose claim made the trouble. See *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 129–31; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 9–10; *Beaumont*, v. 501–8.

his explorations, insisted that the villa belonged to his province. Open warfare was at one time imminent, but was prevented by the influence of Diego de Ibarra, and the matter in dispute was referred to the viceroy of Mexico. · He settled it by ruling the disputed territory himself until about 1611, when by royal order Nombre de Dios was restored to Nueva Vizcaya.[12]

Before founding the two towns as just recorded, Ibarra marched with all his force from the San Juan fortified camp in March 1563, bent on the conquest of Copala,[13] Topiamé, or Topia, in the mountains north-westward. On reaching the San José Valley, some thirty leagues distant, it was suspected that the natives were plotting to lead the Spaniards, by tales of great cities, to destruction in the labyrinth of sierras. Martin de Rentería was sent in advance to explore, and returned in six days reporting a bad country with no settlements for thirty leagues. Accordingly the army turned back, discovering on the way rich mines in the valleys called Santa María[14] and San Gerónimo. At the latter place a native woman offered to guide the Spaniards to Topiamé, and Ibarra with thirty or forty men followed her, sending the rest of the army back to San Juan. He marched rapidly for eight days from April 15th to a place eight leagues beyond Rentería's limit. Here from the summit of a lofty range they looked down upon a large settlement of people, clothed like the Mexicans, and living in flat-roofed houses of several stories. They did not enter the town, but at night approached so near as to hear the beating of Aztec *teponastlis*. They understood from the guide that

[12] *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 84–7; *Beaumont*, v. 559–60; *Frejes*, 217–19. In 1590 a transfer of the town to the Santiago mines was authorized.

[13] This name is used by Beaumont and others; but I think that its application to Topia is doubtful. It is probable that Copala was a province vaguely reported to exist in the far north and which furnished one of the chief motives for the general movement at first; but that the report of Topiamé was a distinct and later one heard by Ibarra, and which led to this special expedition. Of Copala and its lake we shall hear much later.

[14] Written Sant Matia, perhaps San Matias.

there were many other such towns; and they marched back to San Juan at the beginning of May, enthusiastic in the belief that they had discovered a new Mexico.[15]

At least such was the report sent to viceroy and king. It is difficult, however, to see in this report anything but intentional exaggeration with a view to reward for past services and aid for new explorations. Topia was a region on the head waters of the Tamazula River, where there is still a town of the name. It will be remembered that Coronado had heard wonderful reports about a province of Topira, or Topiza, in 1540, which was probably the same. The people of that region were intelligent, and like other tribes of Nueva Vizcaya practised agriculture to some extent; but there was never any foundation for the wealth or civilization of the first reports.

From his camp at San Juan Ibarra next sent Captain Rodrigo del Rio with men and supplies to settle the mines of Indé,[16] where a town of the same name still stands; and a little later, but still apparently in 1563, the same officer was despatched to settle the mines of San Juan and Santa Bárbara some twenty leagues to the north, in the region of the modern Parral, Allende, and Jimenez, or southern Chihuahua on the Rio Florido, also called in these earliest years San Bartolomé Valley. This was the limit of Spanish occupation in Ibarra's time. The mines were very productive, and soon attracted quite a large popula-

[15] *Velasco, Relacion de lo que descubrió Diego (Francisco) de Ibarra en la provincia de Copala llamada Topiamé; describiendo muy por menor su viaje y descubrimiento, etc.* In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 553–61. This account is a letter of Viceroy Velasco to the king, of May 26th, to which are added an unsigned narrative giving more details, a short note of Francisco Ibarra from San Juan May 3d, and a note of Diego Ibarra to the viceroy from San Martin May 9th. In his *Relacion*, 476–7, written after a second visit, though written with a view to set forth his great services to the king, Ibarra says nothing about the grandeur of the settlement or civilization of its people. Beaumont, v. 531, erroneously puts this first visit to Topia in 1562, and says Ibarra went on to Sinaloa at this time. He also states that in Topia he found on a fig-tree an inscription: 'This pueblo belongs to Diego Guevara.' Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 35–7, 65–6, 222–5, makes the first entry in 1555-9, crediting everything as is his custom to the friars.

[16] Written also Ende, Endec, and Indehé.

tion. Some writers erroneously credit Ibarra with having penetrated to the region of the modern city of Chihuahua, and some give too early a date for the occupation of San Bartolomé.[17] At San Juan during the winter the Indians became troublesome, killing over four hundred horses and mules, and obliging the governor not only to send to the south for more live-stock, arms, and ammunition, but to build a new fort.

In the spring of 1564 Ibarra marched again into the mountains of Topia, finding nothing apparently of the wonders before reported, but pacifying the natives, establishing a garrison, and probably opening some of the mines discovered in the previous trip. At any rate the mining camps of San Andrés and San Hipólito soon became somewhat flourishing in this region. Instead, however, of returning to San Juan in Durango, Ibarra continued his march across the sierra until he reached the Rio Suaqui, or Sinaloa, now the Fuerte. Of the coast provinces above Jalisco for the past twenty years and more, since Coronado's return in 1542, we know nothing except that the little town of San Miguel had managed to maintain its precarious existence, being the only Spanish settlement in all that region,[18] and that outside of Culiacan the natives were independent and hostile. The results of Guzman's conquest had been well nigh obliterated, except the memory of his outrages.

The state of things enabled Ibarra to extend his authority as governor of Nueva Vizcaya over the coast provinces, and on reaching the Suaqui River he

[17] *Ibarra, Relacion.* He calls the mines Santa Bárbola, or at least the printer does. See *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxiv.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 164; *Escudero, Not. Chih.*, 88; *Conde*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 272. Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 37–8, talks of the occupation of San Bartolomé Valley by friars in 1559–63. Ibarra left garrisons in many forts in Chihuahua before he went to Sinaloa. *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., no. 2, p. 243; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 217, 219.

[18] Herrera, however, dec. viii. lib. vi. cap. xvi., speaks of a Christian pueblo on the Omitlan River as resisting the savages with the aid of a few Spaniards in 1550. Chametla may not have been abandoned all the time. Mota-Padilla, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 112–13, mentions outrages committed on the natives far north of San Miguel between 1540 and 1550, but his meaning is not clear.

proceeded to found there a town named San Juan de Sinaloa, or San Juan Bautista de Carapoa as Ribas calls it. Pedro Ochoa de Garraga or Estévan Martin Bohorques was put in command; Hernando de Pedroza was made curate; and before the governor's final departure two Franciscans were left to labor among the adjoining tribes. Antonio de Betanzos, the maestre de campo, was sent to San Miguel where he obtained supplies for the new settlement from Pedro de Tobar, whose relations with Ibarra seem to have been most friendly.[19]

After the founding of San Juan, and perhaps after a trip down to Chametla,[20] Ibarra made a tour of exploration to the far north, of which in detail little can be known. The governor himself says he "went three hundred leagues from Chametla, in which entrada he found large settlements of natives clothed and well provided with maize and other things for their support; and there were many fertile tracts fit for wheat, corn, and other grains, parts of which might be con-

[19] The town is called San Juan de Sinaloa in *Ibarra, Relacion*, 481; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 533 et seq.; *Herrera*, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxiv.; and *Mexico, Informe*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xv. 460–1. This name probably means simply San Juan in Sinaloa, or the Sinaloa San Juan, as distinguished from the camp in Durango. The proper name was probably San Juan Bautista de Carapoa, as it is called in *Sinaloa, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 10; *Id., Mem. Hist.*, MS., 12–13; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 238; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 28; and *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 65–70. Alegre and the *Sinaloa Doc.* say that the town was on the south bank of the Suaqui on a fine peninsula between that river and the Ocoroni flowing into it. This is not very intelligible, and applies better to the Rio de Sinaloa farther south; but there seems to be no doubt that the town was on the Fuerte. Albieuri calls it the Sinaloa, but that name was also applied in early times to the northern stream. The commander is also called Larraga. See, also, *Buelna, Compendio*, 11–12; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 401. Many writers date this settlement from 1554 to 1556, but this simply means that it was made by Ibarra, who began his northern operations in 1554. See *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 759–60; *Morelli, Fasti Nov. Orb.*, 25; *Ogilby's Amer.*, 285–8; *Monum. Dom. Esp.*, MS., no. 2, p. 243.

[20] Both Ibarra and Beaumont say that he went to Chametla, and founded a villa there before his northern exploration; but from Ibarra's language—'fué á la provincia de Chiatmela, *que es por la banda del Norte* (from San Juan) en la cual pobló la villa de San Sebastian, donde se proveyó de cierta cantidad de soldados y de bastimentos, y otras cosas necesarias, para entrar la tierra adentro en demanda de nuevas tierras,' etc.—and from Herrera's statement that from Sinaloa he went north, founded San Sebastian, and then continued his march northward, dec. viii. lib. x. cap. xxiv., I think there is an error. To go so far south in order to undertake a trip to the far north would be a strange proceeding. See note 24 this chapter.

veniently irrigated from the rivers; and they also had many houses of several stories. But because it was so far from New Spain and Spanish settlements, and because the governor had not people enough for settlement, and the natives were hostile, using poisoned arrows, he was obliged to return" after many fights and dangers. And in retreating he was obliged to cross a mountain range of thirty-five leagues, with great rivers, where they were near starvation, living on herbs and horse-meat for more than forty days.[21] Beaumont, deriving his information from unknown sources, adds that Ibarra was accompanied by fifty soldiers, by Pedro de Tobar, and by Father Acebedo and others friars. His course was to the right of that followed by Coronado, and nearer New Mexico. He reached some great plains adjoining those of the Vacas—the buffalo plains—and there found an abandoned pueblo, whose houses were of several stories, which was called Paguemi, and where there were traces of metals having been smelted. A few days later, as this writer seems to say, Ibarra reached the great city of Pagme, "a most beautiful city, adorned with very sumptuous edifices, extending over three leagues, with houses of three stories, very grand, with various and extensive plazas, and the houses surrounded by walls that appeared to be of masonry." This town was also abandoned, and the people were said to have gone eastward.[22]

This expedition may have been made in 1564, but more probably in 1565, as no definite date is given. It is difficult to determine what reliance should be placed on Beaumont's narrative; and there appear to be no grounds for more than the vaguest conjecture as to what region was thus explored by Ibarra. He may have visited some of the abandoned pueblos of

[21] *Ibarra, Relacion*, 482–3.

[22] *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 538–41. Water was brought in a ditch from a high range. Here they found mill-stones, traces of smelting, and a copper plate. Perhaps the meaning of the author is that Pagme and Paguemi were the same town.

the Gila Valley; or may have gone farther, as Beaumont seems to think to the region of the Moqui towns; or perhaps he went more to the east and reached the Casas Grandes of Chihuahua.

Soon after his return to Sinaloa, after making arrangements for the prosperity of the new town of San Juan,[23] Ibarra marched southward to Chametla with the intention of adding that region to his domain, of founding a town, and of discovering mines or perhaps taking advantage of earlier discoveries.[24] These objects were accomplished after some hardships and troubles with the natives on the march down the coast. The new villa was named San Sebastian. Rich mines were developed, and two flourishing *reales*, or mining districts, were soon in existence. It appears that the settlement of this region had previously been intrusted to Doctor Morones of the audiencia, but of his death, or perhaps too long delay in beginning operations, Ibarra took advantage to extend his authority over Chametla. In all parts of the province from Jalisco up to San Miguel he made many changes in the old encomiendas with a view to reward his friends.[25]

The occupation of Chametla may be supposed to have been in the year 1565. From this time we have nothing definite respecting the life of Governor Ibarra, which seems to have been spent mainly at San Sebas-

[23] Beaumont says he began the building of ships there with a view to further explorations by sea; but was diverted from that purpose by a letter from his uncle Diego, urging him to search for mines, since 'todo lo demas era cartas andadas.' He sought unsuccessfully for mines in the north and then went south.

[24] I have explained, note 20, that Beaumont, with some support from Ibarra, represents the founding of the town as a separate affair preceding the northern expedition, the present enterprise being with a sole view to the mines. This seems an unlikely version, and Ibarra, *Relacion*, 483, says distinctly that he went now to take possession of the region, pacify the natives, and found the villa, alluding to the mines as discovered incidentally as a result of these operations.

[25] Alonso de Parra, and his sons and nephews, are said to have been prominent vecinos of San Sebastian. A few details of changes in encomiendas are given. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 531, 537–8; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 60–1; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 219–21; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 7–11. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 238, says that Ibarra by forced marches got ahead of Morones.

tian. In his exploring enterprises he had spent all his wealth, over 400,000 pesos as he claimed; and worse still his health had been wrecked by exposure. At an unknown date he wrote or caused to be written the memorial of his services which I have so often cited, in which the king was informed of his great sacrifices in behalf of the royal cause, in the hope of due recompense;[26] but it led to no results so far as can be known. The governor seems to have revisited Durango, probably more than once;[27] and he died apparently about 1575. He was not only an able and ambitious conquistador, but withal an honorable, liberal, and popular man.[28]

From the death of Governor Ibarra, or rather from the end of his active explorations in 1565, to the end of the century, the annals of Nueva Vizcaya are meagre. East of the mountains the natives gave but little trouble, and the records of missionary progress will be presented separately. The two villas of Durango and Nombre de Dios had in 1569 each about thirty vecinos, representing perhaps a population of three hundred;[29] and it is not probable that

[26] *Ibarra, Relacion de los descubrimientos conquistas y poblaciones hechas por el gobernador Francisco de Ybarra en las provincias de Copala, Nueva Vizcaya y Chiatmela.* In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 463–84; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 1–14; and translation in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 367–99.

[27] He was at Nombre de Dios in June 1569. *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 85–6. Also probably in 1565 in connection with the quarrel about jurisdiction.

[28] Died in Chametla soon after 1572. *Datos Biográficos*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 779–80. Beaument erroneously says he died in 1564, and adds that his body was transferred later to Durango. He left a large estate encumbered with larger debts. The nearest indication of the date of his death is the appointment of his successor in 1576. Ibarra was a native of Vizcaya, a nephew of Diego de Ibarra the wealthy mine-owner of Zacatecas who married the viceroy's daughter, and a knight of Santiago. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 560–4; *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 63–5; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 221. 'Hombre virtuoso y bastante' says Viceroy Velasco. *Relacion*, 553.

[29] *Guadalajara, Informe del Cabildo al Rey*, 1569, 492. In *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 30–1, is a record in Aztec and Spanish of a meeting in 1585 of Aztec and other settlers of Durango to deliberate on the best way of distributing their labors, etc. In 1595, a suit arose between citizens and the curate of Durango, in consequence of a lady of high social position not having been buried near enough to the altar. *Ramirez, Hist. Dur.*, 12–13.

there was a large increase before 1600. During this period, as we shall see, a villa was founded at Saltillo and also a settlement of Spaniards and Tlascaltecs in connection with the mission at Parras, both in Nueva Vizcaya in the region later called Coahuila; besides the town of Leon, or Monterey, in Nuevo Leon beyond the limits of Nueva Vizcaya.[30] There were a few large stock-ranchos in different parts of the country, the mining camps affording an excellent market for cattle and agricultural products.[31] The leading feature of the whole region was its mines of silver, successfully worked at many points from San Martin up to Santa Bárbara; but unfortunately there are no details or statistics extant.[32] It does not appear that Spanish occupation was extended beyond the San Bartolomé valley of southern Chihuahua until after 1600;[33] though it is probable that prospecting tours covered the territory considerably further north; and, as we shall see, several expeditions traversed the whole length of the modern Chihuahua on the way to New Mexico.

The licentiate Ibarra, a brother of Don Francisco, was appointed by the king to succeed the latter as governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1576;[34] but he was soon succeeded, if indeed he ever assumed the office

[30] For annals of Nuevo Leon to 1600 see *Hist. Mex.*, ii., this series.

[31] In 1586 two haciendas belonging to Diego de Ibarra and Rodrigo del Rio branded over 33,000 and 42,000 head of stock respectively. *Basalenque, Hist. Prov. S. Nicolás*, 184; *Ramirez, Hist. Dur.*, 14, 73; *Id., Not. Hist. Dur.*, 21.

[32] In *Miranda, Relacion sobre la tierra y poblacion que hay desde las minas de San Martin, á las de Santa Bárbara año de 1575*, are the following items of points along the way: Aviño mines, 10 or 12 Spaniards; San Juan, friars and their Indians (Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 72–3, says a Franciscan convent was founded at San Juan del Rio—or transferred there from Peñol Blanco—in 1564); Valle de Palmitos, 3 estancias de labor on the Rio Nazas; Indehé, 20 l. from Palmitos, 1 l. from Rio Nazas; mines rich and worked for 6 years but abandoned on account of the Indians; Villa de Vitoria on the Rio Florido, now abandoned (I find no other record of such a town); Santa Bárbara mines, 30 settlers, and 4 estancias in the mountains; Nombre de Dios, a Spanish settlement; San Buenaventura mines, 20 l. S. of Nombre de Dios; San Lúcas, 16 l. N. of Nombre de Dios, a mining camp; Soneto mines, 7 l. N. W. of San Lúcas, 50 Spaniards.

[33] According to *García Conde, Ensayo Estad. Chih.*, 272, there were 7,000 inhabitants at the Sta Bárbara mines in 1600, probably a great exaggeration.

[34] *Enriquez, Carta al Rey*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 325; *Datos Biog.*, in *Id.*, 780.

at all, by Fernando de Trejo, who ruled until 1583. Then Fernando de Bazan became governor, his term being in 1584–5. Antonio de Monroy ruled from 1586 to 1589; Rodrigo del Rio y Loza, one of Ibarra's captains from the first, from 1589 to 1590; and Diego Fernando de Velasco from 1596 or a little earlier.[35]

At San Juan, on the Rio Suaqui in Sinaloa, very soon, perhaps a year or two after Governor Ibarra's departure in 1564–6,[36] the natives without any previous indications of hostility killed the two friars Acebedo and Herrera and also fifteen Spaniards who visited some of their villages in search of maize, soon attacking and setting fire to the villa. The settlers defended themselves by hastily constructing a wooden fort, and sent to Culiacan for aid; but before succor arrived they were forced to abandon the place and retire southward to the Rio Petatlan.[37] Here they seem not to have been molested for ten years or more;[38] until in 1583 Pedro de Montoya obtained from Governor Trejo authority to make a new entrada. He marched from San Miguel with thirty men, accompanied by Pedroza, the former alcalde of San Juan.[39] As they advanced northward the natives fled at first, but soon returned and made peace. Montoya refounded the villa and named it San Felipe y Santiago de Carapoa. It was not on the original site, but apparently still on the Rio Suaqui. But

[35] *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 14–19; followed by *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 238–9, 318. The date of Rio's accession in the MS. is given as 1585, doubtless an error for 1589 or 1590.

[36] Arlegui, *Crón. Zac.*, 216–21, says it was in 1567, but his dates are all uncertain.

[37] *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 13 et seq.; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 238 et seq.; and *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 28 et seq., are the best authorities on these and the following events. Some writers think that all the settlers except five retired to Culiacan; but this seems to have been later.

[38] In 1569, according to *Guadalajara, Informe del Cabildo*, 493, there were 12 or 13 vecinos at Sinaloa, but by reason of its remoteness and poverty the settlement was likely to be abandoned.

[39] Albieuri, *Hist. Mis.*, MS., 70–9, represents Montoya as having been sent by Ibarra, that is about 1566; and he gives some details of the massacre of this officer and his men at a banquet given by the treacherous Suaquis.

soon the Suaquis, determined that no Spaniards should possess their country, and having succeeded in removing all suspicions of their good faith, found an opportunity to repeat their massacre of former years, killing Montoya and twelve of his men. Aid was sent from Culiacan as before, but Gaspar de Osorio, the officer in command, decided that the post must be abandoned, setting out on his march southward in August 1584.

At the Rio Petatlan on their retreat the fugitives met Juan Lopez de Quijada with twenty men and a commission as commandant of Sinaloa, from the new governor Bazan. Quijada brought news that the governor was coming in person, and orders that the province must not be abandoned. Accordingly the forces recrossed the river, reëstablishing the Villa de San Felipe apparently on the north bank of the Petatlan. Bazan arrived in April 1585 with a hundred Spaniards and a small force of Indian allies. After a stay of two weeks at the villa he marched on into the enemy's country. From the old site of Carapoa, Gonzalo Martin was sent in advance with eighteen men to explore, but was drawn into an ambuscade and killed after a desperate conflict, only two of his men escaping to tell the story. The governor then advanced with the main force, harassed by the foe but unable to bring on a general battle. When he had passed through the Suaqui country he came to the Rio Mayo, and found the natives most friendly and hospitable; but he made a most dishonorable and barbarous return for the kindness of the Mayos, seizing and putting in chains those who came to his camp with supplies, on the pretended suspicion that they were accomplices of the Suaquis. It is said to have been for this outrage that he was removed from the governorship. Having accomplished nothing toward conquering or pacifying the northern tribes Bazan left the country, Melchor Tellez being made comandante at San Felipe on the Petatlan.[40]

[40] Albieuri, *Hist. Mis.*, MS., 79–86, puts this, like former events, too early,

Tellez was soon succeeded in the command by Pedro Tobar who soon abandoned San Felipe and went to Culiacan. The settlers for the most part followed his example, until only five remained at the villa.[41] At the petition of these men Bartolomé Mondragon, one of the five, was appointed comandante of Sinaloa by Governor Monroy in 1589; and it is said that this little band not only held their ground but made some tours in the interior in search of mines. At the beginning of 1591 Antonio Ruiz went down to Chametla to meet the new governor, Rio y Loza, who became deeply interested in the northern province, and at once took steps to provide relief and especially to obtain missionaries for that field. Such additional details as are extant respecting Sinaloa annals of the century may best be given in connection with mission work. I may add, however, that about 1596 a kind of presidio, consisting of an adobe fort guarded by twenty-five men under Lieutenant-colonel Alonso Diaz, was established at San Felipe by order of Viceroy Monterey;[42] also that a little later some Aztec and Tlascaltec settlers were introduced. Thus we see that in the latter part of the sixteenth century the territory of the modern Sinaloa consisted of three provinces: Chametla in the south, with its villa of San Sebastian where lived a dozen or fifteen vecinos too poor and few, generally, to work the rich mines with profit; Culiacan, represented by the Spanish villa of San Miguel with twenty-five settlers controlling some two thou-

making Bazan succeed Ibarra. He also says that Rio succeeded Bazan at the latter's death. Mange, *Hist. Pimería*, 395–7, implies that Martin's defeat was soon after 1563. According to *Noticias de Expediciones*, 672–3, Bazan's expedition was in 1570, and he had 500 volunteers, losing 100. See also *Id.* in *Monum. Domin. Esp.*, MS., 243–4; *Hernandez, Comp. Geog. Son.*, 9–24. The cost is said to have been $210,000 or $300,000.

[41] These were Bartolomé Mondragon, Juan Martinez del Castillo, Tomás Soberanis, Juan Caballero, and Antonio Ruiz, 'de cuyos comentarios bastantemente exactos hemos tomado estas noticias' adds Alegre; following literally the *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., which is tom. xv. of the *Archivo General de Mexico*.

[42] The commandants at San Felipe, civil or military, during the last decade of the century seem to have been Miguel Ortiz Maldonado, Alonso Diaz, Juan Perez de Cebreros, Diego de Quirós, and Alonso Diaz again.

sand Christian Indians, the mines being exhausted or at least not worked; and Sinaloa, with its five or more adventurous citizens of San Felipe, surrounded by savages, among whom in the later years the Jesuits began their labors.

The Franciscans were the first workers in the spiritual conquest of Nueva Vizcaya. One or more of their number accompanied each party of explorers, settlers, and miners from the time of Nuño de Guzman. Between 1554 and 1590 they had established east of the main sierra ten of their stations, or convents as they were called, all dependent on the central establishment, or custody, of Zacatecas.[43] Only Nombre de Dios and Durango can be properly said to have been founded before 1563. Father Mendoza's labors at Nombre de Dios from 1554 have been already recorded, also the arrival in this field of padres Pedro de Espinareda, Diego de la Cadena, Jacinto de San Francisco, and the donado Lúcas in 1556, Cadena and Lúcas extending their labors northward to the Guadiana Valley before 1562.[44] During this period Father Bernardo de Cossin came to join the missionary band, and in a few years was the first to attain the honors of martyrdom in Nueva Vizcaya.[45]

[43] These in the order, so far as it can be ascertained, of their founding were at Nombre de Dios, Durango, San Pedro y San Pablo de Topia, Peñol Blanco (near Cuencamé and afterward transferred to San Juan del Rio), Mapimi (soon abandoned, but perhaps reëstablished), San Bartolomé Valley (Allende), San Juan del Mezquital, San Francisco del Mezquital, Cuencamé, and Saltillo. As to the dates the Franciscan chroniclers give invariably those of the first visits to the regions in question, in most cases several years before permanent establishments were founded, and generally too early even for the preliminary visits. These first visits correspond with Ibarra's private explorations of 1554–60, and the permanent convents date from his official tours as governor from 1562.

[44] See p. 101 of this volume.

[45] Cossin was a Frenchman by birth, a native of Aquitaine, but belonged to the convent of San Juan de la Luz near the Basque city of Fuenterrabía. Soon after his arrival in America he was sent to join Espinareda's band, and by the latter to join Cadena at Guadiana. Eager for work he soon obtained leave to make an entrada among the gentiles, by whom he was shot with arrows while engaged in showing them the falsity of their old faith. Arlegui dates his martyrdom in 1555, but it must have been after 1556, and was probably several years later.

Jacinto de San Francisco, popularly known as Padre Cintos, had been one

Ibarra was accompanied in his expeditions as governor by four Franciscans. Two of these were perhaps left to serve in the region of Topia from 1563–4 when mines were opened and a garrison left. It is possible, but not probable, that Espinareda sent some friars to that region before Ibarra's entry. It is recorded that two Franciscans—one of them an old man and the other young, but whose names are unknown—were thus sent to work in Topia and after much success at first were put to death at the instigation of a native sorcerer in 1562.[46] I suppose, however, that these were the two friars, also nameless in the records, left by Ibarra, and that there is an error in the date of their death. Nothing more is known of either missionary or mining operations in Topia until the Jesuits made their appearance; though it is implied that the Franciscan convent was maintained continuously.

North of San Bartolomé in Chihuahua the Franciscans introduced their faith at different points on the

of Cortés' soldiers in the conquest of Mexico, and had received valuable encomiendas; but compunctions of conscience for past deeds of blood caused him to relinquish his wealth and assume the Franciscan vows and habit. No details of his labors in Durango from his arrival in 1556 are known; but he was famous for his zeal, and immensely popular among the natives. The time of his death is given by Torquemada as 1566; and he was buried at Nombre de Dios, where for 100 years and more, as is said, his grave was daily decorated with flowers.

Espinareda was from the province of Santiago in Spain, one of the first twelve sent to Mexico from that province. In the first six years of his ministry he baptized 15,000 adults. Of Padre Cadena's early life nothing is recorded. After 30 years of service in the north they both died in October 1586, Espinareda at Zacatecas, and Cadena at Durango.

Not long after Cossin's death it is said that Father Juan de Tapia, who had served at Durango, was killed by the natives in the Zacatecas Mountains, together with the faithful Lúcas, who was a native of Michoacan; and in 1586 Padre Andrés de Puebla was killed by the savages as had been predicted before he set out, while on his way to the sierra of Topia. Pedro de Heredia, Buenaventura Aniaga, and Padre Quijas are also mentioned as prominent Franciscans. On the lives of these friars see *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 211–15, 231–5, 238–9, 264–9; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 675–7, 745–6; *Vetancvrt, Menologio*, 7, 73, 91; *Ramirez, Not. Hist. Dur.*, 10–11, 20–1; *Id., Dur.*, 13–14; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 504–8, 516–18, 542–7; *Torquemada*, iii. 613.

[46] *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 35–7, 65, 222–5. This author says also that the original entry was in 1555, doubtless an error, the reëntry and building of a church in 1559–60, the killing of the friars in 1562, and the restoration of the convent in 1564. According to *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 746; *Torquemada*, iii. 613, their death was in 1555.

route to New Mexico; but apparently they established no permanent stations there. Nor does it appear that any regular convents were founded in the Sinaloa provinces. The Chametla region was visited occasionally by friars from Jalisco; one or two missionaries worked at times in connection with the curate of San Miguel; and as we have seen fathers Acebedo and Herrera were left at San Juan by Ibarra, but soon fell victims to the murderous Suaquis.[47]

They were all, if we may credit the somewhat partial chroniclers, most holy men, entirely devoted to their work. Hardly one of their number to whom supernatural aid was not vouchsafed. Arrows directed at the missionaries with deadly intent were often deflected from their course; and in the case of Padre Cossin they even returned to pierce the wicked barbarian who discharged them. A horse was miraculously furnished to bear Padre Heredia from danger; his own death and the manner of it were foretold to Padre Puebla; sweet strains of music were heard at the funeral of Padre Quijas; the fishes jumped of their own accord from the stream into Padre Cintos' hands when he was threatened with starvation, these fishes being moreover of a species never found in the stream before or since. Most of the friars sought martyrdom, and the desires of five or six of their number were gratified. To their eternal profit they were tortured, shot, and mutilated by the savages they sought to save. Here as elsewhere the heads and limbs of the martyrs often resisted the action of fire when the savages attempted to roast them; and

[47] Pablo de Acebedo was a Portuguese, who took the habit in the province of Santa Cruz, Española. He came to the north soon after his arrival in Mexico. Juan de Herrera, lay brother, came to America from the province of Santiago in 1541 with 12 friars sent to Guatemala, and served for some time in Yucatan. It is said that their murder was instigated by a mulatto interpreter, who was himself subsequently killed. Acebedo's body was miraculously preserved and shrunken to the size of a child of three years, a proof of his innocence. *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 215–23; *Torquemada*, iii. 623–5; *Beaumont*, v. 542–7; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 759–61; *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 13–14; *Fernandez, Hist. Eccles*, 159; *Vetancvrt, Menolog.*, 131; *Vazquez, Crón. Guat.*, 618–19; *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 36.

a frequent token of divine approval—or of a dry climate as modern incredulity would put it—was the preservation of their bodies for months or even years without taint of putrefaction. For the Franciscan annals of this period as of the following century Arlegui is the leading authority.[48]

The entrance of the Company of Jesus—whose annals are almost identical and co-extensive with north-western history down to 1767—into Nueva Vizcaya, dates from 1590, when this order undertook the spiritual conquest of the northern barbarians by an arrangement between Philip II., the Jesuit general Borja, the Mexican provincial Mendoza, and Governor Rio. A few members of the society had previously, as we have seen, made proselyting tours in different parts of Nueva Galicia, and in one of those tours Gonzalez de Tapia and Nicolás de Ardoya had reached Durango, perhaps in 1589. Several years passed, however, before a college was established at the capital, and meanwhile Tapia and Martin Perez were sent to San Felipe in the modern Sinaloa, where they arrived in 1591 and at once set to work among the towns on or near the rivers Petatlan and Mocorito.[49]

[48] *Arlegui, Chrónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas.* Mexico, 1737, sm. 4to. 13 l. 412 pp. 9 l. The author, Padre Joseph Arlegui, besides holding other important positions in his order, was provincial of the provincia in 1725–8. The *capítulo general* of the order at Milan in June 1729, having directed that each provincia should appoint a competent friar to record its annals, Arlegui was thus appointed by the subordinate chapter in November 1734. His work was completed in 1736 and published, as above, in 1737. He was already familiar with the archives; had some notes and original papers; was aided by the actual provincial Antonio Rizo in new researches, and also used certain manuscript *Noticias* on his subject left by Padre José de Castro. The result is therefore more complete than might be expected from the short time in which it was prepared. The *Chrónica* is devoted to the foundation and progress of the different convents, and the life, virtues, and sufferings of the friars. Like other works of the class it leaves much to be desired from a secular historian's point of view, the author being somewhat more narrow-minded and allowing himself less scope as a historian even than some of his brother chroniclers. Yet he was evidently faithful and diligent, and with other writers of his class, bigoted as they were, merits our hearty gratitude, especially when we think of the dreary blank which, but for their labors, would constitute so large a portion of American annals. This work is very rare. I have also a reprint done in Mexico, 1851, 8vo, to which is added *Memorias para la Continuacion de la Crónica*, by P. Antonio Galvez, thus bringing the record down to 1828. This work also is becoming rare.

[49] Among the villages named as having been christianized during this first

Six other Jesuits were sent to toil in the same field before 1595.[50] The natives, of many different tribes if their languages be taken as a guide,[51] but generally spoken of in the Jesuit relations by the village names, seem to have been for the most part well disposed and quite willing to be gathered in little communities, to be baptized and married, to learn the doctrina, and under the good padres' instruction and watching to till the soil for their own support as they had been accustomed to do in a ruder manner before the Spaniards came. These little establishments were the *nuclei* of the great mission system of which I shall have so much to say in later chapters and volumes. Records of progress even in this earliest period are voluminous, but of such a nature that they can hardly be utilized for present purposes. That is, the petty happenings, in connection with each village, each conversion, each apostasy, each interposition of divine or diabolic power, which seemed to the Jesuits of such vital importance and interest, and with which their annual reports were filled, defy for the most part condensation into the form of history.[52]

decade are: Guazave, Cubiri, Nio, Bamoa, Ures, Deboropa, Lopoche, Matapan, Ocoroni (or Ocoroiri), Sisimicari, Bacoburitu, Orobatu, Mocorito, Navitama, Terabio, Biara, Navoria, and Tovoropa, all with orthographical variations. Several of these names appear in the same region on modern maps, some of them perhaps still applied to the original localities.

[50] These were Juan Bautista de Velasco, Hernando de Villafañe, Alonso de Santiago (who retired in 1594), Juan Bautista de Orobato, Hernando de Santaren, and Pedro Mendez. Some particulars respecting the lives of each are given by Ribas and Alegre.

[51] According to the *Carta Etnográfica* of Orozco y Berra these dialectic tribes on or near the Rio de Sinaloa are almost as numerous as the chroniclers make them by the use of pueblo names. They are Vacoregue or Guazave, Pima, Oguera, Cahuimeto, Basopa, Zoe, Tubar, Cahita, and Mexican.

[52] Chief among original authorities should be mentioned *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Sinaloa, 1530–1629*, MS., 991 pp. This is an 18th century copy in a clear handwriting of tom xv. of the *Archivo General de Mexico*, MS., 32 vols. I have another later copy under the title of *Documentos para la Historia de Sinaloa*, MS., 2 vols. This work is made up of the original *anuas* of the Jesuit provincial, with many letters and reports of the missionaries themselves. It is the source from which Ribas and Alegre drew most of their material; and indeed Alegre copies literally, without credit, a large part of the introduction. The period extending from the beginning to 1600 fills 339 pages of the manuscript. The work also contains—pp. 817–991, from another vol. of the *Arch. Gen.*, and not in the *Doc. Hist.*—similar material for other parts of Nueva Vizcaya.

According to the statements of Ribas and Alegre, the standard authorities for Jesuit annals in this region, eight churches of a permanent character, though of very modest architectural pretensions, besides sixty temporary structures for religious service, were erected during this decade. Two thousand converts were baptized the first year and four thousand before 1597.[53] Omnipotence, ever ready to encourage these faithful workers, sent upon the people epidemics, earthquakes, tornados, and droughts, with a view both to frighten the pagans into an application for relief and to show how uniformly these troubles yielded to Jesuit prayer. The miracles were not, however, all on the side of the Christians; for on one occasion when the missionaries had demolished an idol of stone and preached earnestly against idolatry, the heathen deities sent a violent hurricane which was interpreted as a protest, and caused not a few converts to return to their former faith.

Father Tapia visited in 1592 the wilder tribes dwelling on the Rio Tamotchala, Suaqui, or Fuerte, and also penetrated the mountainous Topia, laying there the foundations for future conversions. The same padre found time in 1593 for a trip to Mexico in the interests of his missions; but the next year, at the age of thirty-three, he had the honor of becoming the first martyr of his order in Sinaloa. Nacabeba, a native who had some influence as a sorcerer at

[53] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 241–3, 258–9, 287–95, 307–19, 350–4, 377–9, 387–9; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos de la Fé*, 35–80. According to the original reports there were 6,100 converts in 1594; 6,770 in 1595; and 8,400 in 1597. In 1595 the converts were distributed as follows: 1,588 in 5 pueblos on the Rio Évora; 3,312 in 13 pueblos on the Rio Petatlan; 1,270 in 3 pueblos on the Rio Ocoroni; and 600 converts on the Rio Sinaloa (Fuerte). There was a pestilence in 1593. Padre Martin Pelaez visited the missions in 1595, P. Luis de Bonifaz in 1596, and two Jesuits in 1598. According to letters of P. Perez, dated Dec. 1591, and printed in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, IV., 1854, there had been 1,600 baptized and 13 churches built at that date. Statistics of the period are naturally very meagre and unreliable. Hernandez y Dávalos, *Geog. Son.*, 14, absurdly says that the Jesuit establishments of Sinaloa in 1591–6 cost the government 8,000,000 *pesos*. Other works containing matter on the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa before 1600, are: *Apostólicos Afanes*, 224; *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Comp. Jesus*, 138; *Velasco, Not. Son.*, 138; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 658; *Buelna, Compend.*, 58; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 696–7.

Deboropa, having been chided for habitual absence from church, drunkenness, and other offences, was at last flogged at the padre's request. After trying unsuccessfully to incite his people to revolt, Nacabeba, aided by a few accomplices, murdered Padre Tapia when he came to renew his remonstrances, fleeing immediately after the act to the hostile Suaquis and Tehuecos in the north, and bearing with him the padre's head and arm as trophies. In orgies of victory they used the victim's skull for a drinking-cup, and tried to roast the arm; but fire, as we are gravely told, had no effect upon the sacred relic.[54]

In 1595 the governor sent Alonso Diaz with twenty-five men from Durango, who built a fort at San Felipe, and left Juan Perez de Cebreros in command. He recovered the remains of Father Tapia, but failed to secure the murderer, who took refuge with the savage Tehuecos. During this year and the next mission work seems to have been at a stand-still. The loss of Tapia's influence, the fear of being suspected in connection with his murder, dread of the soldiers, and other diabolical influences caused many of the converted tribes to abandon their pueblos, and the gentiles were hostile in every direction. By patient effort, however, the missionaries gradually brought back the fugitives; and meanwhile they had done some work in the southern regions of Culiacan, and

[54] *Albieuri, Historia de las Misiones Apóstolicas que los clérigos regulares de la Compañía de Jesus an echo en las Indias Occidentales del Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya, etc.*, MS., 4to, 373 pp. is a history of the missions down to 1594, but mainly devoted to the life and virtues and martyrdom of Father Tapia, an engraved portrait of whom is attached to the frontispiece. The author, Father Juan Albieuri, was himself a missionary in Sinaloa, and personally acquainted with the companions of Tapia. His autograph is attached to the preface dated San Ignacio de Vamupa, April 16, 1633; and the work is approved by the rector, Padre Juan Varela, and by Tapia's associates, Pedro Mendez and Hernando de Villafañe, whose emendations are seen throughout the volume. Backer, *Bibliotheque*, iv. 6, mentions this MS., as being in the library of the University of Mexico.

A very complete narrative of all the circumstances attending Tapia's murder is the *Relacion de la muerte del Padre Gonzalo de Tapia, superior de la Compañía de Jesus de Cinaloa, que sucedió á los 11 de Julio, 1594, en el pueblo de Tovoripa*, MS. See also, *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 52; *Alegre*, i. 287–95; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles*, i. 252–3.

had built and decorated a fine adobe church and residence at San Felipe. The year 1597 was marked by one or two minor revolts, and by fierce conflicts between different native tribes, but great progress in conversion was also made. In 1598 by the viceroy's orders a reënforcement of twenty soldiers was sent to the presidio of San Felipe. It would appear also that many new settlers came about this time; and in 1599 with the capture and execution of Tapia's murderer the spiritual conquest took a new start, success being great. Finally in 1600 Captain Diego Martinez de Hurdaide, of whose valorous deeds much will be said in later chapters, assumed command of the garrison, made permanent allies of the hitherto troublesome Guazaves, and penetrated to the mountain region of Chinipas.

I have already mentioned the little that is known of Franciscan operations in the Topia mountains, where were the mining camps of San Andrés, San Hipólito, and Parpudos. As early as 1592 Father Tapia, from Sinaloa, had visited the Acaxees of that region, finding them well disposed. Other visits were made from time to time by the Sinaloa Jesuits, who obtained there in 1597 a contribution of twelve hundred dollars from the miners for their San Felipe church. In 1599 Father Santaren made an extended visit and found the natives so desirous of conversion at Jesuit hands that he had to depart secretly by night from some of the districts. Finally in 1600 the same missionary with Father Alonso Ruiz entered the province, and they began their permanent work in earnest. They were accompanied by Diego de Ávila who was commissioned by the viceroy as "capitan pacificador y juez protector" of the natives.[55]

[55] *Duarte, Testimonio jurídico de las poblaciones y conversiones de los Serranos Acaches, hechas por el Capitan Diego de Avila y el venerable padre Hernando de Santaren por el año de 1600.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. tom. iv. 173–267; also MS., in *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, 159–340; also résumé in *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 146–50. This lengthy account was written by Martin Du-

In this pious raid they taught the natives to kneel and kiss the padres' hands at their approach, to build churches, and to say doctrina. They whipped some who were refractory about receiving the new faith, and broke up, united, or reëstablished the villages according to their own ideas of convenience or policy. They appointed alcaldes and other officials as usual, and especially directed their attention to breaking or burning all stones and bones worshipped as idols. The records show the Spaniards to have been hardly less superstitious than the Acaxees, since accounts of idols speaking or eating are accepted apparently without the slightest doubt.

At Durango, or Guadiana, twenty-two thousand pesos having been contributed by Governor del Rio and others, the Jesuit college was founded in 1593–4, and at the end of the century had eight priests and two hermanos in its fellowship. Two padres worked at the college among the Spaniards and other inhabitants of the city and vicinity, while two were stationed at each of the three missions that had been founded. Of these Santaren and Ruiz, as already noted, were in the mountains of Topia. Two others of the eight Jesuits were fathers Gerónimo Ramirez and Juan de Fonte engaged in converting the great Tepehuane nation, which occupied a large part of what is now Durango from Papasquiaro northward. Ramirez began the

arte, the escribano of the expedition, who minutely describes and swears to every petty detail of each day's acts, each movement and word of captain, padres, and natives, each idol destroyed. More words to less purpose could hardly be written. The pueblos as left after this entrada were: Santa Ana, San Martin, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Diego, San Juan Napeces, San Gerónimo, San Telmo, Cuevas, Aibupa, Otatitlan, Acapu, Matenipa, San Miguel de los Reyes, Tocotlan, and San Juan de Cubía, having from 68 to 320 inhabitants each. The real de San Andrés was already under the care of a curate. A regulation was made forbidding outsiders to visit the Indian pueblos or to entice away the inhabitants under penalty of 100 pesos if the offender were a Spaniard, or 200 blows if an Indian. Alegre, i. 378–82, gives some details of Santaren's experience in 1599. Mota-Padilla, *Hist. N. Gal.*, 250, mentions a revolt quelled by Bishop Mota in 1599 after the military had failed. According to *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 31; x. 619 et seq., the name Topia came from an old woman transformed into a stone, still venerated in the form of *jícaras*. See also *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 471–8.

work in 1596 at Sauceda and Ubamari, or Santa Cruz. Fonte entered the field several years later, and down to the end of the century the harvest was found more plenteous than there were laborers to reap. A town at Zape and that of Santa Catalina in Atotonilco Valley are said to have been founded during this period.

Meanwhile padres Francisco Ramirez and Juan Agustin de Espinosa preached in the region of Cuencamé in 1594, and passing on to what is now southwestern Coahuila, founded in the lake region the mission of Santa María de Parras. The Laguna Indians were friendly from the first, and not averse to salvation, although somewhat disinclined to live in villages. Many of them spoke Aztec dialects, which was a great help to the missionaries. The devil often appeared here, taking the form of a horrible beast; but on the other hand divine assistance was not withheld, and the success of the padres was flattering. In 1600 there were fifteen hundred converts in this mission, and three flourishing towns dependent on it. Among the many proofs of the Jesuits' efficacious teaching the chroniclers point with pride to the fact that a young convert submitted to torture and death rather than sacrifice her chastity.

In addition to the statements of Ribas and Alegre, several of the *anuas*, or yearly reports of work, accomplished under this Jesuit college of Durango have been preserved, together with several letters of the missionaries. They are filled for the most part with petty details of remarkable conversions and cures, showing all to have been *couleur de rose* in the progress of the good work at this early time, but noticeable for an almost entire absence of all facts, figures, or names of historic value.[56]

[56] *Nueva Vizcaya, Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, series iv. tom. iii.–iv. The matter preceding 1600 extends to p. 60 of tom. iii. This collection is tom. xix.–xx. of the *Archivo Gen. de Mex.* I have also the MS. copy from the Andrade-Maximilian library. A large portion is also in the *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 817 et seq. See also

I may here glance briefly at the few events to be noted in sixteenth-century annals of the territory since known as Coahuila, then a part of Nueva Vizcaya. Saltillo has already been named in the list of Franciscan convents. It was founded as early as 1582[57] by Padre Lorenzo Gavira; but the natives after a time became intractable, the little church was destroyed in a revolt, and finally Gavira was forced to seek a new field of labor. In 1586 the villa of Saltillo was founded under a regular municipal government.[58] It is not quite clear whether this was before or after the revolt alluded to; but either that revolt or other hostilities endangered the safety of the town about 1592 and caused the inhabitants to call upon the viceroy for succor. In response Captain Francisco Urdiñola was sent north with a colony of four hundred Tlascaltecs, who, under the direction of Buenaventura de Paz, were settled in a town called Nueva Tlascala close to the villa but independent of Spanish control. The Franciscan establishment was also revived at this time.[59] The settlement thus protected was subsequently quite prosperous. but there is no further record of its progress until after 1600. In connection also with the Jesuit mission at Parras[60] a settlement of Spaniard and Tlascaltecs from Saltillo seems to have sprung up about 1598. This colony was welcomed by the mild Laguna tribes as a protection from their fierce foes the Tobosos and Cocoyomes of the north. It prospered for a time by reason of the

Alegre, i. 283–7, 319–23, 354–6; *Ribas*, 669–710; *Tamaron, Visita de Dur.*, MS., 41; *Orozco y Berra*, in *Ilustracion Mex.*, 269; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 139–40; *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 140–8.

[57] *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 77. Torquemada, iii. 341, also favors this early date. Arlegui, pp. 224–5, speaks of the murder here at a still earlier date of a Franciscan who was preaching to the Guachichiles at Santa Elena.

[58] Two alcaldes and a síndico were elected annually, but the office of *regidores* and clerk were sold at auction. *Arispe, Memorial*, 10; *Avila*, in *Museo Mex.*, ii. 73; *Dicc. Univ.*, vi. 262.

[59] It is not impossible that the revolt of 1592 was the same that drove out Gavira. Morfi, *Diario*, 404–6, followed by Orozco y Berra, *Geog.*, 301, so represents it.

[60] The name comes from the wild grape-vines in the vicinity. See also *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 41.

soil's remarkable fertility; but in the following century its progress was seriously retarded through the oppression of the poorer classes and especially the natives by rich monopolists of land and water.[61]

The annals of New Mexico are fully presented in another volume;[62] hence an outline only is required in this connection, the province being one of the North Mexican States though never belonging to Nueva Vizcaya. The first visit of Europeans was that of Vazquez de Coronado from the west in 1540–2 as already recorded. Before the end of the century the country was several times revisited and finally occupied by Spanish forces from the south, the various expeditions being voluminously and for the most part satisfactorily recorded in documents yet extant.

In 1581 Father Agustin Rodriguez, moved by a perusal of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative and by certain reports brought by natives from the north, set out from San Bartolomé Valley in southern Chihuahua, accompanied by two other Franciscans and a few soldiers under one Chamuscado. They went down the Conchos and up the Rio Grande to the province of the Tiguas, Coronado's Tiguex. They called the country San Felipe, perhaps San Felipe de Nuevo Mexico. The soldiers soon returned; but the friars remained, and after working for a while were killed by the natives.

Late in 1582 Antonio Espejo with Father Beltran and fourteen soldiers went by the same route in search of Rodriguez and his comrades. Their fate was learned at one of the Tigua pueblos; and Espejo also

[61] Morfi, *Diario*, 390–2, relates that Capt. Urdiñola began a ditch to monopolize the water for irrigation, but the governor of N. Vizcaya stopped the work. Later, however, the governor married into Urdiñola's family and the difficulties were thus effectually removed and the ditch completed. This writer states that the mission at Parras was founded by P. Espinosa at the same time as the villa, which must be an error. See also *Dicc. Univ.*, vi. 262–3.

[62] See *Hist. N. Mex. and Ariz.*, this series, for a full presentment of details and authorities.

heard of Coronado's ravages in this province. He extended his explorations eastward to the border of the buffalo-plains, northward to Cia and Galisteo, and westward to Zuñi and the region of the modern Prescott. He heard of a great river in the northwest, and of a wealthy province on a great lake; which reports in connection with the popular *estrecho* and Ibarra's Copala did not fail to be utilized as elements of the Northern Mystery. The return was from Coronado's Cicuic down the Rio Pecos in 1583. Espejo was disposed to call the country Nueva Andalucía, but the name New Mexico soon became prevalent.

The king in consequence of the reports brought by Chamuscado's companions authorized the viceroy to make a contract with some suitable person for the conquest and settlement of the province. This was in 1583. Many deemed themselves fitted for the enterprise, and became enthusiastic after Espejo's reports were received. Espejo himself, Cristóbal Martin, Francisco Diaz de Vargas, Juan Bautista de Lomas, and Francisco Urdiñola were among those who in the next few years made earnest efforts—but without success on account of their character, poverty, or extravagant claims—to secure the conqueror's contract.

Meanwhile Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, governor of Nuevo Leon, started in 1590, without authority as it would appear, with a colony of nearly two hundred to take advantage of Espejo's discoveries. He went up the Pecos and crossed to the Rio Grande; visited and received the submission of thirty-three pueblos in 1591, and then he was arrested and taken back to Mexico in chains by Captain Morlete, who had been sent with fifty soldiers and Father Juan Gomez to arrest Sosa for having undertaken an illegal entrada. The colonists soon retraced their steps southward.

About 1595 Bonilla and Humaña, sent by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya against some rebellious natives in the north, extended their expedition with-

out license to New Mexico. They marched far out into the north-eastern plains in search of Quivira; Humaña murdered his chief in a quarrel; and was himself killed with nearly all his men in a fight with the savages, only one or two surviving to tell the tale.

At last in 1595 Juan de Oñate, more fortunate perhaps than other claimants, was commissioned as governor and captain-general to effect the conquest. He raised a large force of soldiers and colonists, and left Mexico in 1596. Vexatious complications hindered his progress and exhausted his funds; but he reached the southern part of his province with several hundred men and took formal possession in the region of El Paso in April 1598. All the pueblos submitted, most of them without resistance; Franciscan missionaries were stationed in the pueblos of six nations; Oñate visited all the towns and penetrated far west of Zuñi; and the rebellious, or patriotic, warriors of the Acoma peñol were reduced to submission after a series of hard-fought battles. All this was before the summer of 1599. San Juan de los Caballeros was made the capital. Santa Fé was not founded until considerably later. There is no foundation for the popular idea that the latter is the oldest town in the United States.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-WEST.

1540–1600.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—MARITIME ANNALS—VOYAGE OF JUAN RODRIGUEZ CABRILLO AND BARTOLOMÉ FERRELO—DEATH OF CABRILLO—DISCOVERY OF ALTA CALIFORNIA—RESULTS—RUY LOPEZ DE VILLALOBOS DISCOVERS THE PHILIPPINES—LEGASPI CROSSES THE PACIFIC—PADRE ANDRÉS URDANETA OPENS THE NORTHERN ROUTE—ARELLANO'S TRIP FROM THE WEST—THE MANILA GALLEONS—PIRATICAL CRUISE OF FRANCIS DRAKE IN THE MAR DEL SUR—VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE GALI—CRUISE OF THOMAS CAVENDISH—CAPTURE OF THE GALLEON 'SANTA ANA'—APOCRYPHAL EXPEDITIONS TO STRAIT OF ANIAN BY LORENZO FERRER MALDONADO AND JUAN DE FUCA—CERMEÑON'S VOYAGE—THE 'SAN AGUSTIN' IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY—SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO EXPLORES THE GULF—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO SETTLE CALIFORNIA—A BATTLE AND A ROMANCE—OLD MAPS.

TURNING again to the coast, I take up the thread of maritime discovery in the Mar del Sur where it was dropped in a preceding chapter at the failure of Pedro de Alvarado's schemes in 1541. So slight is the connection between the progress of exploration by water and the course of events on land in the coast provinces, that it is found most convenient to treat the two subjects separately down to the last years of the seventeeth century. I therefore describe in this and the two following chapters all voyages in the north-western waters of ocean or gulf during the period named, with the motives actuating and circumstances attending them, and the results accomplished, including of course the history of the temporary settlements effected by some of the explorers on the Californian peninsula.

Many details of local geography and adventure connected with these voyages belong obviously to the history proper of Alta California, and of countries to the north, possessing little or no interest in connection with the present subject in its general aspects. Such details will therefore be briefly—but none the less I hope judiciously—disposed of here, to be treated in full when I come to narrate the annals of more northern regions in a future volume, where in their turn generalities of the various expeditions may be in like manner presented en résumé.

Still another phase of the subject may be advantageously left for fuller treatment elsewhere. I allude to fictitious narratives of voyages, or authentic narratives of fictitious voyages, to and into and through the fabulous strait of Anian. Three only assumed definite form of date or detail—those of Maldonado, Fuca, and Fonte—each of which will be mentioned briefly in its chronological order; but the minutiæ of these expeditions and of others more vaguely recorded, as well as the endless variety of tales growing out of them, which were told and listened to in Mexico and Europe, I defer with all the annals of impossible adventure and imaginary geography for future consideration in chapters devoted to the Northern Mystery.[1]

It is well, however, to understand at the outset that the fables and fancies alluded to had an element of reality, inasmuch as they were implicitly believed at the time, and exercised a marked influence on every expedition despatched. But for this influence it may almost be doubted that Spanish occupation at the end of the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century would have extended above Colima on the Pacific and Pánuco on the Atlantic side. I have already explained how faith in a northern strait uniting the oceans was gradually and naturally developed from early cosmographical ideas respecting America as a part of Asia. During the later period, now to be

[1] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. chap. i.–iv. this series.

considered, when expeditions by land and water were greatly multiplied, both soldiers and sailors, imbued with the prevalent expectation of wonders in the north, shaped their reports as far as possible by what they were desired to see rather than by what they saw. The aborigines were not slow to comprehend the ruling desire of the Spaniards and accordingly to fashion their stories of great rivers, and lakes, and straits, always a little farther on, thus supplying explorers with all the basis they needed for their marvellous reports.

Sailors found from time to time at the northern limit of their voyage the mouth of a river, bay, or inlet, and on each occasion doubted not they had at last discovered the *estrecho*. It were a pity that because circumstances did not permit them just then to pass through to the other ocean, others should do so a little later and thus rob them of a merited honor; consequently their reports were made to include what they would have seen, had weather, or health, or supplies allowed them to sail farther east or west. The influence of this all-pervading geographical dogma of Anian must be kept always in mind by the reader.

The voyages treated in this chapter have been already put before the public many times in many forms, often with accuracy and completeness. Both individually and collectively they were in former years the subject of much more research than the inland annals of the same period, and later researches in the Spanish and Mexican archives have brought to light comparatively little new material. Hence it is that here to a greater degree than elsewhere in my work, I must be content to repeat an oft-told tale; yet patient investigation is none the less a duty and a pleasure to the historian because comparatively barren of results or not easily made apparent to the reader.

The threatened perils of a general uprising of native American nations having been averted by a success-

ful issue of the Mixton campaign, Viceroy Mendoza was again at liberty to turn his attention northward. Coronado had abandoned the conquest of Cíbola, Tiguex, and Quiriva, and was returning homeward with the remnants of his grand army. By the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon the gulf coasts had been explored and California proved to be a peninsula. Such results had evidently done much to cool Mendoza's ardor for northern enterprise; yet he had a fleet on his hands and one route for exploration still remained open—the continuation of that followed by Ulloa, up the outer coast beyond Cedros Island. Two vessels of Alvarado's former fleet, the *San Salvador* and *Victoria*, were made ready and despatched from Natividad on June 27, 1542, under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese by birth, and an experienced and adventurous navigator in the viceregal service.[2]

[2] *Cabrillo, Relacion del descubrimiento que hizo Juan Rodriguez navegando por la contracosta del Mar del Sur al norte, hecha por Juan Paez*, published in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 165 etc., is the original diary of Cabrillo's voyage. The same document had been before published in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, i. 173–89, under the title *Relacion, ó diario, de la navegacion que hizo Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo con dos navíos, al descubrimiento del paso del Mar del Sur al norte.* In this edition it is stated that a copy in the Muñoz collection has the name Juan Paez written several times upon it. Thus there is some uncertainty about the authorship. Possibly the later editor has no better authority than this for putting it under that name. This diary seems to be the source of all that is known about the voyage, though Herrera, dec. vii. lib. v. cap. iii.–iv. (followed by *Marina Española*, ii. 244–7), and Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex.*, introd. xxvii.–xxxvi., show a few slight variations of unexplained origin. *Evans'* and *Henshaw's Translation from the Spanish of the account by the pilot Ferelo of the voyage of Cabrillo along the west coast of North America in 1543* is the latest and best English version, with critical notes. Navarrete's version was translated by Alex. S. Taylor, and published in San Francisco, 1853, under the title, *The First Voyage to the Coast of California.* A MS. translation of the original diary from Buckingham Smith's Florida collection, also by Taylor, is in the library of the California Pioneers. Other references are: *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 96, 328; *Taylor's Hist. Sum.*, 18–20; *Id.*, in *Cal. Farmer*, May 4, 1860, April 18, 1862, Aug. 14, 21, 1863; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, 154–5; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 325–6; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 180–3; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, i. 220–5; *Torquemada, Mon. Ind.*, i. 693–4; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 135; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 329; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 12–13; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 61–3; *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 22; *Capron's Hist. Cal.*, 2, 121–2; *Farnham's Life Cal.*, 127; *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 5; *Laet, Novvs Orbis*, 306–7; *Payno*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep. ii. 199–200; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 226; *Foster's Hist. Voy.*, 448–9; *Montanus, N. Welt*, 210–11; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 70–2; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 314; *Forbes' Cal.*, 9; *Frignet, La Cal.*, 9–26; *Morelli, Fasti*, 24; *Hines' Voy.*, 352; *Hist. May.*, ix.

The diary presents, at least in that part which now concerns us, but a dry record of dates and of names applied to points visited along the coast, most of which have not been retained, and some cannot with any degree of certainty be identified. I append in a note a full list corresponding to the Lower Californian coast, with equivalents in 1802 and 1879 as identified by Navarrete and Evans. The former has, however, done little more than adopt the names given by Vizcaino sixty years later, some of which are as hard to find on modern maps as the originals. It will be noted that the two commentators differ in identifying points north of Canoas Bay; but without being very positive as to details I prefer to follow Navarrete and to identify Cabrillo's San Miguel with San Diego for reasons that will be somewhat more fully given in another volume of my work.[3]

Reaching the southern point of the peninsula, now

148; *Hutchings' Mag.*, iii. 146; iv. 116, 547; v. 265; *Muhlenpfordt, Mej.*, ii. 451; *Murray's N. Amer.*, ii. 79-80; *Norman's Hist. Cal.*, 26-7; *Saint-Amant, Voy. Cal.*, 393; *Fédix, l'Orégon*, 55; *Marchand, Voy.*, i. viii.; *Rouhard, Regions Nouv.*, 26; *Weik, Californien*, 5; *Tytler's Hist. Discov.*, 78-9; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 142; *Poussin, Puissance*, i. 343.

[3] See also next chapter for Vizcaino's names:

Date.	*Cabrillo's Names.*	*Dist.*	*Lat.*	*Navarrete's Names.* [Evans' names in brackets.]
July 6.	Port San Lúcas		23°	S. José [B. S. Lúcas].
8.	Pt and Port Trinidad	5?	25°	Isl. Margarita. [C. Tosco Sta Marina B.]
	Port San Pedro		25½°	[Magdalena B.]
19.	Port Madalena		27°	[Magdalena B. [Pequeña B.]
	Pt Sta Catalina	6 l.		[No name.]
25.	Port Santiago	17 l.	27½°	Abreojos [Abreojos].
	Habre Ojo	5 l.		[Abreojos shoals.]
	Port Sta Ana	18 l.	28°	Isl. Asuncion [Hipólito Pt].
July 27.	Port Fondo	6 l.		[B. east of Asuncion Isl.]
Aug. 1.	Port S. Pedro Vincula	18 l.	28½°	San Bartolomé. [Id.]
2.	Isl. S. Estévan			Natividad. [Id. and Pt Eugenio.]
5.	Isl. Cedros		29°	Cerros. [Id.]
11.	Port Sta Clara	10 l.?	30°	[Playa María B.]
15.	Pt Mal Abrigo		30½°	Canoas. [Id.]
19.	Isl. S. Bernardo	10 l.	30½°	S. Gerónimo. [Id.]
20.	Pt Engaño	7 l.	31°	C. Bajo [no name].
21.	Port Posesion	10 l.	31½°	Vírgenes [S. Quintín].
27.	Isl. S. Agustin			S. Martin. [Id.]
Sept. 8.	C. S. Martin		32½°	S. Quintín. [No name, past Todos Santos.]
	C. Cruz	17 l.	33°	[Evans omits 6 l. of distance.]
17.	Port S. Mateo	6 l.	33½°	Todos Santos [S. Diego].
27.	Isl. Desiertas		34°	Los Coronados [S. Clemente and Sta Catalina].
28.	Port S. Miguel	6 l.	34⅓°	San Diego [S. Pedro].

Cape San Lúcas,[4] on the 3d of July, Cabrillo followed the coast in his two frail vessels until on August 5th he arrived without accident at Cedros Island, the northern limit of Ulloa's voyage.[5] Formal possession was taken of the country on the 22d at what was perhaps the bay of Vírgenes of modern maps, and here the first natives were met, who claimed to have seen other Spaniards in the interior, and were intrusted with a letter for them. Nothing worthy of note occurred until the voyagers anchored at San Miguel, or what is now San Diego harbor, on the 28th of September. Here again the natives spoke of Spaniards and their hostilities inland, and like reports were received at other points on the coast and islands above, doubtless founded on rumors of Diaz and Alarcon which had reached the tribes of the coast.

Cabrillo's voyage derives its greatest importance from the fact that it was the first exploration by Europeans of Alta California from San Diego to Cape Mendocino, and perhaps beyond. A close examination of this pioneer navigator's adventures and discoveries will, therefore, be more appropriately given in a subsequent volume on the earliest annals of California. During the month of October the coast and islands between San Diego and Point Concepcion were visited at various points, observations of latitude were made, and notes were taken of the country and its inhabitants, intercourse with the latter being frequent and friendly. In November, against contrary winds, Cabrillo continued his voyage, but without landing, to a wooded point which he located in latitude 40°, and then returned to the islands of the Santa Bárbara Channel. He had broken his arm before leaving the islands, and from the effects of this accident, aggravated by subsequent exposure, he died after his return

[4] Herrera and Navarrete say that he visited the port called by Cortés La Cruz, and the latter adds that it was probably San José (del Cabo).

[5] Unless, according to Castillo's map, that limit be Cape Engaño, which Cabrillo locates 2° farther north.

on January 3, 1543, leaving the command to his chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo.

In February the new captain started again northward, and after being tossed about for some days by the ever changing winds and sighting again the cape in 40°, the vessels were, according to observations made on the 28th, in latitude 43°. Subsequently they were put in great peril by a storm, and seem to have been driven still farther north. The land was hidden by a dense fog, but the navigators thought they observed signs of a great river entering the sea in this northern region. It seems indeed to have been impossible for any northern navigator to return without a report of something that could be interpreted to mean the strait of Anian. Returning, the fleet passed on the 5th of March the island where Cabrillo had died, named for him Isla de Juan Rodriguez, and the two vessels were separated, to be again united at Cedros Island on the 26th, the capitana having touched on the way at San Miguel and other ports. The almirante had been in imminent peril at one time, but on a solemn promise from the sailors to go naked to church, Our Lady had delivered them, though why she fancied such a costume is not told. Sailing from Cedros April 2d they anchored at Natividad on the 14th.

As Cabrillo's latitudes are all from 1° 30′ to 2° 30′ too high, he may for his present purposes be supposed to have passed Cape Mendocino, which, however, he did not name; or even to have reached the present line between California and Oregon; but more of this in other volumes.[6] Neither large cities, powerful nations, nor rich islands were brought to light as had been hoped. The only practical result was to make known the general trend of the coast for some eight hundred miles beyond the limit reached before. To the few thinking men who knew this result it must have given a comparatively accurate idea of the con-

[6] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. 69 et seq.; *Hist. N. W. Coast*, i. 137 et seq.

nection between America and Asia, especially when studied in connection with the voyages made before and immediately after, across the broad Pacific to the Asiatic Islands. If the two continents were joined it must be in the far north; but the "secret of the strait" remained yet unrevealed.

During Cabrillo's absence two ships and three smaller craft, also remnants of Alvarado's fleet, were despatched by order of Mendoza from the western coast, and probably from the port of Natividad.[7] These vessels, sailing in November 1542 under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, bore a large force destined for the islands of the South Pacific. With the discoveries and misfortunes of this expedition I have nothing to do here. Suffice it to say that by it Spain acquired no foothold in the East Indies. To gain such a foothold was regarded as of primary importance; but more than twenty years passed before anything was accomplished in this direction; and this period was also a blank in the annals of north-western exploration by water, as also in the record of events on the land, but for the continued existence of the settlement at San Miguel de Culiacan.

In 1559 Viceroy Velasco organized an expedition under Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. Andrés de Urdaneta, now an Austin friar, but formerly a skilful navigator and companion of Loaisa and Saavedra, was entreated and directed by a royal order to accompany Legaspi as councillor. There were many delays, and Velasco died just before the preparations were completed; but the fleet of four vessels, with four hundred men, sailed from Natividad in the autumn of 1564. It is unnecessary here to say more of this expedition than that it accomplished the desired

[7] Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero declared in 1574 that he and a company were in California until called back to join Villalobos' expedition. *Navarrete, Sutil y Mex.*, introd., xlii.–iv. This, if not pure invention, may be a vague allusion to Ulloa or Alarcon.

object, the permanent occupation of the Philippines for Spain.

The orders of the audiencia required that as soon as a settlement had been effected in the islands, Urdaneta should attempt with a part of the fleet to find a practicable route back to the coast of America. This return voyage had never yet been made by reason of the very winds that made the westward voyage so easy, and it was regarded by the king and his advisers as an achievement by no means less important than the conquest of the islands. Urdaneta had his theories on the subject, which he had doubtless explained to the authorities, and the accuracy of which he was ordered to test. Accordingly the *San Pedro*, capitana of the fleet, was made ready and sailed from the island of Zebú on the 1st of June, 1565. Felipe Salcedo, a grandson of Legaspi, only sixteen years old, was in command, though instructed to be guided entirely as to the route by Urdaneta, who took with him as a companion Padre Andrés de Aguirre. After sailing eastward to the Ladrones, the course was north to the coast of Japan, and still northward to the latitude of 38°, whence the prevailing winds bore the vessel across to New Spain.[8]

We have no further particulars of the route, but passing Natividad, said to have been found abandoned, the *San Pedro* arrived at Acapulco early in October. It had been a long and hard voyage. The vessel had been short-handed at the start; the pilot and master died at the beginning of the voyage, and fourteen others before it was ended; and so weak were the rest from sickness that on arrival at Acapulco there was not force enough to cast anchor. To Urdaneta, "aquel famoso argonauta," with his friar companion, had fallen the great work of the voyage, and right bravely

[8] This is Grijalva's statement, *Crónica*, fol. 122, and he adds, speaking of this as a route followed by later navigators, that if the wind is not found in 38° they keep on to 40°, or even 43°, where they are sure to find it. Burney, *Cron. Hist.*, 270, followed by many other writers, states that Urdaneta himself reached these higher latitudes.

had they done it, steering the vessel, caring for the sick, performing the last rites for the dying and dead, making frequent and careful observations, and preparing a chart by which the Manila galleons sailed for many a year. The worthy friar is entitled to all the honor of having been the first to cross the Pacific eastward.[9] He died in Mexico in 1568.

The route once found, the voyage eastward, though long and tedious, and cold in its northern parts, presented no great difficulty, or risk save that of scurvy, short supplies, and a little later attacks of freebooters. Each year one or more vessels laden with the rich products of the east were wafted down the coast before the winds, but we have no information about any particular voyage.[10] They were no longer voy-

[9] Yet such is the blind injustice of fate that as it seems, *Burney's Hist. Chron.*, i. 270–1, and *Grijalva, Cron.*, fol. 117, he did not actually make the first passage. Alonso de Arellano deserted the fleet in command of the *San Lúcas*, made the trip from the Philippines across to the region of cape Mendocino, and arrived at Acapulco three months before Urdaneta. The two met at the court of Spain, whither each had gone to report his success. Arellano reported the rest of the fleet as lost, and claimed a reward for his own achievement. It is satisfactory to know that he was immediately sent back westward to be tried as a deserter. Torquemada, *Mon. Ind.*, i. 693–4, states that Mendoza sent a fleet to the Philippines which in returning came in about 42° to a point which they named cape Mendocino, following the coast down to Natividad. The viceroy sent vessels again to explore, but they could not go beyond Magdalena in 25°. Here is evidently confusion both of voyages and viceroys. It is not stated that Urdaneta reached that point, and the statement that Arellano did so is not entitled to great weight. In the absence of any positive evidence it is more probable that the name was applied in Mexico to a nameless cape of Cabrillo's narrative, or that the cape was named later by one of the galleons in honor of the second Mendoza. Taylor, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, 20, takes his account apparently from Burney and not with sufficient care. Anson, *Voyage*, 235, tells us that the Philippine trade was first carried on from Callao, but the winds were unfavorable for the return, which sometimes lasted a year, and therefore the route was changed and trade diverted to Acapulco by the advice of a Jesuit, who persuaded navigators to take the northern route. This is all erroneous. Torquemada, i. 696, also speaks of Natividad as the port of the Philippine vessels before Acapulco was opened. This is true, however, only of western voyages. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 183, repeated in *Sutil y Mex.*, p. xli., says that Viceroy Velasco sent the *San Agustin* to establish a station for the Philippine trade on the outer coast of California. The reference is doubtless to the later voyage of 1595. Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex.*, lxxxvi., speaks of Urdaneta's voyage only to correct the impression given by Forster and others, that he discovered a passage from the north to the south sea; for this voyage, like every other of the period, was made to bear on the all-absorbing topic, about which Urdaneta was indeed called upon to testify in Spain.

[10] Burney, *Chron. Hist.*, i. 270–2, notes the sailing of a ship, the *San Gerónimo*, for the Philippines in 1566; also the *San Juan* for New Spain in 1567,

ages of discovery, and there was no occasion that the log-books or diaries should be made public; on the contrary it was the policy of the government to shroud the movements of the galleons with every possible mystery. There were fears of foreign interference.

The Spaniards' fears were not unfounded; they were not to be left undisturbed in their South Sea exploits; an English navigator appears upon the scene. English navigators—a better sounding term than adventurers, freebooters, privateers, or pirates—had for some years made themselves a terror to all the Spanish main on the Atlantic side. The two governments were still at peace ostensibly; but Spain in her haughty arrogance showed no liberality or tolerance to foreign traders in her Indies, treating all such as intruders. The commercial spirit of England could ill brook this monopoly of western wealth, and traders came to regard the Spanish policy as a personal wrong and insult to each one of themselves, to be avenged upon the persons, and above all on the property of any Spanish subject wherever found. The British government found that to leave the adventurers to right their own wrongs was an easier way to restore commercial equilibrium than to waste time in appeals to King Philip. Moreover the Spaniards were Catholics, and there was a prevalent sentiment in England at this time that the poor deluded victims of popery might be righteously robbed, and killed if not altogether submissive to the robbing. Thus does a holy faith ever prompt to grand efforts freebooters no less than missionaries.

Francis Drake, at the time but little over thirty years old, had already distinguished himself in maritime exploits. He had several times visited the West

the arrival of two vessels from New Spain the same year, and orders to one of the vessels in 1572 to take a course farther north than usual for purposes of exploration. He takes these items from standard works on the Philippines.

Indies in a subordinate position as a slave-trader, and had been instrumental in the sacking of divers towns on the coast. The unholy papists had, however, prevented the complete success of some of his schemes for gain, thus incurring his hatred and justifying, as he thought, a life-long warfare on all that was Spanish. In 1573, from a hill on the Isthmus, he had looked upon the broad Mar del Sur, and kneeling had prayed that he might be the first to navigate those waters in an English bottom. His prayer was not quite literally answered, for John Oxenham, another pirate, by crossing the Isthmus and stealing the bottom, gained for himself the honor; still Drake cherished his scheme and attached no more importance to his compatriot's achievement than has the world since accorded it. In 1577 he fitted out a fleet of five vessels, with a force of one hundred and sixty-four men, and sailed from Falmouth on the 13th of December.

His plans and the destination of his expedition were kept secret from even his own men, both for fear of rivals and of precautions on the part of his intended victims. Yet his designs were well matured; he would explore the Pacific for England, would either circumnavigate the world or return by the long sought northern pass; would attack Spanish commerce in a new and unprotected spot, and would return laden with booty and honors. There is no reason to doubt that his scheme was secretly supported by the favor and purse of Queen Elizabeth.[11]

Drake's operations on the coasts of South and Central America have been mentioned elsewhere.[12] With one vessel, the *Golden Hind*, so laden with booty that a continuation of his piratical cruise seemed a foolhardy risk, a return to England by a southern route being for several reasons hazardous, Drake at last determined to seek a northern passage. With this

[11] The Hakluyt Society's edition of *Drake's World Encompassed* contains practically all that is known of this expedition; and is the only authority that need be referred to in this connection.

[12] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii. this series.

view, after refitting on a southern island and taking one or two additional prizes, he anchored at Guatulco in Oajaca in search of supplies. After some further outrages here, the freebooter, now adopting the rôle of explorer, sailed in April 1579 out into the Pacific north-westward. He did not touch the territory treated in this volume; yet the bearing of his expedition on my present subject is obvious. Details of achievements in the north are fully treated in later volumes.[13]

The *Golden Hind* in June anchored in a bad bay somewhere between latitudes 42° and 48° according to different versions. Here it was resolved to abandon the attempt to find the northern strait. Excessive cold was the obstacle which mainly forced the navigators to this course; and it was grossly exaggerated with a view not only to account for their failure, but to show that they had reached a very high latitude and to deter others from similar attempts. Then they followed the coast southward until between latitudes 37° and 38° they found "a conuenient and fit harborow," respecting the identity of which I shall have much to say in the proper place, and where they remained six weeks refitting. Drake also took possession of the country for Elizabeth, and named it Albion, and then started homeward across the broad Pacific, doubled Good Hope in June 1580, and, having accomplished the first circumnavigation of the globe, arrived at Plymouth in November, to be soon made Sir Francis for his achievements.

One effect of this expedition was to confine English researches for the northern strait for a long time to the Atlantic side of the continent. In Mexico it was long before any even approximatively accurate idea was formed of Drake's doings; but on the contrary the most extravagant rumors were prevalent, and it was for years supposed that the Englishman had

[13] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. 81 et seq.; *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 139 et seq.

actually passed through the strait of Anian. Among the popular tales of the time was that of a pilot named Morena who claimed that, being sick and nigh unto death, he had been put on shore by Drake either in the strait or just before he entered it on his way to England, that he had recovered and had wandered through the country for four years until he came to Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya by way of New Mexico. On the way, over five hundred leagues from the starting-point, the wanderer reached an arm of the sea separating New Mexico from a great western land where there were great towns and a nation of white men using horses. Thus did all these narrators of northern marvels unthinkingly "give themselves away" for the distant future. Morena told his story at the Sombrerete mines to Governor Rio, a man who was deeply interested in the Northern Mystery and therefore a credulous listener.[14]

By chance a record has been preserved of a Philippine voyage made a few years after Drake's departure. Francisco de Gali, having sailed from Acapulco in March 1582, left Macao on his return July 24, 1584. Following the usual northern route he sighted the American coast in latitude 37° 30′, and followed the coast without anchoring to Acapulco. Gali made some observations respecting the currents and winds in the North Pacific; noted on reaching the coast a high and fair land covered with trees and free from snow; and in his course southward passed several islands, among which may be identified perhaps San Martin, Cedros, and the Tres Marías. The only importance of this voyage in the eyes of historical students has resulted apparently from an error of translation, by which the latitude given was transposed to 57° 30′, thus involving the question of pri-

[14] Salmeron, *Relaciones*, 50–1, obtained his information from P. Ascension. Drake's voyage is often confounded with that of Cavendish by Mexicans, as in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 214–15.

ority of discovery by Spain of a long stretch of coast.[15]

Another English voyage is next to be noted, similar to that of Francis Drake in every respect save that open war between England and Spain covered with a kind of legal sanction many of the privateer's least outrageous acts. Thomas Cavendish after a long series of ravages on the southern coasts as far as Colima, arrived at Mazatlan, so called at the time, late in September 1588 with two ships well armed. Here the British obtained fruits, and repaired their craft at the islands near by, watched the while by a party of Spanish horsemen from the villa of San Sebastian de Chametla. Then Cavèndish crossed over to Aguada Segura, later called San Bernabé, or Puerto del Cabo; lying off and on near Cape San Lúcas in wait for the galleon. That unfortunate vessel, the *Santa Ana* of seven hundred tons, commanded by Tomás de Alzola, and laden with rich silks and other goods from the Indies besides 122,000 pesos in gold, hove in sight the 4th of November. After valiant defence the Spaniards were forced to yield; and the prize was towed into the cape harbor to be stripped of all her cargo that was worth the taking. The surviving victims, nearly two hundred in number, were put on shore while the *Santa Ana* was set on fire; but enough of her hulk remained unburned to carry the company to Acapulco. Meanwhile the victors went on their way rejoicing, and one of the ships being lost the other completed her voyage round the world.[16]

The apocryphal voyage of Lorenzo Ferrer de Mal-

[15] The original Spanish diary not being extant, our only knowledge of the voyage comes from a Dutch translation published in *Linschoten, Reys-Ghechrift*, of which the first edition appeared in 1596 according to Brunet. See also *Hist. Cal.*; i. 94, this series.

[16] *Pretty's Admirable and Prosperous Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish.* In *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 803–25. Cavendish's exploits are fully described in *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 746 et seq., this series.

donado is entitled chronologically to brief mention here under date of 1588; although the claim seems not to have been made publicly until 1609, and its effect on the popular imagination with the discussions it provoked—the only reality connected with it—should perhaps be placed much later. Maldonado professed to have entered the strait on the coast of Labrador; to have followed its windings up to 75°, and down again to its Pacific mouth in 60°; to have followed the Pacific coast south-east to 55°; to have crossed the Mar del Sur westward one hundred and twenty leagues until he saw land; and finally to have returned by the same route. There was evidence to prove the man a liar and his story a pure fabrication long before actual exploration had demonstrated the non-existence of the strait he describes. Now that northern geography is no longer mysterious in navigable latitudes the voluminous reasonings of the past respecting Maldonado's pretensions merit attention only as a curiosity of literature. The narrative will, however, claim some notice with other northern fables in another volume.[17]

The story of Juan de Fuca was similar to that of Maldonado in many respects; but there have been those in recent times who believed in its truth. As told to Michael Lok at Venice in 1596 it was in substance as follows: Fuca had long served Spain as sailor and pilot, and had been on board the *Santa Ana* when captured by Cavendish, losing $60,000 at that time. Later he went as pilot in a fleet of three vessels, with three hundred men sent by the viceroy to find the strait of Anian and fortify it against the English; but mutiny prevented success, and the fleet returned from the California coast. A little later, however, in 1592, he was sent out again by the viceroy with two vessels manned by sailors only. He fol-

[17] See *Hist. N. W. Coast*, i. 92 et seq.; *Maldonado, Relacion.* See also for a good statement of the subject *Navarrete, Viages Apócrifos.*

lowed the coast northward until between 47° and 48° he found a strait about a hundred miles wide at the mouth, through which he sailed in various courses until he came to the Atlantic. Then having effected his purpose he returned—after ascertaining the country on the strait to be rich in gold, silver, and pearls—to Acapulco in the same year. Failing to obtain a reward for his services from Spain, he was willing to give England the benefit of his great discovery, to which end negotiations were opened but came to nothing.[18]

There is some evidence that Fuca was, like Maldonado, a real personage; but not a word respecting either of the voyages described, though both are said to have been fitted out by the authority of the viceroy, has ever been found in the Spanish archives, or elsewhere except in Fuca's own statement. Circumstantial evidence is all against the truth of that statement. Similar tales were very common among Spanish pilots at the time, when few doubted the existence of a strait north of 43°. Each desired an opportunity to search for the strait and for fame at public expense, and few hesitated at falsehood to gratify their ambition. Fuca, old, poor, and disappointed like the rest in this respect, was fortunate enough to fall in with a man interested in promoting English discoveries. To him he could make the claim, absurd to Spanish ears, that he had discovered the strait in an official expedition; and shrewdly affirm that Spain was keeping the discovery secret through jealousy of England. He had manifest advantages over his confrères in New Spain, who had to invent stories of mysterious shipwrecks on the Atlantic coast; but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that this tale was anything but pure fiction. I shall be obliged, however, to present the argument in full elsewhere.[19] The pilot's fiction was in one respect a brilliant success; for

[18] Lok's note in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iii. 849–52.
[19] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 78 et seq., this series.

has it not immortalized his name by attaching it to an inlet of the Northwest Coast?

It is remarkable that, with one or more vessels following each year the Philippine route and coming regularly in sight of the California coast, more energetic efforts were not made to find an available port. Nevertheless we have but one record of such an attempt, that of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeñon, despatched from Manila in 1595 for the express purpose of exploring the coast. Of the result we know only that his vessel, the *San Agustin*, ran ashore in what was named at the time San Francisco Port, since known as Drake Bay. Whether the ship escaped after being lightened of her cargo or was accompanied by a tender on which the crew escaped is not recorded; but Cermeñon's pilot Bolaños lived to visit the port again with Vizcaino in 1603, and his statement is all there is extant on the voyage. It is not impossible that some additional results of the expedition were intentionally kept secret by the government; at any rate no record has ever come to light in the archives.[20]

After the capture of the *Santa Ana* by Cavendish the urgent necessity of occupying California for the protection of the Manila trade became more than ever apparent to the Spanish government. Not only were measures adopted, as we have seen, for the exploration of the northern coast, resulting in the voyage of the *San Agustin*, but in 1594 Viceroy Velasco, probably by royal instructions, contracted with Sebastian Vizcaino to explore anew and occupy for Spain the Islas Californias. Velasco's successor, the count of Monterey, ratified the contract and despatched the expedition in 1597.[21]

[20] *Torquemada*, i. 717–18; *Ascension, Rel. Breve*, 558; *Cabrera Bueno, Nav. Espec.*, 303. See *Hist. Cal.*, i. 96, this series.

[21] According to *Vizcaino, Relacion del Viaje, 1611–14*, 101–2, Don Sebastian was a son of Viceroy Velasco. Torquemada, followed apparently by all other writers, states that in 1596 the king ordered Viceroy Monterey to send

Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco with three vessels, a large force, and four Franciscan friars.[22] He touched at Salagua, where a part of his men were taken on board, at San Sebastian, and at the Mazatlan isles.[23] At the latter place fifty men deserted, thinking the supplies inadequate; and here also Father Balda turned back, ill and dreading the voyage and prospective exposure.[24] Five days farther up they left the coast and next day sighted California, their land of promise. A little later one hundred men were landed and were well received; but the spot did not seem suited to the requirements of a colony, and the fleet passed on apparently northward to a port named San Sebastian, where a stay of fifteen days[25] was made, and where after deliberation by a junta of officials it was determined to take formal possession of the country. A multitude of aborigines witnessed the hoisting of the Spanish flag, and listened to an artillery salute.

One of the friars was sent with thirty soldiers to explore the interior, finding the people well enough disposed though unwilling that the strangers should enter their dwellings, many of which were observed to be underground. They furnished food and a few pearls, and the rancherías near the camp showed no signs of hostility while the Spaniards remained; but fresh water was not plentiful, and it was deemed best not to settle permanently at San Sebastian. Neither

Vizcaino to California, and that the expedition was made the same year. All the evidence I have to the contrary is a royal cédula of Aug. 2, 1628, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, series ii., iii. 442–3, in which the king states the facts as I have given them, adding that Monterey ordered Vizcaino to fulfil his contract, 'no embargante que en la sustancia y capacidad de su persona, halló algunos inconvenientes.' Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 89–91, tells us without any known authority that Vizcaino had been on the *Santa Ana* captured by Cavendish.

[22] Padres Francisco de Balda (comisario), Diego Perdomo, Bernardino Zamudio, Nicolás de Saravia, and Br. Nicolás (or Cristóbal) Lopez. Salmeron, *Relaciones*, 12–13, says all were Franciscans by royal order. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 311, tells us that both the viceroy and Vizcaino preferred Jesuits, but missionaries of that order were scarce and could not be obtained. A Franciscan *Crónica*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. xlviii.–ix., includes P. Tello, the historian, in the number.

[23] Niel, *Apunt.*, 60, puts Matanchier (Matanchel) in place of Mazatlan.

[24] He was succeeded as comisario by Padre Perdomo, and later by Padre Zamudio.

[25] Torquemada mentions both 15 and 8 days.

the women nor the horses were landed at all, and after some preliminary explorations by one of the vessels, the fleet moved on to a port named from the peaceful character of the natives La Paz, a name it has since retained, being also identical probably with the Santa Cruz of Cortés, since a tradition of former visitors was retained, and even some material relics were found in the shape of iron fragments and traces of an encampment.[26]

Immediately on landing temporary dwellings were built of branches, and a little church, all protected by a rude barricade of trees. The encampment was solemnly proclaimed capital of the new province, and the work of permanent occupation was begun. The natives came in great numbers and were kindly treated by the friars, who succeeded in obtaining many of their children for instruction. The soldiers, as was not unusual in these expeditions, were disliked and feared by the people, whom, and especially the women, they took but little pains to treat with justice. Not much progress was made in the work of conversion, since the time, only two months, was too short to master the language.

The almiranta with her boat was sent up the gulf coast and is said to have advanced nearly one hundred leagues.[27] The explorers landed frequently and were for the most part kindly received, but at a few points were threatened. At one landing about fifty leagues above La Paz[28] arrows were discharged at the Spaniards, who replied with musket-shots, killing two or three natives. The rest fled to the woods and the navigators proceeded to reëmbark, one boat-load

[26] Some suspected that the relics were left by Englishmen. The presence of any Englishman at La Paz before this date is, however, very doubtful, and the same remark may be made respecting all rumors of visits from Piehilingues save those specially noticed in this and the next chapters.

[27] Salmeron tells us that Lope de Argüelles (Quiñones) was in command and that he reached 30°. Niel, *Apunt.*, 77, says he did not go beyond San Bruno and the Coronados Isles.

[28] Navarrete and others imply that the fight was at the highest latitude reached.

going off safely to the ship; but the remaining twenty-four men just as they had entered the boat were attacked by five hundred natives; nineteen of the soldiers perished, the boat having been capsized in the mêlée, while five, badly wounded with arrows or stones, escaped by swimming to the ship, the crew of which for want of a boat had been unable to render any aid.[29] During this northern trip no better country was found than that in the region of La Paz, although some fertile isles, and good ports, and very rich *comederos*, or pearl-beds, were reported. The explorers returned for want of food, and they found Vizcaino and his men also living on short rations. There being no reliable source of food-supply in the country, a junta of officers advised a return to Mexico. Not a few opposed this measure, probably willing to risk hunger in view of the pearl prospects,[30] but before the question was definitely settled there came a norther and a fire which laid the camp in ashes and left barely food enough for the return voyage.[31]

Vizcaino sent the capitana with most of the colony to Acapulco, the vessel touching at Chametla and Colima on the way; while he with a few men set sail in another direction with a view to further discoveries; but he arrived at Acapulco only a few days later than his companions.[32] Thus failed the second at-

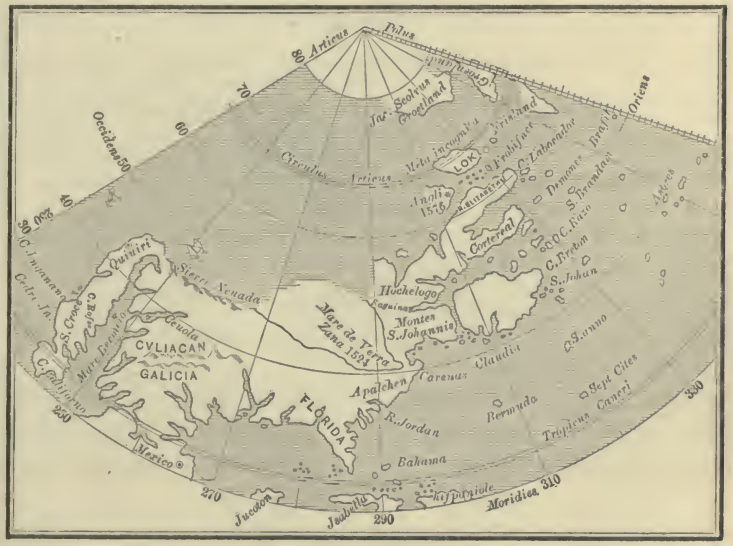
[29] According to *Ortega*, *Relacion*, 438, the Indian attack was caused by the act of one Ginés, who seized a large pearl from the breast of a native girl. He was afterward hanged in Mexico for other crimes.

[30] Padre Zamudio told Salmeron, *Relaciones*, 12–13, that the men secured many pearls until Vizcaino forced them to show their gains that the king's fifth might be separated, after which they refused to search further.

[31] Aparicio, *Conventos*, 284–98, says the Spaniards were forced to evacuate La Paz by the natives, who were rendered hostile by the act elsewhere attributed (see note 29) to the troubles farther north. This author, moreover, adds the charms of romance to his version. It seems that Don Lope, a page of the viceroy, loved Doña Elvira, who at last promised him her hand if he could replace a magnificent pearl she had lost. With this in view Lope joined Vizcaino's expedition, and at last saw the pearl which would bring him happiness in the lip of a chieftain's daughter. Entreaties availed him nothing and he took the treasure by force. By this act California was for the time lost to Spain, but the lover gained his bride, who after the marriage naïvely confessed she had lost no pearl at all!

[32] Taylor, *Hist. Summary*, 23–4, says the return was in October.

tempt to settle the arid peninsula, which, however, lost by this voyage none of its mysterious and attractive attributes; for the reports of great riches in pearls assumed more definite shape than ever before, while the starved-out adventurers still talked of maize in immense quantities a little beyond the limit of their navigation.[33] Thus end the maritime and inland



LOK'S MAP, 1582.

annals of the first century of north-western conquest. It is to be noted that, notwithstanding the frequent use of the term Islas Californias, the country was regarded as a peninsula from the time of Ulloa and Alarcon down to the end of the century and considerably later. Castillo's map of 1541 has been repro-

[33] The standard authority for Vizcaino's voyage is *Torquemada, Mon. Ind.*, i. 682–6. Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex.*, lvii.–x., adds nothing, although he claims to have seen some original papers. Authorities which show some slight variations have been mentioned in preceding notes; those who follow Torquemada, giving his version in full, are: *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 183–9; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, 155–7; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, 488–91; *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 326; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 100–1; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 227; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, series iv., v. 8–9; *Calle, Not.*, 108–9; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, ii. 182–5; *Forster's Hist. Voy.*, 452–3; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 28–9; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 78–80; *Shea's Cath. Miss.*, 88.

duced in an earlier chapter.[34] Michael Lok's map of 1582, reproduced on the next preceding page,[35] connects the peninsula to the main by a narrow isthmus, turning the coast abruptly eastward just above the junction; but the Wytfliet-Ptolemy map of 1597, with

WYTFLIET-PTOLEMY MAP, 1597.

a variety of curious geographical developments, leaves no doubt as to the author's intention to make California a peninsula.[36]

[34] See p. 81 of this volume.
[35] *Hakluyt's Divers Voyages*, 55.
[36] *Wytfliet (Com.) Discriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum.*

CHAPTER VII.

MARITIME EXPLORATIONS.

1601–1636.

VIZCAINO'S SECOND EXPEDITION—OUTER PENINSULA COAST—UP TO LATITUDE 43°—LATER PROJECTS—CALIFORNIA AN ISLAND—INTEREST IN THE NORTH-WEST—VIZCAINO'S THIRD VOYAGE—OÑATE AT THE HEAD OF THE GULF—CARDONA'S CONTRACT AND VOYAGES—JUAN DE ITURBE—PICHILINGUES ON THE COAST—SPILBERG'S CRUISE—MEMORIAL OF PADRE ASCENSION—DUTCH MAP—ARELLANO'S CLAIM—PRIVATE PEARL VOYAGES—MELCHOR DE LEZAMA—PETITION OF BASTAN—VIEWS OF SALMERON—THREE EXPEDITIONS BY FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA—THIRD COLONY AT LA PAZ—ORIGINAL RECORDS—FIRST OF THE JESUITS—ESTÉVAN CARBONEL IN THE GULF—D'AVITY'S MAP.

SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO had failed to found a permanent settlement in California, yet he was deemed the best man to put in command of the new expedition up the outer coast, ordered by the king by cédula of September 27, 1599, the special object being to search the coast for a harbor, where the Manila galleon might anchor and her scurvy-stricken crew find relief.[1] No expense was to be spared in the effort; accordingly more than ordinary care was exercised in the selection of vessels and men. The fleet consisted of two *navíos* obtained from Guatemala, a *fragata* built for the voyage, and a *lancha*. Vizcaino as capitan general sailed on the capitana, *San Diego;* Toribio Gomez de Corvan as admiral on the *Santo Tomás;*[2] while the *Tres*

[1] According to cédula of Aug. 2, 1628, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, series ii., iii. 443, and that of Aug. 19, 1606, in *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 194–4, Vizcaino was strictly forbidden to enter the gulf. Ascension, *Relacion*, 542, says that he had orders to explore the gulf on his return.

[2] The vessels are usually spoken of as the capitana and almiranta, and not a few modern writers have evidently mistaken these terms for their names.

Reyes was under Alférez Martin Aguilar and Pilot Antonio Flores. The force was nearly two hundred picked men, many of whom were skilful sailors, and also soldiers.[3] Three barefooted Carmelites had charge of religious interests, padres Andrés de la Asuncion, Tomás de Aquino, and Antonio de la Ascension,[4] the first serving as *comisario* and the last charged with keeping the diary and serving with Palacios as cosmographer and map-maker. The leader having been directed by the viceroy to consult his officers on all matters of moment, and duly admonished respecting his duties and responsibilities in other directions, left Mexico on March 7th, and sailed from Acapulco under the patronage of Our Lady of Cármen on Sunday May 5, 1602, at 4. P. M.[5]

[3] Other officers were Capt. Álvaro, Estévan Peguero (Pesquero or Piquero), Capt. Gaspar (or Pascual) de Alarcon, Capt. Gerónimo Martin Palacios, cosmographer; alféreces, Juan Francisco Suriano, Sebastian Melendez, and Juan de Acebedo Tejeda; pilots, Francisco Bolaños, Baltasar de Armas, and Juan Pascual; sergeants, Miguel de Legar and Juan de Castillo Bueno; corporals, Estévan Lopez and Francisco Vidal.

[4] Called also Asuncion in his own narrative as printed, but this is probably a typographical error.

[5] The most complete narrative is that given in *Torquemada*, i. 694–726, probably almost identical with the original diary of Ascension. The only printed account in the friar's words is *Ascension, Relacion Breve en que se da noticia del descubrimiento*, etc., in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, viii. 539–74. This is dated Oct. 12, 1620, and was sent to the king in December of the same year. It is an essay on the geography, people, and products of the Californias, written with a view of promoting further attempts, but contains information about the voyage itself. The author says he wrote a complete narrative and made a map, besides a short account for the king. Casanate, *Carta Rel.*, 27, says Ascension wrote three papers on the subject besides one that was printed. Navarrete found in the archives certified copies of the following original papers: Record of the councils held during the voyage; a circumstantial diary; an itinerary made in 1602 by Palacios, approved by pilots and by Ascension (doubtless the one sent from Monterey), and 32 maps of the coast explored. Considering his advantages this writer, *Sutil y Mex.*, introd., lx.–lxviii., gives an account which is hardly satisfactory, containing some errors, and very far from being complete; but he has published a reduction of the charts, Atlas No. 4, which Burney has reproduced and which I give herewith. Salmeron, *Relaciones*, 14–21, was personally acquainted with Ascension and with others of Vizcaino's companions. In his cédula of Aug. 2, 1628, *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., iii. 443, the king gives some points connected with the voyage, and speaks of Vizcaino's letter from Monterey dated Dec. 28, 1602. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 193–201, gives a royal order of Aug. 19, 1606, which contains original information. And finally Cabrera Bueno, in his *Navegacion Especulativa, Manila*, 1734, 302–13, has a *Derrota desde el Cabo de Mendocino hasta el puerto de Acapulco por la Costa*, which contains the results of this expedition.

The above are the original authorities; the following accounts, more or

Explorations were to begin at the point of California, and the fleet anchored June 11th in the port of San Bernabé,[6] or Puerto del Cabo. Here began the marvels inseparable from northern voyages. A miraculous lighting-up of the air saved them from wreck off the cape in a dense fog; the natives, pleased to see a negro on board, said they were accustomed to intercourse with people of that race; the country was most fertile, the climate all that could be desired, and indications of wealth were abundant. It is remarkable what charms the sterile peninsula had in these times for all save such as were called upon to settle there. The devil, to adopt the chronicler's opinion, was averse to the Spaniards' departure, involving as it did the invasion of his northern realms; but after three vain attempts, a fourth was more successful, and the long-boat having been abandoned, the three vessels set sail on the 5th of July.

The outer coast of the peninsula having been already explored by Ulloa and Cabrillo, and the separation of Vizcaino's vessels during a greater part of the voyage causing no little confusion, I refer the student of geographical details to a note and to Vizcaino's map which accompanies this narrative.[7] A few well

less extensive, were taken from Torquemada, either directly or through Venegas or his followers, a few writers having also consulted Navarrete: *March y Labores, Marina Española*, ii. 491–506; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, iii. 22–139; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, 157–9; *Espinosa*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, v. 429–46; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 238–9; *Cal. Estab. y Proy.*, 9–10; *Navarrete, Viajes Apóc.*, 45; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist.*, 326–7; *Taylor's Hist. Summary*, 24–7; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, ii. 236–59; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 100, etc., 328; *Humboldt, Ess. Pol.*, 330; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 44–6; *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 63; *Forster's Hist. Voy.*, 452–3; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 29–36; *Frignet, La Cal.*, 13; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 80–1; *Lardner's Hist. Mar. Discov.*, ii. 285–6; *Cronise's Nat. Wealth*, 6–9; *Bartlett's Pers. Narr.*, ii. 88, 98–100; *Shea's Cath. Miss.*, 88; *Walpole's Four Years*, ii. 212; *Robinson's Life Cal.*, 2; *Amer. Quart. Reg.*, ii. 150; *Cal. Past, Present*, etc., 53–4; *Campbell's Span. Amer.*, 84; *Farnham's Life Cal.*, 127–48; *Sammlung der Reise*, xvii. 159.

[6] So named from the day. On the way they had stopped for repairs at Natividad May 19th–22d, sighted Cape Corrientes May 29th, passed Mazatlan June 2d, and arrived off C. San Lúcas June 9th. Taylor, *Hist. Summary*, 24–5, makes the arrival at S. Bernabé June 14th.

[7] The points are given as nearly in the order in which they were visited as possible, according to Torquemada's text. The names italicized do not appear on the map:

Cape San Lúcas.

VIZCAINO'S MAP, 1603.

known points may be identified; but the imperfections of the best modern charts, frequent changes and consequent confusion in names, and the vagueness of Torquemada's text render futile any attempt at geographical exactitude.

In doubling the cape the fragata was separated from her companions and was forced back to San Bernabé;

Sierra del Enfado (14 l. S. E. ¼ E. from B. Mariñas in 23°. *Cabrera Bueno*).

B. Engañosa de Sta Marina, the southern entrance to Magdalena B. (24°. *Cabrera Bueno.*)

B. de Magdelena, also called Puerto de Santiago and Puerto del Marqués (25°. *Cabrera Bueno*. The Pt Trinidad of Ulloa and Cabrillo was on the island that forms this bay. *Navarrete*. Ulloa's San Abad. *Burney*). Named Magdalena by Cabrillo, and also by Vizcaino from the day of arrival.

B. de San Cristóbal at the mouth of a river (Taylor notes that there are three winter streams N. of Magdalena).

B. de Ballenas, a part of Magdalena according to map, but not apparently according to text (near Abreojos in 27° 15'? *Cabrera Bueno*).

Sierra de los Siete Infantes

Isla de la Asuncion (Cabrillo's Santa Ana. *Navarrete*. A few leagues below Turtle B. *Taylor*. 28° scant. *Cabrera Bueno.*) Possibly the Inocentes of Castillo's map.

Isla de San Roque.

Puerto de San Bartolomé, just below Cedros Isl. (12 leagues from Natividad? in 28° 30'. *Cabrera Bueno*. Cabrillo's San Pedro Víncula. *Navarrete*).

Isla de Natividad, Cabrillo's and perhaps Ulloa's San Estévan (6 l. S. E. of C. San Agustin. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Isla de Cerros, the Cedros of Ulloa and Cabrillo (middle of isl. in 29°. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Cape San Agustin on Cerros Isl.

B. San Hipólito (San Francisco near Rosario. *Taylor*).

Ensenada de San Cosme y San Damian. (San Quintin. *Taylor*. Opposite San Bruno. *Niel, Apunt.*, 76.)

Mesas de San Cipriano (M. de Juan Gomez. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Punta del Engaño, so called by Ulloa and Cabrillo. (Cape Colnett. *Taylor*. Navarrete identifies Cabrillo's Pt Engaño with the cabo bajo of Vizcaino's map.)

Isla de Cenizas (31° 20' 4 l. S. E. ¼ S. of S. Marcos. *Cabrera Bueno*).

B. de San Francisco, still so called (at foot of and S. E. of Mesas de Juan Gomez. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Isla de San Gerónimo, Cabrillo's San Bernardo and still so called (31° 30' S. E. ¼ S. from Virgin Bay. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Isla de Pájaros.

B. de Once Mil Vírgenes (Cabrille's Puerto de Posesion. *Navarrete*. 31° 40' 3 l. from San Marcos. *Cabrera Bueno*).

Isla de San Hilario (30°. *Niel*. Navarrete and Cabrera Bueno both mention Isla de San Marcos here).

B. de San Simon y Judas (San Jude, near Mission San Vicente. *Taylor*. S. Quintin. *Cabrera Bueno*).

B. de Todos Santos (Cabrillo's San Mateo. *Navarrete*. S. E. ¼ S. from S. Martin, 32°. *Cabrera Bueno*). Still called Todos Santos.

Islas Coronadas, Islas Desiertas of Cabrillo. (San Martin, called by San Blas Exped. Coronados. *Sutil y Mex.*, app., 14–15. S. Martin 6 l. from San Diego. *Cabrera Bueno.*)

San Diego. Cabrillo's San Miguel.

but she rejoined the capitana at Magdalena Bay late in July, the almiranta having in her turn parted from her consort at the entrance of that bay on July 20th, and the whole fleet not being reunited until August 31st at Cerros Island,[8] which the *Santo Tomás* had reached as early as the 19th. Farther north a furious storm caused imminent risk of shipwreck, especially to the almiranta; but all obstacles were overcome; on November 5th the fleet entered Todos Santos Bay; and five days later anchored in the port of San Diego, formerly called San Miguel.

The voyage had been a long and tedious one, but beyond the petty details incident to such navigation there is nothing that calls for special notice. The natives were for the most part shy and kept aloof; but their signal-smokes were often seen in the mountains. At Cerros Island they refused all intercourse with the Spaniards; at San Simon Bay they were hostile, discharged their arrows, and received in return a volley which killed several; but at Virgin Bay they were exceedingly hospitable and spoke of other bearded men armed with muskets then in the interior, referring as the voyagers supposed to Oñate's men in New Mexico. An abundance of "ill-smelling bitumen," doubtless asphaltum, was thought to be amber; and so far as could be determined by a Peruvian miner on board, the sierras seen at a distance seemed rich in gold and silver!

The rest of this voyage, as in the case of Cabrillo's earlier navigation of the same waters, belongs in its minor particulars of geography and adventure to the history of Alta California.[9] Only its main features as a voyage to the north-west claim attention at present. The fleet left San Diego November 20th, several men having already died and many being unfit for duty from the effects of scurvy. Touching at Santa

[8] Navarrete incorrectly states that the almiranta joined the capitana at Magdalena Bay July 25th.

[9] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. 97 et seq.; *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 146 et seq. for full details of the northern voyage.

Catalina Island, and passing through the Santa Bárbara Channel, so named at the time, the navigators sighted the Santa Lucía range on December 14th at a point where it had often been seen by the Manila ships before; and on the 16th they anchored in Monterey Bay. From this port the almiranta was sent back to Acapulco under Corvan, bearing the sick, with reports and appeals for aid. The other ships went on at the beginning of 1603. Vizcaino entered Cermeñon's San Francisco, and the vessels did not meet again in the north. Both advanced, however, beyond Cape Mendocino, and each reached a Cape Blanco located in latitude 42° and 43° respectively. Aguilar thought he saw a great river near that point. They turned back in rough weather in the middle of January.

The *Santo Tomás* from Monterey lost twenty-five men from scurvy on the voyage to Acapulco, only Captain Corvan and two companions landing in health. The *San Diego* reached Mazatlan in February. Had no relief been obtained here all must have perished; but the general with five men who could walk started inland with a hope of reaching San Sebastian de Chametla, supposed to be about eight leagues distant. He was so fortunate as to strike the Culiacan trail and to meet a mule-train whose arrieros took him to the presence of Captain Martin Ruiz de Aguirre, alcalde mayor of the province, who at once sent relief to the afflicted in the way of fresh food, vegetables, fruits, and especially the *jocohuitztles* to which above all else they attributed their cure. A courier having been sent overland to Mexico, the travellers set sail March 9th, and on the twenty-first arrived safely at Acapulco. Aguilar and Flores of the *Tres Reyes* died on the southern trip, but Corporal Estévan Lopez with four men arrived at Navidad while Vizcaino was at Mazatlan. The total of deaths on all the vessels was forty-eight.

With the exception of having discovered Monterey

Bay, represented as a good harbor and well adapted to the needs of the galleons, Vizcaino had in reality as a discoverer accomplished less than Cabrillo sixty years before; but the results of his expedition, unlike those of Cabrillo's, were preserved and made known to the world through the writings of Torquemada and Cabrera Bueno. The general features of the coast from San Lúcas to Mendocino were now tolerably well known; and the knowledge thus gained had to suffice for a century and a half.

It is worthy of notice that Vizcaino's voyage, notwithstanding the careful survey of the outer coast, instead of dispelling the popular fallacies of imaginary northern geography, had rather the contrary tendency. Torquemada contents himself with expressing the opinion in general terms that the mouth of Aguilar's river was at the entrance of the strait leading to the North Sea; but Padre Ascension, both in his written narratives and memorials, and especially in his conversation with officials and friars after his return, spoke of the existence and location of the strait as facts no longer susceptible of doubt; and not only this, but he stated that the gulf of California was in reality a strait which opened into the Pacific at or near the mouth of the Anian Strait in 43°, thus making of the Californias an immense island. These statements had much to do with the long-lasting idea of California's insular character, and they also serve in connection with reports of pearl-fisheries to explain why subsequent explorations were directed so exclusively to the gulf, while the outer coast was neglected.

From Vizcaino's return down to the permanent occupation of the peninsula, ninety-four years later, the subject was kept almost constantly before the viceroy, audiencia, and the court, by a succession of memorials either offered voluntarily or in response to calls of the government for information by men who were theoretically or practically acquainted with what had already

been done. Friars worked for the extension of their fields of missionary labor, with a view to increase the influence and wealth of their respective orders; and they never allowed the authorities to forget the thousands of natives awaiting spiritual aid, the superiority of the northern tribes, and the civilized peoples to be found a little farther on. Navigators, hungry for fame and adventures, dwelt on the importance to every royal interest of an accurate survey, and of precautions against foreign schemes; being uniformly willing to sacrifice their own to the nation's interests, and to take command of a new expedition. Traders and seekers for pearls and precious metals were enthusiastic respecting the grand discoveries and grander reports of northern wealth, and the prospective glories of Spanish commerce; and they too were entirely willing to undertake explorations, simply asking license to pay expenses by pearl-diving on the way.

Thus all the classes mentioned, and others with individual interests more or less clearly defined, urged their own views; but each class warmly approved the views of all the rest, and all devoted a very large part of their memorials to the fables and vagaries of the Northern Mystery. To these cosmographical fancies a future chapter will be devoted; statements of the memorialists respecting what had already been accomplished in the direction of their aspirations are but versions, often inaccurate and always incomplete, of the narratives already before the reader, in the preparation of which narratives they have been utilized; and finally the several propositions in their real and practical aspects are to be noticed in the following pages, together with the expeditions that resulted from them.

Vizcaino's share in the promotion of northern enterprises is not well known. We are told that he retained his faith in the practicability of settling the Californias, and applied to the viceroy for license to undertake a new entrada. The viceroy refusing to grant

his petition unless supported by royal sanction, the general went to Spain and urged his schemes at court. The royal council, bearing in mind past failures and timid about incurring expense, delayed its approval so long on the plea of making additional investigations, that the navigator came back disheartened to Mexico. In 1606, however, the consejo and royal cosmographer arrived at their tardy conclusion, and on the 19th of August were issued the king's orders to Viceroy Montesclaros and to Pedro de Acuña, governor of the Philippines, by the terms of which Vizcaino, if alive and to be found, or if not his admiral, was to be put in command of a new expedition.

The leader and pilots were to sail on the galleon of 1607 and to approach Monterey from the west for additional survey, while the port was to be settled and made a station for the Manila ships in 1608, also by a voyage from the west.[10] Don Sebastian was easily found, and was disposed to accept the trust, but the generally accepted version has been that, for some unknown reason, perhaps connected with the viceroy's death in 1607, the king's orders were not carried out, most writers also adding that Vizcaino died before the preparations were completed. All this, however, is erroneous. Vizcaino actually sailed from Acapulco in March 1611 on the *San Francisco*. But meanwhile reports of certain "Islas Ricas de Oro y Plata" in the far west seem to have rendered the occupation of the north-west coast for the time a secondary consideration; and the general went as ambassador to Japan to seek license for further explorations in that region. Probably it was still intended to take steps on his return for the occupation of Monterey; but his experience in Japan was so disastrous, the complicated details having no bearing on the present

[10] Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 191–201, gives the cédula in full. Extracts also in *Frignet, La Cal.*, 14–18. The date is given as 1609 in *Cal. Estab. y Prog.*, 9–10, but Montesclaros was not viceroy in that year. See also *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 159–60.

subject, that Vizcaino was obliged in poor health to give up all his projects and to return as a passenger on his own ship in 1613. The return was by the usual northern route, the California coast was sighted in December, and finally the *San Francisco* arrived at Zacatula in January 1614. This seems to have been the end of Vizcaino's career as an explorer.[11]

It may be well to note in passing, that in 1605 Governor Oñate, with a party from New Mexico, came down the Colorado and reached the head of the gulf as elsewhere narrated.[12] His observations and reports obtained by him from the natives seemed to favor the theory of a strait from gulf to ocean. It was in 1609 that Maldonado set forth his views already noted.[13] They were not more absurd than than those entertained by others at the time; but while others aired their theories, he described what he falsely claimed to have seen. His statements created no sensation. A few were well acquainted with the man's character; and to others it seemed not a very great achievement to sail through a strait, the existence of which was so well known.

About 1610 a contract seems to have been formed between the king and Captain Tomás Cardona, by which the latter undertook certain naval, exploring, and pearl-seeking operations both in the Atlantic and Pacific. Work was begun in 1613, and Captain Tomás with his nephew Nicolás Cardona as second in command, cruised for a year in the Leeward Isles and on the coast of Tierra Firme. Francisco Basilio had been

[11] *Vizcaino, Relacion del Viage hecho para el descubrimiento de las islas llamadas Ricas de Oro y Plata, 1611–14.* In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 101–99. The royal cédula of 1628, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 443, is made to say that Vizcaino visited Spain in 1613. This must be a misprint, but Cardona, *Memorial*, 46, says that Sebastian Vizcaino commanded at Salagua in 1616, when the place was attacked by Dutch pirates, and that he, the writer, served under him.

[12] See *Hist. New Mex. and Ariz.*, this series.

[13] See p. 144 of this volume.

in charge of the enterprise in the Pacific, but he died, and Nicolás Cardona was sent in 1614 to take command jointly with Juan de Iturbe and Sergeant Pedro Álvarez de Rosales. Three ships were built at Acapulco. The *pichilingues*, or foreign pirates, were, however, reported to be on the coast, and an attack on Acapulco was feared, so that Cardona with his men was obliged to aid in preparations for defence, although no pirates appeared.

March 21, 1615, the three vessels with a long-boat sailed, bearing at least thirty soldiers and many negro divers. Crossing from Mazatlan they landed two Franciscan friars, set up a cross, and went through the forms of taking possession in California. From this indeterminate point they followed the coast to 27°, landing at several places, noting rich mineral prospects, sometimes avoided but generally well received by the natives. At the landing in 27°—the same where Vizcaino had been, as proved by five Christian skulls and the fragments of a boat[14]—Cardona with thirty divers was attacked by six hundred natives, and himself wounded, but the warriors fled when two mastiffs were set upon them, and came back next day in peace to hear mass.

At 30° the vessels crossed over to a large island on the eastern shore, or "contra costa de Florida," where the adventurers remained three days, noted a small island with many seals, heard "a noise on the main as of dogs guarding stock," and then advanced, still on the eastern side, up to what was deemed 34°. At this point, where was a shallow port named Santa Clara, California seemed to be a peninsula; but on crossing to the western shore the strait was seen that made it an island. Rich mines were found on both sides in this latitude. The weather being stormy and food scarce, the voyagers turned southward, following the "Florida coast." Touching on the way at the

[14] See p. 150 of this volume.

Mayo River in 28°, where was a Jesuit establishment under Padre Pedro Mendez, Cardona's soldiers were utilized by the padre to terrify certain Indians who, a few months before, had killed and eaten his companion.

Iturbe remained with two vessels at Sinaloa—or as one narrative says, returned thither from Mazatlan—to winter and prepare for a new pearl-voyage; while Cardona with the capitana and boat proceeded toward Acapulco, but at Zacatula fell in with the pichilingues under Spilberg, who took the vessel, crew, padres, and pearls, only the captain and a few soldiers escaping by jumping into the sea. The preceding are Cardona's own statements, almost the only original ones extant bearing directly on the voyage.[15]

Other authorities do not mention Nicolás Cardona at all, although Ribas and Ortega tell us that Iturbe was agent for Tomás Cardona of Seville.[16] The best known version of the affair is that Iturbe with a license from the viceroy fitted out two vessels at his own expense. One of them was captured by pichilingues before he reached the gulf; but in the other he went up to 30°, where the shores were observed to approach nearer to each other. North-westers and scarcity of food forced him to return, and his wants were relieved on the way by Padre Ribas at the Ahome Mission, at the mouth of what is now the Rio Fuerte. He next touched at the Rio de Sinaloa, where he was aided by Captain Hurdaide, alcalde of San Felipe, but was ordered to sea to protect the Manila galleon, and this service—also attributed by

[15] *Cardona, Relacion del descubrimiento del reino de la California*, in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, ix. 30–42. This is a memorial of the class I have alluded to, addressed to the viceroy about 1617, in which more space and attention are devoted to the country and its prospects, and the writer's services and misfortunes, than to the voyage itself. *Cardona, Memorial al Rey*, in *Id.*, 42–57, is a similar document presented in 1633 or a little later. The two narratives are not alike, one reciting events not mentioned in the other, yet in no instance contradictory.

[16] *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 159–62, followed by *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 77–8, and *Ortega, Relacion de la Entrada*, 437–40. The last very nearly agrees with Cardona's account.

Cardona to his almiranta—performed, he went to Acapulco and to Mexico with his pearls, most of them spoiled by roasting, but many valuable, and one worth forty-five hundred pesos.[17]

It remains to notice briefly in this connection the voyage of George Spilberg and his pichilingues. This Dutch freebooter, having passed through the Strait of Magellan in April 1615, and having ravaged the coast of South America much after the fashion of Drake and Cavendish, anchored October 10th before Acapulco, and under a truce with the governor exchanged his Spanish prisoners for provisions. Leaving Acapulco on the 18th for the north-west the Dutchman captured on the 26th a small pearl ship from California, doubtless Cardona's capitana. She carried six guns, and yielded only after a fight, part of the Spaniards escaping, but two friars and a number of soldiers remaining as captives. Spilberg subsequently had a battle with the Spaniards at Salagua, a name applied to the bay of Santiago, or to a part of it, in which several were killed on both sides.[18] From Navidad he sailed No-

[17] There are, however, some minor differences among the writers who give substantially this version. Iturbe's presence on the Sinaloa coast is noted in the Jesuit *Anua* of 1616. *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 569. See *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 202–4, with ref. to Acension's *Relaciones*; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 161; *Cal. Estab. y Prog.*, 10; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist.*, 327; *Esteva*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, x. 674. Navarrete, in *Sutil y Mex.*, lxix.–x., followed by Taylor, *Hist. Summary*, 27, makes the date 1616, and the latitude reached 33°, but this probably means nothing more than that it was at the head of the gulf. Ribas, *Hist. Triumphos*, 159–62, implies that Iturbe's ships came from abroad into the Pacific. He says the voyage up the gulf was in the spring of 1615; gives some particulars of Iturbe's arrival at Ahome; states that when he went after the pirates he took with him Capt. Suarez and some soldiers; and finally that before going to Acapulco he returned, built another vessel, and made a new voyage for pearls, going up to 32.° Ortega, *Relacion*, 437–40, agreeing with Cardona in many points, says that Iturbe had two ships, 18 negro divers, and 50 soldiers and sailors; that he visited La Paz; that near the head of the gulf the negroes refused to dive and the men mutinied; that the larger vessel came down to Salagua and was taken by pirates, the men escaping in boats; that Iturbe remained in Sinaloa with the long-boat after his ship was sent to the Philippines, and made another pearl voyage; and finally that although only 14 marks of pearls were registered, yet, he, the writer, saw large quantities in the hands of persons named.

[18] Cardona, *Mem.*, 46, says Sebastian Vizcaino was in command at Salagua, was aided by himself, and that five Dutchmen were captured and sent to Mexico. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 272–3, names Vizcaino, calls the corsairs English, the prisoners seven, and the date 1617.

vember 20th, intending to watch off Cape San Lúcas for the Manila ship; but the winds were unfavorable, and at the beginning of December he left the coast at Cape Corrientes and steered for the East Indies.[19]

Thus Cardona's narrative is corroborated, save in the precise date in the autumn of 1615 when his vessel was taken, by excellent authority, as is the other account by Ribas. Some errors are evident in each version, but the differences are irreconcilable and the exact truth out of reach. Cardona relates that after the return of Iturbe's vessel from seeking the galleon, he repaired her at great expense; but the viceroy seized her for a trip to the Philippines, and the captain was thus ruined. He, however, went to Spain, formed new contracts, obtained more money, and subsequently made extensive preparations at Panamá for another expedition to the gulf; but being delayed to aid in that town's defence, he was too late for the season; his capitana sprang a leak; two vessels were burned at Chiriquiri; another was wrecked at Tehuantepec. After setting about the building of two more vessels, he was summoned to Habana, and thence went to Spain in 1623.

It was in 1620 that Antonio de la Ascension, at the Carmelite convent of San Sebastian in Mexico, wrote his memorial on northern topics already referred to in connection with Vizcaino's voyage. In it he gave his views on the best methods to insure a permanent occupation of the Californias. Two hundred soldiers, also skilled as mariners, under virtuous captains and a general of Christian principles, and under the guidance of barefoot Carmelites, should, he thought, found the first pueblo to be defended by a fort at San Bernabé as the most accessible site. From this nucleus the conquest would extend up the outer coast to San

[19] *Nicola, Newe und Warkaffte Rel.*, 17–38; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, i. 20–6; *Gottfriedt, N. Welt*, 472–5; (*Boss*), *Leben der See-Helden*, 393–402. Purchas says the pearl-ship was on her way to California.

Diego and Monterey by land on account of the winds, but on the gulf coasts by water. On the main near the mouth of the Rio del Tizon a station was perhaps needed for the benefit of the New Mexican enterprise, with a view also to the acquisition of the Seven Cities; and opposite in California there should be another station. Of course the kingdom of Anian across the strait was not to be neglected, offering as it did a broad enlargement of God's domain and that of Spain. Pearl-diving, mining, and the working of the *salinas* being encouraged, the royal *quintas* would doubtless pay all outlay and perhaps leave a surplus with which new colonists might be sent over. Kindness must be the Indian policy, and no encomiendas or repartimientos were on any plea permissible. The whole scheme being thus practicable and easy, the good friar "knows not what security the king finds for his conscience in delaying the conversion of the Californians."[20]

This document was forwarded to the king on December 21st of the same year by Francisco Ramirez de Arellano, who sent with it papers setting forth his qualifications and past services, and asked that the new conquest be intrusted to him. He seems to have preferred a like request some three months earlier. Arellano was, however, poor and could offer but his person and earnest zeal to serve his sovereign; perhaps it was for that reason that no attention, so far as appears, was given to his proposal.[21]

From this time California began to be commonly regarded as an island. Lok's map of 1582, as we have seen, had connected it to the main by a very narrow isthmus; Ascension's theories from 1603 tended to favor an eastern turn of the coast and a northern outlet to the gulf; Oñate's reports of 1604 were still

[20] *Ascension, Relacion*, 560–74. The author alludes to another treatise written by him 'on the mode of preaching to the pagans;' and Casanate, *Memorial*, 27, says the same friar sent three different *informes* to the king besides one that was printed.

[21] *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 537–8; *Id.*, vi. 564–6. One copy makes the date Sept. 21st.

more positive; Cardona in 1615 believed himself to have reached a latitude of 34° in the gulf, and openly declared his belief in the insular theory; and now a rumor became current that certain adventurers in

Dutch Map, 1624–5.

1620 had sailed through the passage. From this time for more than a century most maps followed this idea, but not all. I reproduce here a Dutch map of 1624–5 from Purchas.

That there were pearl voyages undertaken during this and later periods by private individuals, of which no record has been preserved, if any was ever made, is not unlikely. On account, however, of the difficulty of obtaining vessels and of fitting them out in secret, such private voyages could not have been very numerous until the Sinaloa coast was more thickly peopled, and small boats were found to suffice under favorable circumstances for crossing the gulf waters. At any rate we hear of no new efforts in this direction until 1627, when the contador Melchor de Lezama, with the viceroy's permission, attempting to build a vessel in the region of the modern San Blas; but on account of mosquitoes and other inconveniences he abandoned the scheme and returned to Mexico, leaving his men in the lurch.[22] Next year Captain Antonio Bastan went to Spain and applied for a royal license to undertake the conquest at his own cost; and the consejo went so far as to refer the matter on August 2d to the vice-regal authorities for further investigation.[23]

About the same time Padre Gerónimo Zárate de Salmeron wrote his *Relaciones*, intended to awaken new interest in northern enterprises. Although professing to write of New Mexico, where he had served as missionary, he still included all that was known and much that was only conjectured of all the north, including California. His only practical suggestion, however, respecting that province was that the entrada should be made with small vessels inside the gulf rather than with large ones outside.[24]

When Lezama, as already related, abandoned his men on the Jalisco coast, Francisco de Ortega, probably one of the company, took up the enterprise on his

[22] *Ortega, Relacion*, 440–1. The locality named was the mouth of the Toluca river in 22°—probably the Tololotlan or Santiago.

[23] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 205; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 442–5.

[24] *Salmeron, Relaciones*, passim.

own account, and, making but slow progress by reason of his poverty, completed and fitted out the *Madre Luisa de la Ascension* of seventy tons in 1631 at a cost of 12,000 pesos, and came to Mexico to apply for a license. Having received the king's order of August 1628 asking for information, and being assured that Ortega proposed to pay his own expenses, Viceroy Cerralvo readily granted the desired permission, which included authority to trade for pearls on condition that no violence be done to the natives. With a captain's commission, and instructions to acquire all possible information about the country,[25] Ortega returned to the coast at the end of the year.

It took yet three months to put the new craft in sailing condition; but finally, after a formal inspection by the alcalde mayor of Acaponeta, the expedition sailed from San Pedro, at the mouth of the river of that name,[26] on February 27, 1632. The priest Diego de Nava was sent by the bishop of Guadalajara to say mass; Estévan Carbonel de Valenzuela was master with nine sailors; Alférez de Castro Tenorio commanded six soldiers; and there were three servants. Twice the *Madre Luisa* was obliged to return to San Pedro for repairs, but made her final departure the 20th of March. She took in supplies at San Juan de Mazatlan from the 1st to the 26th of April; crossed over from Culiacan the 1st of May; and on the 4th touched the peninsula opposite Cerralvo Island. Two days were spent here, and twelve at a large bay above, supposed to be San Bernabé in 24°. Landings were frequent for religious and exploring purposes, the natives showing no hostility. The 10th of June Ortega entered the bay of Sacramento, supposed to be identical with La Paz, and in the following days made an examination of Espíritu Santo and Salina islands,

[25] The viceroy's license and instructions are given under date of Nov. 22, 1631, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iii. 445–8; also repeated several times in the MSS. to be noticed presently.

[26] She had been built at the mouth of the Toluca, or Tololotlan; and had lain for a while at Matanchel.

naming ports Gato, San Francisco, and Espíritu Santo. Subsequently he continued his voyage up the coast to latitude 27°, discovering and naming many rich pearl-beds; but on June 24th the vessel was driven by the wind across to the port of Babachilato near the mouth of the Sinaloa River. Here on July 3d a detailed narrative of the trip was sworn to by the officers and men; and the possession of this original narrative I was fortunate enough to secure.[27]

Nava was sent to Mexico with the report, carrying also a quantity of pearls for the king. Meanwhile preparations were made for a new voyage; but orders came to send the ship under Carbonel on a trip to warn the Manila galleon of danger. This service completed, new preparations were made at Mazatlan, where at different dates from April to August 1633, various legal formalities were attended to by the alcalde mayor Juan de Arriaran. Then the *Madre Luisa* sailed the 8th of September and on October 7th arrived at La Paz.[28] The natives were most friendly and pearls plentiful; therefore twenty-eight men were left here under Diego de Cañedo, with Brother Juan de Zúñiga to say mass, while Ortega, Nava, and the sailors sailed northward. An island named San Ildefonso was the limit of the voyage,[29] from which, after the discovery of rich comederos of pearls, the commander returned in less than a month to La Paz. Here the natives were boasting of their christianity, and it was learned that Zúñiga had baptized one

[27] *Ortega, Primera Demarcacion de las Islas Californias, hecho por mí el Capitan, etc., 1632,* MS., fol. 10 l. This is an original certified copy made in Mexico Nov. 22, 1636. It includes not only the sworn account of July 3, 1632, but the viceroy's license, and a full record of the inspection at San Pedro before starting, with a full list of the company. The printed account *Ortega, Relacion de la Entrada,* 449–53, is a brief résumé from the same source.

[28] The route was, Cerralvo Island, Port San Miguel, La Paz, Espíritu Santo Island, San Francisco Javier Bay, San Ignacio Loyola Bay, San Pedro Bay, and La Paz.

[29] The islands named are: San Simon y Júdas, San José, Las Ánimas, San Diego, Santa Cruz, Alcatraces, San Cárlos Borromeo, Nra Sra de Monserrate, Nra Sra del Cármen, 29°, Pitahayas, Coronados, San Ildefonso, and on the return Nra Sra del Rosario.

hundred of them, an act not approved by either Ortega or Nava. After the erection of a fort the *Madre Luisa* was sent over to Sinaloa with despatches and to bring supplies.

All was couleur de rose with the little colony for a time. King Bacari and his son Prince Conichi were among the earliest and hungriest converts, baptized as Don Pedro and Don Juan respectively. Early in December, Conichi, while on a fishing expedition, was killed, with his wife, son, and thirty companions, by the hostile Guaicuri. The Spaniards took an active part in the burial, and as all Bacari's subjects from far and near assembled to witness the ceremonies, an excellent chance was afforded to establish the most friendly relations. After this all of the nation deemed themselves under the especial protection of the Spaniards, of God, and of the guns on the fort. They were docile, submitting to chastisement for offences, free from idolatry, content each with one wife, manifesting real affection for their children "and for their food"—in fact model converts.

Thus successful at La Paz, Ortega wished to extend his operations, and in February 1634 started westward with Nava and twenty soldiers, leaving Hernando Ortega in command, and intending to reach the Pacific and to make friends of the Guaicuri. King Bacari approved the expedition, but had, it seems, his own views in connection with it; for no sooner had Ortega reached the Guaicuri country, than the king joined him with two hundred warriors, and insisted on attacking his foes, slaying a large number of them, despite the Spaniards, who could only save a few children and baptize some of the wounded. Ortega immediately returned to La Paz, where the natives celebrated the victory and were thereafter more ardent friends of the Spaniards than ever. On the 8th of April 1634, soon after the events just noted, a detailed account of all that had been done was prepared and sworn to by Ortega and sixteen of his

companions. This original document as before is my authority.[30]

Nothing more is known of this La Paz settlement or of the circumstances under which it was soon abandoned. The authorities, other than the one I have followed, give but a bare outline of Ortega's two trips, and tell us that the settlement was abandoned for want of food.[31] It is very likely that even pearls and affable natives may have lost some of their charms both to the secular and ecclesiastical branches of the enterprise when there was no longer anything to eat; but it must also be remembered that Ortega's purpose at this time was exploration rather than permanent colonization. It is remarkable, however, that nothing is known of his operations for more than a year. It is said that he made some efforts to have the presidio of Acaponeta transferred to California, and also to obtain funds for a renewal of his enterprise; but without the original record writers have hitherto known nothing of his third survey.

In January 1636 Ortega appears at the port of Santa Catalina de Sinaloa, refitting the *Madre Luisa* for a continuation of his explorations. Cosme Lorenzo was now his sailing-master; Roque de Vega, a Jesuit, his chaplain; and Gabriel Figueroa the clerk. His force was about a dozen men. The *visita*, or inspection, was made by Captain Francisco Bustamante of the San Felipe presidio; and the vessel sailed on the

[30] *Ortega, Descripcion y Demarcacion de las Yslas Californias, sondas y catas de los comederos de Perlas que ay en d'has Yslas, hecho por mi el Capitan Francisco de Ortega, etc.*, MS., 9 l. This is the certified original record of Oct. 11, 1636. The title is meant to apply to the three expeditions. It contains not only the sworn statement of April 8, 1634, but the viceroy's instructions and the documents connected with the inspection at Mazatlan in April–August 1633. The latter documents and an abridged narrative, more complete than that of the first voyage, are given in *Ortega, Relacion*, 452–71.

[31] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 205–7; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 162–3; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 10; *Calle, Not.*, 109–10; *Payno*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 200; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist.*, 327; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 81; *Taylor's Hist. Summary*, 27–8. Taylor calls the priest's name Nuna. Otondo, according to *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits*, i. 419, found in a cave near La Paz the wreck of Ortega's vessel, or what was supposed to be such. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 95, mentions Vicuña in connection with the voyage.

11th of January. Three days later the explorers anchored in a bay formerly called Playa Honda, four leagues below La Paz. A terrible storm lasting eleven days drove the ship on the shore a complete wreck. The men escaped to land on a fragment of the wreck; and enough of the church utensils floated miraculously to enable Father Vega to say mass regularly. A boat was made from pieces of the wreck and such new timber as could be found, and the 27th of February the adventurers set sail and went to La Paz. Here they found fort, church, and everything as they had been left in the former visit. The natives wished them to remain, which was of course impracticable, and after Vega had baptized a few dying Californians, the boat sailed on the 10th of March. In this frail craft Ortega in about two months explored the gulf up to what he deemed latitude 36° 30′,[32] but what was in reality perhaps 29° 45′. Then adverse winds prevented further progress and drove the boat southward. On the 15th of May they anchored at Santa Catalina; where next day a sworn statement of the voyage with many details, especially of pearl-deposits found, was made and duly witnessed.[33] Nothing more is known of Ortega as an explorer.

It is stated also that Estévan Carbonel, Ortega's former pilot, secured a license in some underhanded way and made a trip to the gulf in 1536. He had a theory that Ortega had failed because of the sterility of La Paz; and that there were fertile sites to the north where a colony must prosper. Of his voyage

[32] The route was: Cerralvo Isl.; San Ildefonso, March 20; Tortugas Isl. and Port San Andrés, 33° 15′, March 22d; B. San Juan, 34°; Pt Caiman, 34° 45′, April 4th; San Sebastian Isl., 40 leagues in circumference, 36° scant, April 14th; Pt Buen Viaje, 35° 30′, May 4th. If we suppose S. Ildefonso and Tortugas to be the islands still so named, S. Sebastian was probably one of the two large islands, Tiburon or Angel de la Guarda, and Pt Buen Viaje may have been Cabo Final.

[33] *Ortega, Copia de la Demarcacion que yo el Capitan... salgo á hacer de este puerto de Santa Catalina Provincia de Sinaloa á las Yslas Californias, 1636*, MS., 6 l. Similar in character to the accounts of the first and second survey. As I have said this part of the expedition has been entirely unknown.

we only know that he failed to find the place sought and returned to Mexico in disgrace, perhaps as a prisoner, not a little comforted nevertheless by the possession of certain pearls he had collected. In his scheme Carbonel was aided by Francisco de Vergara, who also obtained a license, and is said to have worked in the interest of a French company.[34] I annex a

D'Avity's Map, 1637.

map of 1637 from D'Avity's cosmographical work of that year, to show that not all even yet accepted the insular theory, or rather it shows that the author simply followed old models long out of fashion.

[34] *Navarrete, Viajes Apóc.*, 221–4; *Cardona, Memorial*, 28; see also references in note 31. Carbonel's license bore date of Dec. 1, 1635; and Vergara's, transferred to Francisco Carbonel, that of Jan. 16, 1636. *Californias, Descubrimiento*, MS. In his royal cédula of Feb. 20, 1638, it is stated that when it was known that Vergara had sold his license to the Frenchmen, a confiscation of his property was ordered by the king. *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 61.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPLORATIONS TO THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA.

1636–1769.

PORTER Y CASANATE AND BOTELLO Y SERRANO—MEMORIALS AND CONTRACTS —PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF FONTE—CESTIN DE CAÑAS—CASANATE'S EFFORTS AND MISFORTUNES—TWO TRIPS TO CALIFORNIA—PIÑADERO'S PEARL-FISHING EXPEDITION—LUCENILLA IN THE GULF—ROYAL ENTHUSIASM—A NEW CONTRACT—SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA BY OTONDO AND THE JESUITS—FOURTH FAILURE AT LA PAZ—COLONY AT SAN BRUNO—BUCCANEERS AND PRIVATEERS—SWAN AND TOWNLEY—DAMPIER—WOODES ROGERS, COURTNEY, AND COOKE—VICTORY AND DEFEAT—FRONDAC'S VOYAGE—SHELVOCKE AT THE CAPE—ANSON'S VOYAGE.

IN 1635 Captain Pedro Porter y Casanate, an experienced naval officer, was authorized by Viceroy Cerralvo to make a survey of South Sea coasts with a view to the preparation of accurate charts for the council of Indies; but when about to sail from Acapulco, his ship was seized through the influence apparently of parties interested in the Vergara and Carbonel schemes.[1] But he persevered in his enterprise; and in 1636 renewed his offer to undertake the work of northern exploration. On September 17th of the same year, in connection with Captain Alonso Botello y Serrano, he presented an elaborate report intended to show how little was really known of the north-west, notwithstanding too many rumors and theories afloat; and to urge the importance of putting an end to the prevalent uncertainty. It was a more sensible view of the matter than was generally offered

[1] Royal order of Feb. 20, 1638, in *Baja Cal., Cedulas*, MS., 61; *Navarrete*, introd., lxxi.–iii. It is said that Casanate had printed in 1634 an account of former services.

in memorials on the Northern Mystery.[2] Offering to undertake the enterprise at their own cost a license was granted by the viceroy under date of September 23d.[3] It was also about this time that Cardona returned from Spain and presented his memorial, giving his views, dwelling on his own past losses and misfortunes, and offering for the service his person and the money of his friends.[4] Probably there were other applicants attracted by the recent reports of pearls in the gulf.

Thus in 1636 there were four persons who had licenses for Californian exploration, Ortega, Carbonel, Vergara, and Casanate. From this state of things trouble was sure to result. Ortega desired to continue his expeditions and protested against other licenses being granted in view of what he had actually accomplished. The matter was brought before the authorities in Mexico, and the original *expediente,* or transcript of record in the case, has furnished my authority for Ortega's voyages, as it gives me also authority for the final settlement.[5] The decision, contained in a decree of Viceroy Cadereita of November 11, 1636, was to the effect that Ortega's last expedition had been made without legal authority, since Cerralvo's license had expired with that viceroy's term of office; and that all the other licenses should be considered as revoked, pending new investigations and royal orders. Casanate was thus obliged to suspend preparations on which he and his friends had expended some eighteen thousand pesos. On his way to Spain with complaints he was captured by Dutch pirates and kept a prisoner for six

[2] *Botello y Serrano,* and *Porter y Casanate, Declaracion que hicieron de las conveniencias que seguiran de descubrir como se comunica por la California el Mar del Sur con el del N. 1636.* See *Hist. Northwest Coast,* i. 107, this series.

[3] *Californias, Descubrimiento.* MS.

[4] *Cardona, Memorial,* 40–7.

[5] *Californias, Descubrimiento,* MS., 28 l. This contains the royal regulations on discoveries of July 13, 1573, bearing among others the autograph signature of F. Antonio de la Ascension; a report of Alvarez Serrano, fiscal of the audiencia, dated Oct. 30th; a decree of the audiencia dated Nov. 11th; and the final order of the viceroy of the same date.

months in 1637; but after his escape he obtained the royal order, which I have already cited under date of February 20, 1638, requiring haste on the part of the viceroy in forwarding papers and reaching a definite settlement. Meanwhile, with a view to secure or hasten the royal approval, a new memorial was prepared and presented, perhaps in 1638. In it the author amplified all the points previously urged and exerted all his ingenuity to suggest new ones.[6] In this document he eulogizes in the most enthusiastic and exaggerated terms California, its people, and its products; its mineral, commercial, and spiritual wealth, which can be lost to Spain only by the most inexcusable negligence. All statistics of gold, silver, pearls, coral, amber, and salt which were accessible in the archives as supplemented by a lively imagination were laid before the king. The need of a harbor for the relief of the galleons; the ease with which the voyage may be made from Sinaloa; the lessened cost of forwarding supplies to New Mexico by way of the gulf; the impulse to be given to the Culiacan trade; the geographical enigmas to be solved; the rumors of grand cities, of golden lakes, of mighty rivers, of giants, of white men, to be verified; facilitated intercourse with Anian, Japan, Tartary, and China; the necessity of precautions against foreigners; the avarice and incompetence of former navigators; all are elaborated in a series of twenty-seven articles, resting on the authority of all who have made expeditions to California.[7]

The arguments employed were sufficiently forcible to convince the king, and in 1640 Casanate received the requisite commission with the exclusive right to navi-

[6] *Casanate, Memorial del Almirante D. Pedro Porter Casanate al Rey, recomendando una nueva espedicion á la California, etc.*, in *Pacheco, Col. Doc.*, ix. 19–29. The original was a printed document in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[7] Besides those already referred to in connection with different voyages, there are named the following who have expressed their views: Capt. Juan Lopez de Vicuña, Gonzalo de Francia, Capt. Alonso Ortiz de Sandoval, Sebastian Gutierrez, and several Mexican officials. It must not be supposed that all these made separate voyages to California. Perhaps all were simply companions of the leaders that had been removed.

gate the gulf.[8] No limit of time was fixed, and the admiral was detained for several years in Spain on other service.

It was in 1640 that Bartolomé de Fonte, admiral of New Spain and Peru, made his famous voyage to the north, starting from Callao on April 3d, according to the narrative first made public in 1708.[9] He had four ships, but one of them, the *Santa Lucía* under Diego de Peñalosa, was detached to explore the gulf, while the admiral went on up to the Rio de los Reyes in 53°. Above this point the continent seems to have been a complicated net-work of islands, straits, lakes, and rivers, where the navigators had but to choose a route, and where they continued their explorations in ships or boats from June to September. They did not pass through into the Atlantic; in fact none of the channels they tried would permit such a passage to ships; but pressing on in boats they met a Boston ship from the other side. They reached a latitude as high as 86°, and they had on board Jesuits who had previously established missions as high as 66°!

In all the voluminous discussions on the authenticity of this narrative there never was produced the slightest evidence in its favor. It rested entirely on the prevalent ignorance of northern geography, notwithstanding which ignorance the best writers pronounced it a fabrication. The expedition demands no further consideration in a chapter of historical annals; the narrative like that of Maldonado's achievements will receive elsewhere some notice as a bibliographical curiosity.[10]

[8] License dated Aug. 8th. Casanate also received the order of Santiago, and space for eight tons of private merchandise. *Calle, Mem. y Not. Sac.*, 110–12; *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 65.

[9] *Fonte, Letter from Admiral*, in *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*, Lond., 1708.

[10] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 115 et seq., this series. There are some slight indications in the use of Peñalosa's name and a scrap of evidence given by Navarrete that the London perpetrator of the hoax may have based it remotely on a Spanish original.

Viceroy Escalona in 1642 ordered Luis Cestin de Cañas, spoken of as governor of Sinaloa, but really comandante of the presidio, to cross over and explore California. He sailed from Babachilato in July, passed the port of San Ignacio, noted a farallon some twenty leagues from the latter port, and landed at the port, or island, of San José. From this point he explored the Californian shore for forty leagues to La Paz, and then returned, the voyage having taken but a month. Cañas was accompanied by Padre Jacinto Cortés, the second Jesuit, not the first as has been supposed, to visit the land his order was destined to occupy. There was nothing of the marvellous in the reports brought back either to viceroy or provincial. The natives were well disposed, some pearls were obtained, but the country was sterile and altogether unpromising.[11]

In 1643 Porter y Casanate was ordered to fulfil his contract in the New World.[12] With some men and families he left Cádiz in June and arrived at Vera Cruz in August, setting to work with zeal and much success to gain friends, money, and recruits, greatly aided by the ecclesiastical authorities who desired the salvation of Californian souls. At the end of November Alonso Gonzalez Barriga was sent with a force of sailors and carpenters to build two vessels on the coast of Nueva Galicia, one fragata, the *Rosario*, having been previously chartered. The intention was to sail the next spring.

[11] A letter of Padre Cortés in *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 441–2, seems to be the original of all that is known of this voyage. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 209–11, says the cause of this voyage was the loss of the journals and maps of preceding ones. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 236–7, states that the results caused Escalona to advocate in Spain the conquest of California. Lorenzana, *Cortés, Hist.*, 327, says that Cortés founded the mission of San José, evidently confounding this with a later expedition. Clavigero, *Stor. Cal.*, i. 163–4, and Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 12, make the date 1640, and the latter calls the leader Luis Cestiños. See also *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 19; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 102; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, iv. 357; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 28; *Shea's Cath. Miss.*, 89.

[12] The leading authority from this point is *Casanate, Carta Relacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 5–18, which is a fragment of a private letter to a friend narrating the course of events down to May 1644, the whole having extended down to June 24, 1649.

Now came news that the pichilingues were ravaging the coast of Chile, and would soon come north to lie in wait for the Manila galleon. To warn and protect the galleon there was no craft available but the *Rosario* which lay at the mouth of the Rio de San Pedro. Casanate therefore hastened to the coast in December, with the cosmographer Perez de Soto and the chaplain Luna, to fit out the fragata for a cruise of three months under Barriga. She passed out over the bar on January 3, 1644, took ballast at Matanchel,[13] and sailed on the 9th by way of Mazatlan and the Rio Navito to Cape San Lúcas, where she anchored on the 25th probably in San Bernabé Bay. Sentinels were posted on the hills to watch for the galleon, for whose benefit signals of smoke or fire were constantly displayed; but she passed without seeing or being seen, and passed unmolested to Acapulco.[14] Barriga also made a short trip of five days up the outer coast. Like other visitors to the peninsula, he found friendly natives greatly in fear of the Guaicuri, a few pearls, and what were thought to be good mineral prospects. The return was from the 21st to the 25th of February to the mouth of the Rio Santiago. The chaplain arrived in Mexico only fourteen days after having said mass in California.

After despatching the *Rosario* Casanate located his dock-yard with all his stores in six leagues up the Rio Santiago, or Tololotlan, in a spot deemed secure from pichilingues, but exposed to bats and mosquitoes and floods, where he built dwellings and warehouses, set his men to felling timber for the vessels, and returned to Mexico. Soon after Padre Luna's arrival with the notice of Barriga's return, there came news that certain men had run away from the ship-yard with a boat and such valuables as they could carry. A little later came the more serious tidings that vessels, tim-

[13] Navarrete says she sailed from Sintiquipac (Centipac), an unknown port, and was forced into Matanchel by the weather.

[14] Several writers state that Casanate convoyed the galleon to Acapulco.

ber, stores, and everything at the Santiago station had been burned on April 24th. A Portuguese, jealous of Casanate's exclusive privileges, was the instigator of the deed, himself instigated, as the admiral piously exclaims, by Satan. From the devil's opposition, however, Casanate argued his fear and the danger of his realms, and was therefore not discouraged though his losses were twenty thousand pesos. He renewed his preparations and by a third memorial tried unsuccessfully to get the appointment of comandante of Sinaloa as a means of facilitating the conquest of the contra costa.[15]

Meanwhile the king on October 11, 1645, had sent his thanks through the viceroy for the zeal displayed by Casanate; and after hearing of the latter's misfortune he sent orders November 10, 1647, that every possible aid and encouragement should be afforded for a resumption of the enterprise. With a letter from Sinaloa dated April 13, 1649, Casanate sent a narrative of his voyage which I have not been able to find; announced his intention of continuing his efforts the following summer; and asked for the office of alcalde mayor of Sinaloa. The king's reply of August 6, 1650, was a recommendation that the explorer's schemes should still be favored and his demands granted if there was no serious objection; but he also desired an explanation of the long delays, reminding Casanate that his license was not unlimited in respect of time. This is the last definite record I find on the subject. Respecting the unfortunate admiral's voyage and subsequent operations, we are told by Venegas, Alegre, and others that he finally succeeded in completing two vessels on the Sinaloa coast,[16] and with

[15] Here ends the fragment of Casanate's letter. Navarrete says he obtained the desired comandancia with orders to the viceroy to aid his scheme, but that the orders were not carried out. *Introd. Sutil y Mex.*, lxxiv.–v. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 328–30, implies that the burning was the result of carelessness rather than malice. Calle, *Mem. y Not. Sac.*, 110–12, says that Casanate notified the king of his misfortune in letters of Feb. 20th, 25th, and 26, 1625, and that the king's order for his relief was dated April 11th.

[16] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 328–30, copied also in *Dicc. Univ.*, viii.

them made a trip to California in 1648, accompanied by the Jesuit friars, Jacinto Cortés and Andrés Baez, originally named by the provincial for the service. After seeking in vain on the peninsula coast a suitable site for their colony the voyagers returned, the vessels were perhaps ordered again to act as convoys to the Manila ship, and the enterprise was thus finally abandoned.[17]

After a blank of nearly twenty years in maritime annals, two vessels were built at Valle de Banderas, and in them Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero undertook the reduction of California under a commission from Felipe IV. Once in the gulf, however, he gave his exclusive attention to the search for pearls, cruelly ill-treating the natives, who were forced to serve as divers, and thus well nigh destroying the favorable impression left by some of the earlier Spaniards. The harvest of pearls is said to have been rich, and in dividing the spoil the adventurers quarrelled, with some loss of life. Piñadero was not well received in Mexico, but was nevertheless required to repeat his voyage in fulfilment of his contract, as he did in 1667 with two new vessels built at Chacala, without any practical results that are known.[18]

The voyage of Captain Francisco Lucenilla y Torres was made in 1668. Two Franciscan friars, Juan Caballero y Carranco and Juan Bautista Ramirez, accompanied the expedition, besides a chaplain who did not cross the gulf. The two vessels sailed on May

633–4, is very enthusiastic over Casanate's pure life and pious example during his stay in Sinaloa. He showed the greatest respect for the padres, aided in decorating the streets for processions, and washed the feet of the poor.

[17] Royal orders of Oct. 11, 1645, Nov. 10, 1647, and Aug. 6, 1650, in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 63–6. See also *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 162, 750; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 33; *Cortés, Hist.*, 327–8; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, 164–5; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 10–11; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 102; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 28.

[18] Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, i. 216–7, seems to be the original authority, referring, however, to a MS., by Padre Kino. Others follow Venegas in a mere mention of the voyage: *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 437–8; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, ii.; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 47–8; *Navarrete, Sutil y Mex.*, lxxxiv.; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 28; *Payno* in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 200; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 136–7; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 394.

1st from Chacala, and on the 13th touched at Mazatlan. Crossing over a few days later they touched at La Paz, Port San Bernabé, and one or two other points, finding the natives well disposed; but as the country seemed barren and inhospitable Lucenilla decided to return, or possibly was driven to the main in a storm. At any rate the usual sworn statement of the trip was dated the 4th of July. The license seems to have required a settlement in California; but there are indications that Lucenilla's real aim was pearl-fishing.[19]

It is probable that several unrecorded expeditions in quest of pearls were made in these years. The government required each would-be conqueror to fit out his fleet at his own cost, and imposed such conditions in connection with settlement, survey, and treatment of natives that the venture was deemed risky notwithstanding the rich comederos. It was safer to make private unauthorized trips in smaller vessels.

Piñadero's misdeeds in connection with his California trips depend mainly upon the statement of Venegas, whose authority was Father Kino. Perhaps they were exaggerated, as there was trouble between the navigator and the Jesuits. At any rate they were not made public for several years. Down to 1678 Piñadero considered his contract still in force, and continued his efforts to carry out his schemes of

[19] The most definite account is that in *Robles, Diario*, 61–2. The same writer, 109, says this attempt of the Franciscans to obtain the Californias was one of the causes of a reprimand from Spain to the commissary in 1671. Lorenzana, in *Cortés, Hist.*, 328, followed by Payno in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 200, attributes the failure to the opposition of the Jesuits. Clavigero, *Stor. Cal.*, i. 165–6, pronounces this a calumny, as there were no Jesuits in California at the time; but Lorenzana probably did not refer to Jesuits in California. Clavigero gives scarcity of food as the cause of failure. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 48, adds the barrenness of the coast. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 49–50, says the efforts of the friars were counteracted by the avarice of the Spaniards. The padres passed from the Yaqui to Nayarit. Niel, *Apunt.*, 70, says Lucenilla explored from Concepcion B. to Cerralvo Island. Taylor, *Hist. Summary*, 28–9, calls the name Lucinella; and Gleeson, *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 82–3, Luzanvilla. See also *Navarrete, Introd.*, lxxxiv.; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 11; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 750–1; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 95; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 413; *Vetancvrt, Chrón. Stº Evan.*, 117.

conquest, professing at different times to have vessels in readiness. In 1671 he petitioned for the comandancia of Sinaloa for a series of years, and for authority to found two Jesuit missions, one on the peninsula and the other on the main, using for that purpose the funds bequeathed to the company by Alonso Fernandez de la Torre. The king looked favorably on the proposition; but the Jesuit provincial reported that the Torre estate was in litigation and not likely to yield funds for the proposed missions, though the company would gladly furnish missionaries; and some officials doubted the practicability of effecting the permanent occupation of the peninsula by private enterprise. The king, however, manifested increasing interest in the matter; ordered the viceroy to make new investigations; and insisted that a contract should be made, if not with Piñadero, then with some other responsible man, the expense to be borne if possible by the contractor, but otherwise by the royal treasury. In the investigations that followed in Mexico it was decided by the audiencia not only that Piñadero's demands were excessive and his sureties insufficient, but that he deserved punishment for past irregularities that had now come to light. But the project was kept in view, and under the new financial conditions it was not difficult to find an empresario to undertake the conquest of California at government expense. Late in 1678 a contract was made with Isidro Otondo y Antillon, receiving the royal approval at the end of 1679. Details of the contract are not extant, but Otondo was not burdened with a large part of the cost.[20]

[20] The best authority on these transactions is a series of four royal orders, dated Nov. 11, 1674, May 20, 1676, June 18, 1676, and Dec. 29, 1679, with frequent allusions to other documents in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 67–75. See also *Montemayor Sumarios*, 2, for a cédula of Feb. 26, 1677; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 218 et seq.; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 41–57, repeated in *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 278–81; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 167–74. Some of the best authorities call the empresario Atondo; but the probabilities seem to favor the other form. Niel, *Apunt.*, 20, calls him Hondo. Burney, *Chron. Hist.*, iv. 345–50, followed by Taylor, says he was governor of Sinaloa.

A fleet of three vessels was fitted out at Chacala on the Sinaloa coast. It was expected to be ready in the autumn of 1681; but delays were caused by the necessity of transporting many needed supplies from Mexico and Vera Cruz.[21] The Jesuits were intrusted with the spiritual conquest, and the provincial named for the duty, fathers Eusebio Kino, Juan Bautista Copart, and Pedro Matías Goñi, the first being superior and also cosmógrafo mayor. Goñi did not go to California, however, at first, and Father José Guijosa of the order of San Juan de Dios seems to have made the trip in his stead.[22]

The *Limpia Concepcion*, capitana, and the *San José y San Francisco Javier*, almiranta, with about one hundred men under captains Francisco Pereda y Arce, and Blas de Guzman y Córdoba, and Alférez Martin de Verástegui, sailed from Chacala on January 18, 1683.[23] A sloop was to follow with supplies, and did start, but never joined the fleet nor reached California. Winds were at first contrary, and Otondo was forced to touch February 9th at Mazatlan, and March 18th at the mouth of the Sinaloa. But finally he crossed over from San Ignacio and sighted Cerralvo Island after one night's voyage. After three days they were able to approach the coast, which they followed northwestward for some eight leagues, and on March 30th entered the bay of La Paz,[24] where they anchored on

[21] King's Letters of Aug. 15th and Dec. 31, 1681, in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 75–8.

[22] According to Alegre, iii. 27–8, a secular chaplain for the expedition had been appointed in 1681 by the bishop of Durango, but at the request of the Jesuits this act was overruled by the government. P. Goñi's name is also written Gogni, Gony, and Coqui. It is not unlikely that Gogni was the original name. Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 103, adds Salvatierra!

[23] Royal communications of June 16, 1683, and March 28, 1684, in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 78–9. Several authorities make the date Jan. 18th; and Venegas, followed by several, March 18th.

[24] *Otondo, Nouvelle Descente des Espagnols dans l'Isle de Californie*, at the end of *Voyages de l'Empereur de la Chine*, 81–110. This was doubtless the first published account of the voyage, having been taken from Otondo's letters and printed in 1685. *Otondo, Relation d'une Descente des Espagnols dans la Californie en 1683. Traduite de Castillan*, in *Voiages au Nord*, iii. 288–300, is the same narrative; and the same appears in substance in *Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits*, i. 408–20.

the 1st of April, landed next day, and on the 5th set up the holy cross, and the royal standard saluted by a volley of musketry, while all the company shouted Viva Cárlos II.! The province was named Santísima Trinidad de las Californias, and the locality Nuestra Señora de La Paz, the document of possession being signed by the officers and padres before Diego de Salas, the royal escribano.[25]

No natives had been seen, and this fact, considered in connection with former hospitality, seemed strange, and even suggested doubts as to the identity of La Paz, about whose exact latitude authorities differed. The bay was, however, the veritable La Paz; neither had the people, as was feared, been annihilated by the fierce Guaicuri; but the acts of pearl-seekers had cooled the native friendship for Spaniards and made the harbor no longer the Bay of Peace. Still the site was deemed favorable, being well watered, and here the camp was fortified. The natives began to appear in small numbers and in hostile attitude, expressing by gestures their wish to be rid of the intruders. Trivial particulars of the process by which very gradually the good will of the natives was gained through appeals to their palates are given at considerable length, and with a few unimportant discrepancies in Otondo's version and that of the friars,[26] but require no extended notice here. The inhabitants soon became so friendly as to come freely to the camp, to accept gifts, and even to steal such articles as struck their fancy; but it does not appear that they returned as a tribe to the shores of the bay. Wholesome fear was promoted by a public test of the musket as compared with the bow; a church and cabins were built; the friars, after putting

[25] The document is given in full in *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 43–5, and from it the dates are taken, differing slightly from those given by other authorities. Otondo, *Nouvelle Descente*, states that possession was taken April 1st. Kino, *Diario*, 440, afterward speaks of March 25th as the anniversary of the arrival in California.

[26] As represented by Venegas. Otondo naturally exaggerates, as the padres underrate, the hostile movements of the Indians.

themselves in communication with the natives, devoted themselves to the acquisition of the language; and, all going smoothly, the *Concepcion* was sent over to Rio Yaqui for supplies.[27]

Two expeditions were made for short distances into the interior, the first south-west to the home of the Guaicuri, hostile to the end, and the second eastward to the territory of the Coras, a gentle but very avaricious people. On June 6th the former people appeared in arms before the fort at La Paz, bent on carrying out their oft-repeated threats to drive out the Spaniards; but the admiral sallied out and scattered the assailants with shouts and wild gestures causing much terror but no bloodshed. Peace reigned nominally for a time, but later a mulatto ship-boy ran away and the Guaicuri were charged by the Coras with his murder. Their chief was therefore imprisoned, notwithstanding the entreaties, protests, and threats of his subjects, who in their fury planned a general attack for July 1st and invited the Coras to join them, but were betrayed by that politic people, who desired nothing more than the defeat of their foes. Extra precautions were taken, and at the first appearance of the hostile band, ten or twelve of their number were killed by a volley from the *pedrero* and the rest fled in terror.[28]

This act of Otondo, like many later ones, was not approved by the Jesuits, and subsequent misfortunes were looked upon as a retribution. The soldiers, who before the attack had shown a spirit of timidity almost amounting to cowardice, now became more panic-stricken than ever, insisting that the whole country would be aroused to fall upon and destroy them, and tearfully praying the admiral to take them away even

[27] Here, with a vague allusion to explorations inland, which may or may not be those referred to by the padres, Otondo's narrative, the *Nouvelle Descente*, ends abruptly, giving no information about subsequent troubles.

[28] In Salvatierra's report to the viceroy of May 25, 1705, it is stated that Otondo killed some Guaicuri while eating boiled maize at a feast to which they had been invited. *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 155.

if it were only to land them on a desert island. The remonstrances of officers and padres availed nothing; supplies were becoming scarce from the non-arrival of the vessels; and on July 14th the settlement was abandoned. The *Concepcion* was met near the mouth of the gulf, and the two vessels crossed together to the main.

Otondo refitted his vessels in Sinaloa, largely at his own expense it is said, and recrossed the gulf a few months later, arriving on October 6, 1683, at a bay north of La Paz,[29] which from the day was named San Bruno. Here a site was chosen for the camp somewhat less than a league from the shore, where there was a supply of not very good water, in a sterile country. A fort, church, and the required dwellings were built with the aid of the natives, who were friendly from the first, and were willing to work or to learn the doctrina for a small daily allowance of *pozole*. Ten days after landing the *San José* sailed with despatches for the viceroy, reporting progress and asking for men and money. A little later the *Concepcion* made a trip to the Yaqui and returned November 20th with food and some live-stock, including goats, horses, and mules.

The San Bruno settlement was kept up about two years, the admiral and his men occupying the time in protecting the camp and in exploring the country, while the padres devoted themselves to conciliating the natives, learning their language, and the usual routine of missionary duty. Padre Kino in his diary[30] details most conscientiously the—to us—petty occurrences of each day, and a more uneventful record

[29] Possibly Ensenada de San Juan about 15 l. north of Loreto. Taylor, *Hist. Sum.*, 29–30, incorrectly identifies it with Loreto. On Aug. 3d, news had reached Mexico of the former safe arrival in California. *Robles, Diario*, 381.

[30] *Kino, Tercera Entrada (de los Jesuitas en California)*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. tom. i. 408–68, although evidently but a fragment of the original, is a complete diary of events at San Bruno from Dec. 21, 1683, to May 8, 1684. Venegas refers to a MS. *Historia de Sonora* by Kino, referring perhaps to the letters embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*. Alegre also refers to Kino's journal for some dates not included in the diary as printed.

it would be hard to imagine. Prominent events were the first rain on January 5th, a frost, and a temblor; also the gathering and eating of the first corn, beans, and melons of California production. The stocks were continually brought into play to punish runaway servants or thieving Californians. Difficulties of the latter class usually resulted in a withdrawal from camp of all the Edues or Didius, according to the nationality of the unlucky culprit; and on such occasions there was great terror among the Spaniards, who, as we have seen, were conquistadores of a very mild type. But all these troubles terminated uniformly in the return of the penitent and hungry prodigals to prayers and pozole. In all their doings the were mere children, crying to sleep in the same room with the padre, sorrowful because the painted virgin would not give them her baby to hold, begging for a ride on the padre's mule, delighted with the movements of a rubber ball, and filled with wonder at the coming to life of half-drowned flies, by the aid of which the friars explained the resurrection.

There were, moreover, industrial agitations in those primitive days, and on divers occasions the conflicting claims of capital and labor had to be conciliated by concessions—a handful of maize was added to a week's rations. The food distributed was for the most part from the stores given by the missionaries across the gulf, and on one occasion the padres refused to distribute gifts of clothing offered by Otondo in the king's name. They were often displeased at what they termed the admiral's needless severity; but for an officer in those days to please the missionaries was almost impossible. He must be a mere machine for the preservation of order, an object of terror, like a pedrero, feared but not loved by the natives, completely under the control of the padres, and to be conciliated only through their influence. Then we read of the weather, and of the day when the sickness of the *tortillera* cut off the supply of tortillas for the

officers; of minor expeditions to neighboring rancherías, to the shore for fish, or to a distant spring for water needed by the sick; of the falling of the cross on the shore of the bay, and of the day when one of the padres found it necessary to take physic. On the whole the missionaries were content with the country, their progress, and the prospects. Four hundred converts were ready for baptism, but only to the dying was the rite administered, for the danger of having to abandon the country was foreseen.

Of the many trips into the interior, or up and down the coast for short distances, we have no information that seems of any geographical importance. One attempt was made to reach the South Sea, but the roughness of the country and scarcity of food prevented success. Kino also speaks of two expeditions to the south in search of the bay of San Dionisio and of the Danzantes, both of which were seen from a distance.[31] The admiral with his men was very much less pleased with the prospect than were the Jesuits. Their exploration had revealed but a rough and sterile country, with no mines, poor water, an unhealthy climate, and unreliable, inefficient, though gentle, inhabitants. There was some suffering from want of food and from sickness, before the *San José* arrived on August 10th, bringing Padre Copart, twenty soldiers, fresh supplies, and eleven months' pay for the whole force. Kino, a little later, went over to the Sonora coast,[32] and his absence doubtless accounts for our limited information about subsequent events.

Copart and Goñi continued their labors with great zeal, but the Spaniards became daily more and more disgusted with a land that promised neither fortune

[31] *Kino, Tercera Entrada*, 411. The same writer describes a trip made by him with Alférez Nicolás Contreras and eight men to the N. and N. W., in which some names of localities perhaps merit a record—3 leagues along, or over, the Sierra Giganta to S. Isidro, 3 l. to San Pablo, 6 l. N. to Rio de Sto Tomás, up the river W. and S. W. to the summit of the sierra, 6 l. in the valley of S. Fabiano in the Didiu country, ranchería of S. Nicolás, and return by a different route to S. Bruno. This journey was made in December 1683.

[32] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 56.

nor pleasure. Fate seems to have opposed the Jesuits, for the season was unusually dry even for this arid country. Otondo finally despatched the *Concepcion* to the north with orders to find, if possible, a better site, while he in the *San José*, after carrying the sick to Sinaloa, sailed to make a more thorough search for pearl comederos. Before his departure, however, the question of remaining at San Bruno had been discussed in a general junta, and the conflicting views of the two parties were put in writing and sent to the viceroy.

In September 1685 the viceroy's reply was received by Otondo at San Ignacio. Its purport was that no additional settlements were to be formed, though the establishment at San Bruno must be sustained if possible until a more suitable site could be found; but the capitana had returned without having been able to find such a site; the survey of the almiranta for pearls had been equally unsuccessful; provisions failed again, and Otondo had to transfer his whole company to Matanchel, probably at the end of 1685. Here he received the order, so familiar to west-coast voyagers of the period, and perhaps not altogether unwelcome in this case, to escort the pichilingue-threatened galleon;[33] one more was added to the list of failures to conquer California, a failure which in this instance cost the government 225,400 pesos.[34] Subsequently, during the same or the next year, although the government refused pecuniary aid to Lucenilla, who was disposed to renew his attempts, yet it retained confidence in Otondo, and ordered an advance payment of

[33] Dec. 18, 1685, news reached Mexico from Acapulco that the China ship had arrived on the 14th in company with Otondo's two vessels, which had joined her on Nov. 28th. *Robles, Diario*, 442–3.

[34] See also on Ortega's operations in addition to preceding references: *Navarrete, Sutil y Mex.*, lxxxiv.–v.; *Cortés, Hist.*, 328; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 63; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 11–12; *Lassepas, B. Cal.*, 165; *Vetancvrt, Chron. Sto Evan.*, 117–18; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 103; *Gordon's Hist. Mex.*, 92; *Doyle's Hist. Pious Fund*, 2; *Forbes' Cal.*, 12–13; *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, 23–31; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 350; iv. 547; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 12; *Alvarez, Estudios*, iii. 282–7; *Winterbotham's Hist. Geog.*, iv. 109; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 83–4; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 37–40.

30,000 pesos for a new voyage under that leader. On account of the Tarahumara revolt, however, and other pressing needs for money, the payment was never made.[35]

In 1685 two vessels under Swan and Townley, separating themselves from the fleet of freebooters in southern waters, came north for a plundering cruise, the main purpose being as usual to capture the Manila galleon. Their varied experiences and disasters between Acapulco and Jalisco were not within the territorial limits of this volume, and have been elsewhere noted.[36] In January 1686, however, Captain Swan sailed northward from Banderas Valley and his ship reached a point just above Mazatlan, the exploration being continued in boats farther north in search of Culiacan, which was not reached. Swan turned about at the beginning of February to meet with fresh disasters in the south, losing fifty men at the Rio Tololotlan. After this discouragement to British enterprise, the ship sailed for Cape San Lúcas but was driven back by the winds after passing the Mazatlan Islands; and at the end of March sailed from Cape Corrientes for the East Indies. William Dampier, historian of the expedition, does not quit the coast without having his say about Californian geography and the strait of Anian. I reproduce his map of this region, and add in a note some geographical items from his text.[37]

Venegas, followed by later writers, barely mentions a voyage to the gulf undertaken at his own expense in 1694 by Francisco de Itamarra, who it seems had been one of Otondo's companions. He accomplished

[35] *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 12; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 238–9; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 60; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 175–6; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 30–1; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, iv. 350–1.

[36] See *Hist. Mex.*, iii., this series.

[37] *Dampier's New Voyage round the World*, i. 237–78. See also *Hist. Northwest Coast*, i. 112, this series. He puts C. Corrientes in 20° 28′. The northern point of Valle de Banderas is called Pt Pontique in 20° 50′. Two

nothing beyond ascertaining that the natives of San Bruno had not forgotten the taste of pozole, and were clamorous for conversion.[33] This was the last expedition of the century save those by which the actual occupation of the peninsula was effected, and which with subsequent explorations of the gulf will be included in the annals of Baja California and Sonora in future chapters. Private individuals it must be supposed continued to despatch small craft from the contra costa manned chiefly by Yaqui crews to seek pearls, often with profitable results; but it was now well understood that more formal and extensive expeditions including in their plan the settlement of the country could not be undertaken except at a serious loss.

There were, however, several foreign expeditions into these waters during the first half of the eighteenth century, which require brief mention in connection with this subject, and which may be more

small barren isles 1 l. west called Isle of Pontique (Las Marietas); Isl. of Chametly, 6 small isles in 23° 10′ and 3 l. from main. (There are no such isles off Chametla; by the map they must be the Mazatlan group.) Six or seven l. N. N. W. from Chametly Isles, in 23° 30′, is the mouth of a lake which runs about 12 l. parallel with the coast, and is called Rio de Sal. Landing at the N. E. of this lake they marched to Massaclan. (The lake must be that at the mouths of the Cañas and San Pedro, but this does not agree with either text or map.) Rosario, on a river of same name, whose mouth is in 22° 51′, having near its mouth a hill called Caput Cavalli. (This would seem to be Rio Chametla, and Rosario has preserved its name.) Rio Oleta, eastward of Rio Rosario, but not found (San Pedro or Cañas); Rio St Iago in 22° 15′; Santa Pecaque, 5 l. up the river and four hours' march from the bank; Santiago 3 l. off, and Compostela 21 l.

DAMPIER'S MAP, 1699.

[33] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 239–40; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 81; *Clavigero, Stor., Cal.*, 176; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 13.

conveniently noticed here than elsewhere: those of Dampier, Rogers, Frondac, Shelvocke, and Anson.

Captain William Dampier, a companion of Swan eighteen years before, in 1704 entered northern waters

HARRIS' MAP, 1705.

on the *St George* with sixty-four men. On the Colima coast in November and December he took several prizes, one of them a bark from California carrying a few pearls. On December 6th Dampier sighted and attacked the Manila galleon; but the guns of that

craft proved too strong for the *St George*, and the discomfited British had to withdraw from the conflict and lose the golden treasure they had come so far to seek. This expedition did not reach the Sinaloa or California coasts; but the author of the narrative introduced some unimportant geographical material from Swan's observations,[39] and a careless examination perhaps of some Spanish authority. I reproduce on the preceding page a map of 1705 from Harris' collection of voyages.[40]

Yet a third time Dampier returned to the coasts of New Spain, on this occasion as pilot on Woodes Rogers' fleet. The *Duke*, of 320 tons and 30 guns, with 117 men under captains Rogers and Thomas Dover—famous for "Dover's powders" rather than for his skill as a seaman—and the *Duchess* of 260 tons, 26 guns, with 108 men under captains Stephen Courtney and Edward Cooke, duly commissioned as privateers, left England in August 1708. A year later, having doubled Cape Horn, rescued from the island of Juan Fernandez Alexander Selkirk of Robinson Crusoe fame, and met with many adventures, the two vessels with a companion prize, the *Marquis*, under Captain Cooke, and a bark as tender, left Central America and sighted Cape Corrientes on October 2, 1709.

Most of October was passed at the Tres Marías, where a supply of wood, water, and turtles was obtained. The point of California was decided by a majority vote—and all movements of the fleet were uniformly decided upon by vote in full council, the record being preserved in the narrative—to be the best cruising-ground for the expected galleon, and therefore in the first days of November the vessels took the positions assigned them in a line stretching from Cape San Lúcas to the south-west, having dur-

[39] *Funnell's Voyage round the World*, Lond., 1707, 79–93. The author was Dampier's mate. His reputation for accuracy is not good. The map makes California an island, but is on too small a scale to furnish details.

[40] *Harris, Navigatium.*

ing the next five or six weeks occasional communication with the natives, described as a naked, miserable people, without the slightest trace of missionary influence. The galleon, however, seemed to have escaped the blockade, or else was much later than usual, and the hope of meeting her was at last abandoned. The 15th of December the *Marquis* was sent into Puerto Seguro, or San Bernabé, to refit; and on the 20th it was decided to refit the fleet and sail for the Ladrones, supplies being barely sufficient for the voyage.

First a calm and then a gale prevented them from entering the port, most fortunately for them, since next day the Manila ship hove in sight, and on the 22d was taken after a sharp fight, for which the men were fortified in the absence of liquors by a kettle of chocolate and by prayers, which were interrupted by the foe's first shot. The prize was the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion del Desengaño*, commanded by Captain John Pichberty, carrying twenty large guns and the same number of pedreros, and manned by 193 men, of whom nine were killed and ten wounded. The Englishmen had two wounded, one of whom was Captain Rogers.

From the captives it was learned that the *Desengaño* had sailed with a consort of still larger size; consequently it was determined on the 24th that the *Duchess* and *Marquis* should cruise for eight days in the hope that she had not yet passed. They were so fortunate as to see the intended prize and attacked her at midnight of the 25th, keeping up the battle at intervals until the next night, when the *Duke* came up, and next morning all three united their efforts against the monster foe, which was the *Bigonia*, 900 tons, carrying 60 brass guns, and as many pedreros, with a force of 450 men. She was so strongly built—Manila ships were always superior to those built on the Mexican coast—that the 500 small balls poured into her from the light guns of the buccaneers had no apparent effect on her hull, although some damage

was done to her rigging. Besides her complement of 450 men there were among the *Bigonia's* passengers 150 "European pirates, who having now got all their wealth on board were resolved to defend it to the last."

The battle was continued until just before noon of the 27th, when the attacking squadron, finding themselves fast becoming disabled without making any impression on the enemy,[41] drew off for a council, at which it was decided to keep near the enemy until night, to lose her in the darkness, and then to give their whole attention to saving themselves and their first prize. Rogers had again been wounded, as had ten of his companions, and a still greater number on the *Duchess*, where eleven were also killed. It was Rogers' opinion that had all three vessels gone out to the attack together, as he had wished but had been overruled by the majority, the prize might have been taken by boarding, though after her 'netting-deck' and 'close-quarters' were made ready the attempt would have been madness. The buccaneers submitted with as good grace as possible to the decrees of a kind providence which had given them one rich prize.

The fleet hurried back to Puerto Seguro, whence the prisoners from the *Desengaño* with others taken as hostages in South America, were sent away in the bark, Captain Pichberty, a French chevalier, having given as a ransom bills of exchange on London for 6,000 dollars. The prize was renamed the *Batchelor*, manned from the other vessels, and, after a long 'paper war' of argument and protest, put under the nominal command of Captain Dover, but really under the control of captains Frye and Stretton, with Alexander Selkirk as master. Cape San Lúcas was last seen on January 12, 1710, and the fleet arrived at

[41] Rogers, however, afterward met in Holland a sailor who had been on board the galleon and who said she was much disabled, and that the fight had been kept up only by the gunner who went into the powder-room and swore he would blow up the ship if she were surrendered. p. 331.

the Ladrones in March. The profits of the voyage are said to have been nearly £400,000.[42]

Of the many French voyages made to the South Sea during this period there are but two which call for mention here; and indeed there is nothing beyond a mere mention of either extant. In the summer of 1709 Captain Frondac in the *Saint Antoine* crossed from China by the northern route. He went to 45°, a higher latitude than usual, and he also touched on the California coast in 31°, shortening his passage by the former change and refreshing his men by the latter, so that he suffered comparatively little from scurvy, the scourge of these waters.[43] In 1721, as Anson learned from what he deemed good authority, another French vessel made the passage in less than fifty days, but only five or six of the crew survived the plague.[44]

It was in 1721 also that Captain George Shelvocke, after one of the typical privateering cruises on the central coasts, came northward in the *Sacra Familia*, a prize taken at Sonsonate. He had left England in 1719 in company with John Clipperton and the *Success*, but had soon parted from his consort, meeting her again two years later on the Mexican coast, where the two cruised for a time together off Acapulco, hoping to intercept the galleon at her departure for the west; but the two commanders were not on good terms, and Shelvocke, when no longer needed, was treacherously deserted by Clipperton. It was chiefly with the hope of again meeting the *Success* that he came so far north on his return to India, falling in with Cape Corrientes early in August. Finding neither consort nor a supply of water after a three days' search of the Tres Marías, the *Sacra Familia*

[42] *Rogers' Cruising Voyage round the World*, 266–312, 356–7. This is the commander's own narrative. Capt. Cooke also seems to have written an account which was consulted by the editor of *Voyages, Hist. Acct.*, ii. 1–90, and in *Voyages, New Col.*, iii. 122–335. The voyage is noticed in many collections and in most of the general works referred to in this chapter.

[43] *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, iv. 487; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, iii. 216–17.

[44] *Anson's Voyage*, by Walter, ed. of 1756, 326.

crossed over to California, and on August 13th anchored in Puerto Seguro. Here they remained five days, watering, and sailed on the 18th for the southwest, to the great sorrow of their native friends, who had come in large numbers to the shore and even to the ship, and had been feasted with unlimited quantities of sweetmeats and hasty-pudding. The soil about the port when "turned fresh up to the sun appears as if intermingled with gold-dust." Thus did each successive visitor contribute his mite to the fund of popular marvels respecting California.[45]

Captain George Anson, later Lord Anson, cruised in the Pacific from 1740 to 1742 with a fleet of privateers duly commissioned by the British government. He waited a long time off Acapulco for the westward bound ship, but becoming discouraged, he crossed the ocean and succeeded in capturing a rich galleon at the Philippines. He did not reach the coasts which form the territorial basis of these chapters.[46] Padre Cavo tells us that a Dutch ship was driven by stress of weather to the port of Matanchel in 1747, eighteen of the officers and men were invited on shore to dine by the alcalde mayor of Huetlan, who had been entertained on shipboard, and then treacherously arrested and sent to Guadalajara. There, however, they were released as soon as the treachery was known, and hospitably entertained by the leading families until an opportunity occurred to send them home.[47] During this century the Manila ships frequently touched on the peninsula coast, chiefly at the cape port, as I shall have occasion to mention in connection with the missionary annals of Baja California.

[45] *Shelvocke's Voyage round the World*, 337–99. The author gives quite a long account of California and its people, which Betagh, *Voyage*, 215–21—who accompanied Shelvocke, and writes chiefly to contradict and ridicule his commander—pronounces absurdly false where not plagiarized from Woodes Rogers. The narrative more or less abridged from these two authorities is given in most of the collections published.

[46] *Anson's Voyage round the World*, compiled by Richard Walter.

[47] *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 159–60. In some papers left by Ignacio Vallejo the date of the arrival is given as March 1747, and the leader's name is Wilhelm Maal. *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 228–9.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNALS OF SINALOA AND SONORA.

1600–1650.

Coast Provinces—Chametla, Copala, Culiacan, Sinaloa, Ostimuri, Sonora, and Pimería—Villas of San Sebastian and San Miguel—San Juan de Mazatlan—San Felipe de Sinaloa—Commandants or Governors—The Jesuit Anuas—Captain Hurdaide's Rule—The Guazaves—Defeat of the Suaquis—Chiefs Hanged—Expedition to Chinipa—Sinaloas Put to Death—Tehueco Campaign—Ocoroni Revolt—Conversions—Fuerte de Montesclaros—Spaniards Defeated by the Yaquis—Treaty of Peace—Bishop's Visit—Tepahue Campaign—Mayo Missions—Conversion of the Yaquis—Chinipa Missions—District of San Ignacio—Distribution of Padres—Death of Hurdaide—Perea in Command—Murder of Padres Pascual and Martinez—Sonora Valley—District of San Francisco Javier—Division of Province—Nueva Andalucía—Jesuits versus Franciscans—Padres and Statistics—Ribas' Triumphs of the Faith—Condition of the Missions.

The geography of the regions corresponding to the modern Sinaloa and Sonora was in some respects not clearly defined during the seventeenth century. Yet while I shall name pueblos whose exact location cannot be fixed, the prevalent uncertainty respecting precise boundaries of provinces and districts, arising often from the fact that they had no precise boundaries, will interfere but little with the narrative of events, as most of the confusing subdivisions of territory had no real existence politically or ecclesiastically, being simply geographical names in common and often careless usage. Many of the difficulties would moreover be removed did such a thing exist as an accurate modern map. Glancing at the coast provinces in their order from south to north, we find the names Cha-

metla and Rosario applied to the region lying between the rivers Cañas and Mazatlan.[1] Chametla was the aboriginal name when Guzman arrived here in 1530; was long applied to the port, to the river, and to a *real de minas;* and it is still found on modern maps. A small province east of Chametla on the slope of the sierra was sometimes called Maloya. Next northward, between the rivers Mazatlan and Piastla, was Copala, comprising parts of the Quezala and Piastla of Guzman's time. The name rarely appears in the annals of the country, and was represented in later times by a mining camp in the mountains.[2] Culiacan, the ancient Ciguatan, Land of Women, extended from Piastla to the Rio Culiacan. It included the site of San Miguel and the name is still retained for city and river.

Next we find Sinaloa, often described as lying between Culiacan and Rio Mayo, but whose limit was more properly the Rio del Fuerte, or possibly the Álamos. The name was originally that of a tribe dwelling on the stream called Rio del Fuerte far from the sea; thence it was extended from tribe and river to province and capital; then from the capital over several provinces within the governor's jurisdiction as far north as the Rio Yaqui or even beyond; and it has finally remained in use not only for city and for a river south of that on which the Sinaloas lived, but for the state extending from the Cañas to the Álamos.[3] The provinces thus far named, or at least up to the Rio Mocorito, or Évora, were confined to a very narrow strip of coast, having on the east the mountains of Topia, the annals of which I have in-

[1] The latter stream is oftener called Rio del Presidio. Rio de las Cañas was probably named for the reeds growing on its banks, but possibly in honor of Gov. Cañas. Torquemada says the province of Mazatlan was called Acaponeta or Chametla. See chapter xi. for map of southern provinces.

[2] The Rio de Piastla was sometimes called Rio Elota, Rio de la Sal, and also far up in the mountains Rio Humase.

[3] Sinaloa was also called La Calimaya and Pusolana, and sometimes, in connection with Culiacan and Ostimuri, Nuevo Reino de Aragon. The Rio del Fuerte was also called Tamotchala, Santiago, Ahome, Suaqui, and even Sinaloa. The Rio de Sinaloa was originally the Petatlan.

cluded in those of Durango. North of Sinaloa was Ostimuri, which reached from the Álamos to the Rio Yaqui, and up its eastern bank to the latitude of Nacori or Sahuaripa.[4] A small pueblo bore, and perhaps originated the name, which in modern times was still applied to the *partido* of Álamos. This province and those to the north were separated on the east from Nueva Vizcaya, or Tarahumara, or Chihuahua, by the Sierra Madre.

All the country north of the Yaqui was sometimes called Sonora[5] even at this time, a name which, augmented by Ostimuri on the south and deprived of Arizona on the north, it still retains. Yet it was more common among the Jesuits to restrict the name to the valley where it originated; and the terms Pimería Baja and Pimería Alta,[6] divided by a rather vague line just below the rivers Altar and San Ignacio, were the terms perhaps in most common use. The provincial divisions thus indicated, except Sinaloa and Sonora in their broadest application, will occur but rarely in the annals, and may for the most part be disregarded. Throughout nearly the whole century Sinaloa is the best general name for the whole territory;[7] that is, there is no other single name that can be properly applied to the whole terri-

[4] Some writers give the Rio Mayo as the line between Sinaloa and Ostimuri; but Ostimuri evidently included Álamos. According to Orozco the province extended across in the latitude of Nacori to the Rio de Oposura, or west branch of the Yaqui. The Rio Mayo was called by Guzman in 1533 San Miguel; and the Yaqui, San Francisco; but the latter was also termed by the Jesuits Espíritu Santo. Moto-Padilla in 1742 speaks of 'Ostimuri or Álamos.'

[5] Of the origin of this name more hereafter. It was also called for a few years only Nueva Andalucía.

[6] According to *Apostólicos Afanes* and *Arricivita*, Pimería Baja extended from mouth of the Yaqui to Tecora mission; and Pimería Alta from Caborca east to Terrenate, and San Ignacio north to Rio Gila. New Mexico is often named as the northern bound.

[7] On the geography of the coast see *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 338, 385–93; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 520–2; *Calle, Mem. Noticias*, 97; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 1, 2; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. pt. iv. 494, 625, 703; *Arricivita, Crón.*, 396; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 230–1; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 92–3; *Orozco y Berra, Geog.*, 328–9, 337–8; *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 392–3; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, i. 697; *America, Descrip.*, 126; *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 523.

tory, which was under one government; yet in view of later divisions, and of the fact that even then Sinaloa was commonly regarded as extending only to the Yaqui, I have deemed it best to use the double term Sinaloa and Sonora in the heading of this chapter.

It is to be remembered, however, that the coast provinces were still in an important sense a part of Nueva Vizcaya, being in this century as from the first subject to the governor of that country residing at Durango. Yet, as the original idea had been to restrict Vizcaya to the region east of the Sierra Madre, as the sierra still formed a natural bound and barrier rendering communication difficult, and especially as the governor's authority on the coast was delegated to a military comandante, often spoken of as governor of Sinaloa, it became a common usage to apply the name Nueva Vizcaya to the eastern country corresponding to the modern Durango and Chihuahua; and this usage I find it most convenient both for writer and reader to follow in the present record.

The southern provinces from Chametla to Culiacan, inclusive, a narrow strip of territory along the coast—not including the mountainous Topia district which I have found it most convenient to include in Durango for historical purposes, though a large part of it was west of the sierra summit—came as near having no recorded history as is possible in a country where some civilized men lived and where each year may be supposed to have had its complement of days. There were no missions proper here; but missionaries from the adjoining districts on the south and east and north made occasional visits, as did the bishop, for the spiritual edification of the Spanish inhabitants and natives, all of whom were nominally Christians since the early years of Franciscan efforts.

The villa of San Sebastian de Chametla seems to

have maintained its existence under an alcalde mayor and curate, with a presidial guard for defensive purposes. Of mining operations absolutely nothing is known, though there are indications that the mines were not altogether abandoned. In 1603 the explorer Vizcaino touching at Mazatlan found a mule-train on the road between Culiacan and Chametla, and obtained aid from Captain Martin Ruiz de Aguirre, described as alcalde mayor of the province.[8] At an unknown date between this time and 1633 a town of San Juan de Mazatlan was founded. Juan de Arriaran was alcalde mayor of the town and military commandant of the Rio Piastla at the time of Ortega's visit in the year mentioned.[9] The name Mazatlan was originally that of a native town on the river; and navigators had several times touched at the port, but I find no record of any Spanish settlement before Ortega's visit;[10] and the later visits of gulf navigators recorded in earlier chapters have left no information about the place for a century and more. Calle tells us that in 1646 there were in this southern region four alcaldes mayores all appointed by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya; those of Piastla and Mazatlan, of Chametla and Salinas, of the Maloya mines, and of San Sebastian, where was a presidio and captain.[11]

At the north still existed the ancient villa of San Miguel de Culiacan. Its alcalde mayor, unlike those of other settlements, was appointed by the audiencia of Guadalajara, at a salary of six hundred and ninety-six pesos. There was also a curate in charge of the parochial district. We have no names of officials, no

[8] See p. 159 of this volume.

[9] *Ortega, Descripcion.* MS. Pedro de Ribera is named as curate; and Alf. Juan Pardo, Martin Fernandez, and Francisco Martin were vecinos.

[10] According to *Mazatlan, Datos Estad.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., iv. 65, there are no records extant on the earliest history of Mazatlan.

[11] *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 97–101. This author also names 16 corregimientos yielding from 20 to 200 pesos of tribute in the province of Culiacan y Natoato. They are Istlaxe y Guzmanilla, Tecurimeto, Navito y Naboato, Nabolato, Chilobito, Cuspita y Tolobato, Cobota y Cocala, Culacā y Ognane, Vizcaino y Tecolinuocimala, Acala y San Estévan, Alicama Abanito y Dato, Apacha y Baila, Soloneto, Lauroto, Loto, Auilameto la Galga, Mobolo y el Nuevo y Viejo Tepuche. All this is unintelligible to me.

record of local happenings, and no statistics of population. There were, perhaps, from thirty to fifty Spanish families, besides a few Aztecs and Tlascaltecs. Nearly every year the Jesuits came down from the north for a mission tour among the natives, by whom they were always well received.

At San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa on the Rio Petatlan was stationed a garrison of from thirty to forty men, besides, a little later, a fort on the Rio Fuerte farther north. The captain of the garrison was appointed by the viceroy; but from the governor of Nueva Vizcaya he received the appointment of alcalde mayor, and, as already stated, was often called governor of Sinaloa. From 1600 to 1626 the position was held by Captain Diego Martinez de Hurdaide; then by Pedro de Perea to 1641, except in 1636, when Francisco Bustamante held the place; by Luis Cestin de Cañas to 1644; and by Juan Peralta y Mendoza perhaps for the rest of the half century, he being succeeded by Porter y Casanate.[12] San Felipe had a population of some eighty families de razon in the middle of the century, their spiritual necessities being attended to by the Jesuits, whose central establishment, or college, was here, and who had also a school for native boys. By the missionaries the citizens are highly praised for their good character and marked devotion to religion; but of events and men from a secular point of view, we know practically nothing. Indeed, were it not for the Jesuit missionary annals, the record for the north would be almost as meagre as that of the southern provinces.

Fortunately the Jesuit annals, especially in the early years, are quite complete. In addition to the standard chronicles of Ribas and Alegre, with occasional aid from other sources, I have before me the regular *anuas*, or annual records of the provincial, made up from the letters of the missionaries them-

[12] Some slight references for dates of succession, etc., will be given later.

SINALOA AND SONORA IN THE SEVENTEETH CENTURY.

selves. These are very bulky and minute, but as in the case of similar records for an earlier period already noticed, only a small portion can be profitably utilized for historical purposes. The primary object of the missionaries was to convert gentiles to the faith; the struggle between divine and diabolic influences in the case of some poor sick Indian girl must be recorded in full. Other matters affecting events and institutions and men were of secondary importance, to be mentioned incidentally, if at all, and there were as yet no controversies with secular authorities or settlers to claim space in their correspondence.[13]

In 1600 five Jesuit missionaries, Perez, Velasco, Villafañe, Orobato, and Mendez, had founded eight missions with substantial churches, and were at work in some thirteen towns on and near the rivers Sinaloa and Mocorito, having also visited the tribes on the Rio Tamotchala and beyond, but without founding as yet any mission there. Certain disturbances in 1599 had caused Captain Alonso Diaz to send Hurdaide his lieutenant to Mexico with a request for reënforcements and for the comandante's relief from office. At the end of the year Hurdaide came back as comandante with ten soldiers, thus increasing the presidial force to thirty-six. He proved a model captain in every respect, no less noted for the piety and justice which endeared him to Jesuit and convert than for the activity and valor which made him a terror to unruly savages, to keep whom in subjection by the aid of his small force, was a duty that left him but little rest during his rule of nearly thirty years.[14]

The new captain's first task was to quiet the Guazaves, who had burned their church and fled to the

[13] The anuas are contained in *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, MS., 340–803. They are for the years 1601–2, 1604, 1610–17, 1619–26, 1628–9.

[14] He conquered, according to *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 85–6, over 20 nations and not one of his soldiers ever fell into the hands of the foe; but he spent all his private fortune in the work, dying in debt. He had a peculiar way of sending his orders, four seals of wax on a paper without writing forming the token borne by his messenger, who wore it in a reed stuck in the hair. It was understood that any interference with a messenger bearing this credential would

woods. The offenders were hanged, but the chief, Don Pablo, ordered his people back to Christian life, and was pardoned. Both chief and subjects became noted later for their faith, and the former once had his sight miraculously restored. New and fine churches of adobe replaced the burnt structures, but were destroyed by floods a few years later. The Guazaves quieted, the valiant captain deemed the time a fitting one to humble the hostile Suaquis, who had exhibited a threatening indifference to the salvation of their souls by Spanish methods. He did it in an original way. Wild cattle had, it seems, greatly multiplied in the north since the abandonment of Carapoa, and Hurdaide ordered a grand hunt for meat. Reaching the Suaqui country he produced shackles and ropes, explaining to his astonished company of twenty-four that each man was required to seize and bind two of the foe. The natives coming to make inquiries were informed of the projected hunt and promised a share of the meat; then the common people were sent to gather wood for a grand barbecue, while the haughty chiefs remained. At the word 'Santiago!' forty-three were seized by the hair and secured with some difficulty, except two who escaped. The plebeians soon came up with bows and arrows, but without leaders could do nothing, and were finally persuaded through a Christian woman, Luisa, that they would be much better off without chiefs, and that no harm would be done to them if they kept quiet. The masses retired to their towns; but the wives of the captives remained and bravely attempted a rescue, attacking the Spaniards with stones. Fathers Mendez and Velasco came up to prepare the victims for death; all but two became Christians; and all, save two killed in the skirmish with the women, were hanged on two trees. Doña Luisa was sent to the towns with the admonition to

be promptly and terribly avenged, and before long the seals were respected by even the most distant and hostile tribes. A bloody knife was also sent occasionally as a threat of punishment. See also *Id.*, 81–2, 93, 97, 100; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 387–8; *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 398.

the people to be good Indians, and on no account to take down the suspended bodies.[15]

The viceroy had ordered an exploration of the Chinipa country in search of certain rich mines reported to exist there, and Hurdaide seems to have started immediately after his exploit among the Suaquis in the spring of 1601. Father Mendez accompanied him in search of spiritual treasure, and Sinaloa guides were taken who proved to be treacherous. The Spaniards were attacked April 10th in a difficult pass and a part of the company was besieged for a day or two in a mountain refuge; but no lives were lost, and the prospectors were able to reach a Chinipa ranchería called Curepo, where silver ore was indeed found, but not so rich as had been expected. A native woman was taken back for later use as a messenger or interpreter, and on the return march the treacherous Sinaloas were punished by having their fields ravaged and fourteen of their number put to death.[16]

The Ahomes now complained that the Tehuecos had come down the river to usurp their lands and to maltreat their women. Hurdaide of course started at once, desiring to encourage the friendly spirit of the Ahomes; but on the way was opposed by the united Suaquis and Sinaloas, who had apparently forgotten their late chastisement. Taxicora, chief of the Sinaloas, was seized at the first approach by the captain's own hand, and his men retreated, fearing to kill their leader. Again the Spaniards were attacked in a forest where the horsemen could not operate. Taxicora's orders had no effect to make his men desist, but when Hurdaide rushed out single-handed, cap-

[15] *Ribas*, 87–92. Mange, *Hist. Pimería*, 398–9, says that 24 leaders of the Suaques and inciters of revolt were hanged.

[16] *Velasco, Carta al Padre Provincial, 1601*, MS., in *Sinaloa, Mem. Hist.*, 343–50. There was a pestilence this year which killed many, chiefly old people, at Ocoroni and Nio. There were many marvellous cures. Of 128 adults baptized 58 died. The natives at first captured a few pack-mules, the sacred utensils carried by the padre, and a copper kettle which they used as a drum in the premature celebration of victory. The Chinipas lived within the limits of the modern Chihuahua. *Ribas*, 95–9; *Alegre*, i. 388–9.

tured one of the savages, and hanged him to a tree, the rest retired. Advancing to the Matava Valley, he drove the Tehuecos to the woods and captured two hundred women and children, who were given up on the promise of the tribe to return to their home and let the Ahomes alone. The latter people were not only grateful but clamorous for missionaries. Not yet done with the Suaquis the comandante stopped on his return at their town of Mochicavi. The warriors fled, but sent by Luisa their apologies that the Sinaloas alone had been to blame. Their lives and town were spared, but they had to make certain presents to the native allies, and, as a still more humiliating penance, to lose their war-locks, the mark of honor most prized by the braves. Taxicora was condemned to the gibbet at San Felipe, and died a good Christian.[17] There were now in the field four priests, Father Orobato having disappeared from the list, and one lay brother Francisco Castro. Baptisms in 1602 were 850, two thirds of which were in the new Guazave district. The boys' school at San Felipe had now thirty native pupils.

Padres and mission paraphernalia were needed in order to take spiritual advantage of recent military successes, and Hurdaide accordingly made a trip to Mexico, apparently in 1603–4, with a party of native chiefs. His requests were granted by Viceroy Montesclaros. His Indians were fêted and given fine clothing and swords, and he brought back two new missionaries, Cristóbal de Villalta and Andrés Perez de Ribas, the latter subsequently famous as the chronicler of his order in Nueva Vizcaya. At Zacatecas, on the return, four of the native traders ran away and hastened

[17] See *Native Races*, i., this series. In the *Anuas of 1602*, 378–408, Taxicora is said to have had a compact with Satan, and to have been the inciter of the attack of 1601. In a trip of the captain and Bro. Castro to the Suaqui country for corn, the people are said to have been found friendly. Another apostate native was put to death for inciting a revolt on the Evora River. Two tours to Culiacan Valley this year, and Padre Santaren from Topia also spent some time there. Alegre, i. 410–11, writes the names in Hurdaide's entrada Matahoa Valley and Mochicauis pueblo; see also *Ribas*, 100–5.

home, after committing three murders on the Topia frontier, to preach revolt among the Tehuecos, some of whom fled to join the Tepahues, fearing punishment for the crimes of their chiefs. At the same time the Christians of Ocoroni and Bacoburito revolted, not without provocation it is said, and burned their churches. It was also during Hurdaide's absence that the country was visited by floods which destroyed crops, undermined adobe churches, did some damage even in the villa, and drove neophytes and in some cases even padres to the mountains. Father Mendez was kept up in a tree for a day and night, while Father Velasco was imprisoned for four days in his sacristy. Hurdaide heard the bad news at Topia on a day when he had taken a purge, but he felt that providence was on his side and he could not be deterred from hastening homeward. After a sharp fight he defeated the Bacoburitos, put the leading rebels to death, and forced the rest to rebuild their church. The Tehuecos were easily quieted and induced to pursue the four murderers, who were executed on the very spot where their crime had been committed. The Ocoronis gave more trouble; some young men at school under Padre Mendez refused to join the revolt; but the rest, four hundred strong, fled from their pueblo and were scattered among wild tribes, some forty families of the number taking refuge in the far north among the Yaquis. By 1604 the Jesuits are said to have baptized 40,000 natives, while Velasco had prepared a grammar and vocabulary of one of the leading languages.[18]

The nations of the Rio Tamotchala wanted padres, and as their promises were all that could be desired, the superior, Padre Perez, announced the following distribution: Ribas was to take charge of the Ahomes

[18] According to the *Anua* of 1604, 408–14, however, the total number of baptisms is given as 10,000. Baptisms for 1604 were 1,000. Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 43, and Calle tells us that Queen Margarita sent golden tabernacles for the new churches. See *Ribas*, 97–9, 105–9, 125–6; *Alegre*, i. 424–6; *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 98.

and Suaquis, Mendez of the Tehuecos and allied bands, and Villalta of the Sinaloas, all the tribes being thus provided for in the order of their respective homes from the coast up the river.[19] Ribas went to his station at once and seems to have met no obstacles from the first. The Ahomes had always been peaceful and friendly, and within a year every man, woman, and child, two thousand or more, had been baptized, and all were living in two towns, where handsome adobe churches had taken the place of temporary *jacales* and *enramadas*. The mountain Batucaris and the fish-eating Bacoregues of the coast were induced to come and join the Ahomes; while the wild Comoporis, speaking the Ahome dialect, were converted within two years, although not willing to quit their old home. Even the Suaquis kept their promises, built fine churches in their three towns, and experienced a radical change of character, largely through the influence of Doña Luisa. Mendez went among the Tehuecos probably in 1606 and met with equal success, although there had been some fear about this people on account of their polygamous customs. The padre took with him no military escort and no attempt was made to interfere with the civil powers of the native chieftains. The Bacabachis were among his converts. At the same time Villalta went up the river among the Sinaloas, baptized four hundred children the first day, and within a year reduced the whole tribe to Christianity and to village life in three towns. A deadly epidemic caused a temporary relapse into superstitious rites; but the reaction when these rites proved unavailing helped the new faith and the implements of sorcery were burned. Suicide by poisoning is mentioned as one of the worst habits of the Sinaloas, but it was gradually abandoned with the old beliefs.[20]

[19] The river at this period was called most commonly Rio Ahome, Suaqui, Tehueco, and Sinaloa, according to the tribe living in the territory referred to.

[20] Alegre, i. 426–8, 460, says the Ahomes and Suaquis numbered over 1,000 vecinos each, the Tehuecos 5,500 warriors, and the Sinaloas over 1,000 families. See also *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 506–8. The *Anuas* are missing for 1605–9.

In 1607 some six thousand souls of the hostile rancherías of Chicoratos, Cahuimetos, and Ogueras, living in the mountains south-eastward from San Felipe, were induced by Father Velasco to embrace Christianity after Hurdaide had visited their country and bought from their neighbors land for their towns and *milpas*. Ribas also speaks of certain Toroacas who revolted and took refuge on an island to which the captain crossed on rafts, bringing back the fugitives, hanging seven leaders, and scattering the rest among the Guazave towns, where they became the best of Christians.[21] In these years, 1607–9, several new missionaries were sent to Sinaloa, including perhaps Pedro Velasco, Laurencio Adame, Alberto Clericis, Juan Calvo, and Luis de Bonifacio; at least these names appear within a few years without other record of their arrival. Several of them arrived by way of Topia at the end of 1609. Padre Velasco was a relative of the viceroy of that name, and in three years he baptized 1,900 converts.[22] Another Jesuit of this period, whose name I do not find in the annual records, was Vicente de Águila.[23]

In 1610 the Fuerte de Montesclaros—named for the viceroy who had ordered its construction but had ceased to rule in 1607—was built on the south bank of the river called from this fort Rio del Fuerte. It was built of adobes with a tower at each corner, and located on a hillock surrounded on three sides by a

[21] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 9–10, perhaps alludes to the same affair when he speaks of coast Indians under P. Alberto Clericis, not before named, who retired to a mountain nearly surrounded with water, and were coaxed back by the padre. This was in 1608, and 3,238 persons were baptized that year. *Ribas*, 125.

[22] *Anua*, *1610*, 414–37. There are some letters from Velasco, who seems to have come in 1607; also a letter from another of the new-comers not named. According to a biographical sketch in *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 654, Padre Bonifacio was a native of Jaen, born in 1578, who became a Jesuit in 1598, came to America in 1602, and served 20 years in Sinaloa. He afterward became provincial, and died at the college of Valladolid in 1644.

[23] Who, as will be seen later, died at Ahome in 1641, after 35 years of service in Sinaloa. He wrote several *artes*, vocabularies, sermones, doctrinas, etc., in native dialects.

broad grassy plain, which furnished food for the soldiers' horses, and prevented secret attacks by the natives. Here were stationed ordinarily a corporal and a few soldiers. The site was in the Tehueco country and almost identical with that of the ancient San Juan Bautista de Carapoa.[24]

It was also in 1610 that peace was made with the Yaquis after several serious reverses. Some years before the Ocoronis had revolted, and forty families under the apostate chief Lautaro seem to have taken refuge among the Yaquis. Lautaro, and Babilomo a Suaqui cacique, attempted without success to arouse the Mayos, who were hostile to the Yaquis, and for that reason, perhaps, well disposed toward the Spaniards. Hurdaide pursued the Ocoronis in 1609 up to the country of the Yaquis, who made no attack, but strong in spirit and number, there being thirty thousand in eighty rancherías, they disregarded alike threats of punishment and offers of pardon, absolutely refusing to give up Lautaro and his party. Unprepared for war the captain returned to Sinaloa. It seems, however, that there was a party in favor of peace, for the chief Anabailatei soon came to San Felipe[25] with an offer to make peace and give up the fugitives if Christian Indians were sent to receive them. A party of Tehuecos was therefore sent with two converted Yaqui women; but the latter were seized and the former plundered, and with few exceptions killed, Anabailatei having been treacherous, or perhaps having been overpowered by Lautaro in the savage councils.

Again Hurdaide hastened northward with forty soldiers and two thousand allies, including some gentile Mayos. The army reached the river, encamped, and had even received some overtures for peace, when the

[24] Some description in *Anua, 1610*, MS., 428; *Ribas*, 178–9; *Alegre*, ii. 30; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 534; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 886–7.

[25] Or to Hurdaide's camp on the Yaqui according to Alegre, who represents these events as having occurred before his return southward, as is perhaps more likely.

camp was assailed at daybreak by eight thousand warriors. The battle raged nearly all day and the loss of life was great among the Indians on both sides. Hurdaide took a few prisoners, but many of his soldiers were badly wounded, and he was forced to order a retreat.[26] The Yaquis were naturally exultant and continued their preparations and drill under the instruction of Lautaro, who claimed ability to teach the most effective tactics against horses and muskets. The Spaniards at Sinaloa and in the missions were correspondingly despondent; but Hurdaide fitted out a third expedition, obtained aid from San Miguel de Culiacan, and marched northward at the head of fifty mounted Spaniards and four thousand allies, the largest army that had trod the soil since the days of Guzman and Coronado. Again was the brave comandante attacked at dawn, and again after a battle of several hours was he forced to retreat, losing most of his supplies and this time hotly pursued by the Yaqui warriors. Fighting as they retreated the Spaniards were hard pressed in a difficult pass, where the savages were protected by trees and horsemen could not operate advantageously. With a view to gain time and to prevent a threatened panic among the allies, Hurdaide with the vanguard charged back upon the foe, who yielded a little at first, but then rallied with such effect that the allies broke and ran away, while the rear-guard, panic-stricken, fled also southward to report the death of all their companions.

The captain had five arrow wounds, and most of his twenty-two men were wounded, as were most of his horses; but after prodigies of desperate valor they reached a high bare hill, which they held till nightfall in spite of attempts of the savages to burn or smoke them out by firing the grass and shrubbery. The situation was critical; but at night many of the

[26] The *Anua* of 1609 with a detailed account of the earlier transactions is missing; but in that of 1610, p. 429–34, is given a résumé. In this account, however, this second expedition and defeat are not mentioned.

foe withdrew to defend their rights in the distribution of the spoils, when the Spaniards by an ingenious ruse and much good luck were able to escape. They let loose a band of wounded horses, which as was expected stampeded for the river; and while the Indians gave their whole attention to the capture of these animals and their supposed riders, the soldiers gained a start which enabled them to reach the Mayo country and finally the San Felipe. The Spaniards who had abandoned their leader in the Yaqui country were pardoned at the intercession of the padres and by the advice of the comandante, though the governor was disposed to deal severely with them.[27] This disastrous defeat seems, in some manner not quite clear, to have been as effectual in promoting the objects of the Spaniards as a victory could have been. Ribas tells us that Hurdaide was much troubled at his failure, knowing that his campaign was not approved by the governor, and that he could not renew his efforts without aid from the viceroy; but he caused reports to be circulated of three grand expeditions being organized, expeditions which had no existence save in the boasting, but which frightened the Yaquis into suing for peace. Alegre on the other hand claims that the Yaquis were impelled to submit by their admiration of Spanish valor in the last campaign;[28] while Mange's theory is that God humbled gentile obstinacy in this instance by a miracle, causing the report of fire-arms, whizzing of balls, and all the noise of conflict to haunt the ears of the savages until frightened and worn out they were forced to yield. However this may be they soon opened negotiations for peace, first through

[27] 'God forgive the men who forsook me and put the whole province in such jeopardy,' wrote Hurdaide in his letter to the padre from the Mayo. Some of the soldiers died from the effects of their wounds. Alegre says that some Indians remained with the captain, of whom about 100 escaped.

[28] This is also the view taken in the Jesuit *Anua*, except that Hurdaide's defeat is not admitted. After all his allies and half his soldiers had deserted him, he won a glorious and miraculous victory. Why under these circumstances he retreated is not explained.

female ambassadors and the Mayos, and later through a deputation of chieftains. They agreed to deliver the fugitives who had in a measure caused the late troubles, to return all plunder, and to remain at peace with the Mayos and all other tribes who were friendly to the Spaniards. This treaty was ratified with great festivities on April 25, 1610, and very soon the Yaquis were asking for padres, sending also fourteen children for instruction. Lautaro and Babilomo were condemned to death. The submission of the Yaquis led to the establishment of friendly relations with many other tribes, and eighty thousand souls were this year brought to the very doors of salvation.[29]

Bishop Juan del Valle of Guadalajara in a tour through his diocese visited Sinaloa in 1610, accompanied by Father Juan Gallegos. On his arrival he was entertained, and perhaps somewhat terrified as well, by hordes of natives who went through the manœuvres of a sham attack on the episcopal party. The bishop was at San Felipe for five days at Christmas, and in that time confirmed over eight thousand persons, Spanish and natives. He subsequently expressed himself as delighted with the condition of affairs in this country, and with the Jesuit management.[30]

On account of the new fort, the Yaqui treaty, and the bishop's visit, the missionaries regarded their prospects as in every way encouraging; baptisms were over seventeen hundred for the year; but the destruction of certain idols by Padre Mendez aroused the native sorcerers and caused a revolt among the Tehue-

[29] On the Yaqui wars see *Ribas*, 283–301; *Alegre*, ii. 31–8; *Mange*, *Hist. Pimería*, 398–9; *Stone's Sonora*, 15. Urrea in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 42–4, gives a curious and for the most part fictitious narrative of Hurdaide's campaigns in 1625–30, full of particulars, and involving the massacre of a padre and a body of troops. There are a few slight indications that the story is based on the Yaqui wars of earlier times. Ribas implies erroneously that the conquest was as late as 1615 and that Iturbe's arrival had an influence in subduing the Indians.

[30] *Anua*, 1611, MS., 449 et seq.; *Alegre*, ii. 53; *Ribas*, 175–6; *Calle*, 98.

cos in 1611. Enough of the neophytes, however, remained faithful to save the life of the padre until a guard of four men was sent up from Sinaloa. The padre, old and feeble, was transferred to Ocoroni, retiring next year to Mexico. Laurencio Adame took his place; but the troubles could not be checked, the church was burned, other towns, as Nacori and Sivirijoua, joined the revolt, the Tehuecos took refuge with the Tepahues of the sierra, and Father Adame retired to San Felipe in 1612. What the garrison of Fort Montesclaros was doing all this time does not appear. Captain Hurdaide after vain efforts to bring about a friendly settlement marched to the Tepahue country with his forty soldiers and two thousand allies. To such of the latter as were not yet Christians Hurdaide had to grant the privilege of beheading or scalping the foe; yet in the interests of humanity he offered a horse for each living captive.[31] This was in 1613, and Padre Ribas went with the army. The foe counted on having to resist only a short campaign, and were much disconcerted by a message from Hurdaide that he was coming prepared to spend a year in their country if necessary. Accordingly the Spaniards on entering Tepahue territory deliberately encamped to wait for the natives to devour their accumulated supplies. This course, with Hurdaide's discovery and disregard of a plotted ambush, induced the Conicaris, one of the hostile bands, to sue for peace. Soon after the captain moved forward, and met the fugitive Tehuecos returning *en masse* to beg for pardon. He was very severe at first, threatening flogging for the women and more bloody retribution for the men; but finally Father Ribas interceded as had been agreed upon beforehand, and the rebels, burning their weapons and giving up certain leaders, were pardoned and sent home. The Spaniards en-

[31] The statement that some encomenderos were required to join the expedition or to arm for the protection of the villa is the only indication that the encomienda system was in vogue here at this date.

camped again near the Tepahue strongholds, were reduced for a week to the terrible hardship of eating beef though it was Lent, and allowed the allies to ravage the enemy's cornfields. All overtures for peace were rejected with scorn. A series of well contested battles ensued, in which the allies took many Tepahue heads for their bloody orgies, and the Spaniards were uniformly victorious, despite unusual obstacles in the shape of sharp and poisoned stakes concealed in the grass over which they had to march. The country was devastated and seven chiefs, some of them apostate Christians, were taken and executed. The foe did not formally surrender, and Hurdaide retired when his provisions were nearly exhausted; but the surrender, together with the usual petition for missionaries, the best means of conciliation as the wily savages well knew, arrived at San Felipe but little later than the army. The Tehuecos, eight thousand in number, were reduced from three villages to two, and soon became exemplary Christians. A padre was sent to the Tepahues, who came down and settled in a town on the Rio Mayo, where they built a fine church and remained quiet for more than thirty years.[32]

The conversion of one tribe was tediously like that of another in these years. To feel a deep interest in such missionary annals one needs, whether he be historian or reader, all the padres' faith in the incalculable benefit conferred by conversion on each savage. It was about 1612 that Father Villalta, from his station among the Sinaloas, added the Huites and Zoes to the list of convert tribes, without incident requiring notice. There were also at this period disorders, burning of churches, abandonment of towns, and killing of several natives,

[32] *Anuas, 1611–13*, 437–80, where the Tehueco expedition is described in a letter of Padre Andrés Perez. Padre Calvo also writes of another slight revolt at San Ignacio. Four new churches were completed in 1612. Alegre, ii. 46–7, 55, 60–2, gives a letter from Ribas describing the campaign somewhat less fully than in his *Hist. Triumphos*, 180–91. See, also, *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.*, i. 103; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 530.

vaguely recorded as having occurred among the Chicoratos and Cahuimetos south of the Rio Sinaloa, who were in charge of Father Calvo and Juan Bautista Velasco. The latter, a pioneer in this field, where he had served for over twenty years, died in 1613.[33] The Tepehuanes are said to have had some influence in fomenting these disorders.

In 1613 also a mission was founded among the Mayos, who, thirty thousand in number according to Ribas' estimate, lived on the river of the same name, their country being bounded on the north by that of their foes, the Yaquis. They had always been friendly to the Spaniards; had done good service as allies against hostile tribes; and had of late been clamoring for padres. The matter was referred to Viceroy Guadalcázar, and the venerable Padre Mendez, who had retired to Mexico but was tired of inaction, was sent again into the field. With a guard of thirty men under Hurdaide, he entered the Mayo territory where his success was immediate, extraordinary, and permanent. Seven large towns with a population of twenty thousand, or nine thousand as Alegre states, were founded within a space of eighteen leagues, while three thousand one hundred children, to say nothing of the sick and aged, were baptized within fifteen days. A famine raging at the time contributed to the padre's success, and his influence was felt beyond Mayo limits among the Nevomes and Nuris. Thus 1613 may be regarded as the date when missionary work began in the modern Sonora.[34]

[33] Juan Bautista Velasco was a native of New Spain, and was 29 years of age when he came to Sinaloa. Though always delicate he was a zealous worker. He excelled all the other Jesuits in his knowledge of the native languages, and prepared several grammars and vocabularies for the benefit of his associates. It was his pride that he had never sinned carnally and never told a lie. His illness was a slow fever lasting three months, and he died on July 29, 1613. His body was carried to the villa eight leagues from his mission, escorted by all his neophytes, and received with unusual honors by the citizens and soldiers under Captain Hurdaide. Father Luis Bonifacio gives a sketch of Velasco's life and a eulogy of his character in a letter to the provincial. *Anua, 1613*, 474–80.

[34] *Anua, 1613–14*, MS., 480–522. Letters of Padre Mendez and Capt. Hurdaide about the Mayo mission. Nine thousand registered, 3,000 baptized,

It would seem to have been in 1615 that missionaries first visited the Nevomes and Nuris, and a large party of the former came down from their northern home to join their countrymen who had been settled at Bamoa since the time of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival.[35] In the same year also the pearl-seeking craft of Iturbe or Cardona arrived on the coast, the presence of their crews having a salutary effect on the natives.[36] The revolt of the Tepehuanes in Durango caused much uneasiness in Sinaloa from 1616 to 1618, the great fear being that the rebels would effect an alliance with the Yaquis; but nothing of the kind occurred, and the only open disturbance was experienced in the south on the Topia frontier, where Padre Calvo's pueblos of Chicorato, Cahuimeto, and Yecorato were repeatedly threatened. The neophytes, however, resisted temptation and even went so far as to cut off the heads of certain Tepehuane emissaries. The unconverted but friendly Tubaris also refused all aid to the apostates, and soon embraced the new faith.[37] According to the annual record of 1616 there were now eleven priests and three brothers in the Sinaloa field, working in nine partidos. The fourteen have been named in the text and notes, besides Father Águila, a doubtful

seven churches. See also *Ribas*, 113, 200, 237–53; *Alegre*, ii. 55, 62–3, 69–72, 78–9. In the *Anua of 1614*, 481, the missionary force is stated to be 3 priests and 4 brothers, working in 8 partidos; but this is unintelligible as there must have been at least 12 men instead of 7.

[35] Letter of Padre Diego de Guzman in *Anua, 1615*, MS., 522–39. One hundred and sixty-four Nevomes came down at this time. See also *Alegre*, ii. 79; *Ribas*, 119–21, 162, 241, 299, 369–70. The Nevomes are said to have been of Tepehuane race. Alegre, ii. 72–3, speaks of the reduction at this time of the Yamoriba natives.

[36] See p. 165 of this volume. Cardona says he touched at Rio Mayo where Mendez was serving, and where his companion padre had been lately killed and eaten by the natives (as was not true); but others, including Ribas, say that Iturbe's vessel was relieved by Ribas at Ahome.

[37] *Anua, 1616*, MS., 539–79. It is said, however, that Hurdaide made a tour to the Cahuimeto sierra, recovering 1,500 fugitives. P. Diego de la Cruz in a letter describes a visit to the Tepahues. A chapel was completed this year on the spot where Padre Tapia was killed. Baptisms of the year were 1,800 children and 2,332 adults. Hernandez, *Comp. Geog. Son.*, 14–15, says the Tepehuane revolt extended to Sinaloa, but that after two years some companies of marines were sent there and restored order. See also *Ribas*, 115–18, 303; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 539–43; *Alegre*, ii. 82–92.

name. Which was the third lay brother with Castro and Martin Ugarte is not apparent.

Not only did the Yaquis abstain from Tepehuane alliance, but in 1617 they received missionaries in their own territory. Ribas had gone down to Mexico on this business the year before, and now he came back with Padre Tomás Basilio. In May he started with Father Perez from the Mayo towns escorted by four Suaquis and two Yaqui caciques. Four thousand children and five hundred adults were baptized during this first tour, very slight opposition and no open hostility being encountered, though for years the padres in this district were deemed in constant danger, and once at Torin a plot to kill Ribas was frustrated by a faithful Indian. The missionaries remained among the upper Yaquis, who were more docile than those nearer the coast. Eight large towns were founded, and a very large part of the nation were converted within a few years by the two pioneers and by padres Juan de Cárdenas, Angel Balestra, and others who were sent later to the Yaqui field.[38] The Nevomes who lived above the Yaquis, chiefly in the towns of Comuripa, Tecoripa, Suaqui, and Aivino, part of which tribe had previously gone south to live on the Rio Sinaloa, received padres in 1618–19. Padre Diego de Guzman first made a successful tour of baptism, and was followed by Diego Vandersipe, Martin Burgesio, Francisco Oliñano, and Blas de Paredes, the latter dying six days after taking charge, probably at a much later date.[39]

It will be remembered that at the beginning of the century Captain Hurdaide visited the Chinipa region in search of mines. About 1620 the Chinipas came down of their own accord with a store of maize for

[38] *Anua, 1617*, MS., 579–86. Letter of P. Andrés Perez narrating his tour of 40 days to the Yaquis. See also *Ribas*, 301–40; *Alegre*, ii. 92–4, 113–14. Stone, *Notes, Sonora*, 15–16, says the Yaquis always respected the padres but disliked other white men.

[39] *Anua, 1619*, MS., 586–606. Baptisms of the year in all Sinaloa 5,096 children, 1,506 adults. Great prosperity. *Ribas*, 361–72; *Alegre*, ii. 117.

the starving Sinaloas, and to ask in return for padres. On their return they built a church and made other preparations for the expected change of faith. One chief, as a proof of zeal, having shot a female relation in a drunken brawl, bared his back publicly in the church and received two azotes from each prominent man of the tribe as a penance. The next year Padre Pedro Juan Castini visited this field, baptizing four hundred children, and taking back with him for instruction several of the tribe. Other visits were exchanged, and the Guazápares and Varohios adjoining the Chinipas on the south and north, together with the Temoris and Hios of the same region, seemed to join in the enthusiasm of their neighbors, making peace among themselves and giving their children for baptism. Whether or not Castini ever came here to live is not clear, but six or seven years later Padre Julio Pascual came, and in four years reduced two thousand families, it is said, of Chinipas, Guazápares, and Varohios to three towns called by the tribal names. The same padre worked also among other tribes, the Hio and Temori converts being included perhaps in the towns referred to. It was in 1620–1 that Padre Miguel Godinez entered among the Conicaris, reducing also the bands known as Basiroas, Tehatas, Huvagueres, and Tehuicos; and Father Mendez founded a mission among the Sisibotaris, or Sahuaripas, who had been visited before by Guzman, including also in his conversion the Batucos and succeeded finally by Bartolomé Castaño.[40]

Father Ribas retired in 1620 after sixteen years of service in Sinaloa, to accept the office of provincial in Mexico, being succeeded at the Yaqui mission of Torin by Father Villalta. Mendez went with him, but returned the next year to resume his labors, being

[40] *Anua, 1620–2*, MS., 606–95. Baptisms of 1620–21, 17,182. Alf. Lúcas Valenzuela is named as a resident and benefactor of San Felipe. Also *Ribas*, 179, 216–17, 254–6, 384–92; *Alegre*, ii. 31, 121–4.

received with great festivities. In 1621 converts numbered 86,340 in fifty-five villages; seven new missionaries had come in 1619; and it was deemed best to organize the northern missions into a new district called now or a little later San Ignacio, under Father Villalta as superior. The district embraced in round numbers 21,000 Mayos, 30,000 Yaquis, and 9,000 Nevomes, each including kindred bands under other names, and was put in charge of eleven missionaries.[41] For five years the records show a missionary force of twenty-seven priests, sixteen of them in the south, and four lay brothers. Of the thirty-one I have named twenty-nine, but have no clue to the others. Baptisms in 1621 were over nine thousand.

In 1622, the Aivinos were led by their sorcerers to apostatize, and in the trouble Padre Basilio received an arrow wound. Captain Hurdaide came north and found the rebels fortified in an adobe house furnished with port-holes, from which protection they sallied out two thousand strong, but were driven back after a bloody fight. Many were suffocated by fire thrown in through the ports at Hurdaide's command, but at last the famous seals were thrown in as a token of peace, and surrender followed as did conversion, for Basilio and Oliñano within a few days baptized four hundred children at Matape and Teopari.[42]

Villalta, superior in the north, died in 1623 while on his way to accept the rectorate of the Guatemala college.[43] Varela seems to have become superior in his stead. Pestilence and famine were prevalent and

[41] The distribution seems to have been: Yaquis and Sisibotaris; Villalta, Mendéz, Burgesio, Basilio, and another. Mayos in three partidos; 1st, or eastern, including Tepahues, Miguel Godinez; 2d, or central, Diego de la Cruz; 3d on coast, Juan Varela (or Barera) and Juan Angel: Nevomes, Oliñano, and Vandersipe. The distribution in the south is not given; but Padre Oton is mentioned in the *Anua* of 1621 as among the Tehuecos; and also the name of Gasper de Varela appears.

[42] *Anua, 1622*, MS., 671–95; *Ribas*, 371–80; *Alegre*, ii. 139–40; *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 399.

[43] It is because of his death not having occurred in Sinaloa I suppose that there is no mention of it in the *Anua*. His successor is later called Julio (instead of Juan) Varela. There may have been such a padre.

deadly; yet in 1624 the number of Christian natives is estimated at over 100,000.[44] In 1626 Martin Perez died, the pioneer Jesuit of Sinaloa, having come with Tapia in 1591. For ten years he had been unable to rise from his chair without help, and he is said to have left a manuscript narrative of events down to 1620.[45] In 1626 Sinaloa was also called upon to part with the valiant, pious, and popular comandante and alcalde mayor Captain Hurdaide,[46] who was succeeded by Captain Pedro de Perea, said to have been a relative of the viceroy.

During Perea's rule at San Felipe and Fort Montesclaros the records become meagre after the first few years, and are confined for the most part to the northern district. The new captain's first act was to detain on suspicion certain Nevome chiefs, who had come to offer allegiance to the successor of Hurdaide. This caused a revolt among the Nevomes, who threatened Father Oliñano, and inflicted upon Vandersipe a wound with a poisoned arrow, that afflicted him during the rest of his life. It was also in 1526–7 that the Chinipas missions were founded by Father Pascual as already related. In 1628 the Huites were converted by Padre Castini; a new pueblo of Hios was added to the Chinipas mission; mines began to be worked in the same region; Captain Perea made a tour with sixty soldiers and two thousand allies to restore order in the northern district; the Aivinos,

[44] *Annas, 1623–4*, MS., 695–710. Villafañe was now rector. Brother Martin Ugarte died in 1624 after 20 years' service in Sinaloa. Hurdaide also had occasion to make one of his raids this year. Also *Alegre*, ii. 141, 143, 153. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 297, says the pestilence was in 1625 and killed 8,500.

[45] Martin Perez was born February 2, 1560, at the villa of San Martin, his father being a rich mine owner, and was educated in Mexico. He became a Jesuit in 1577, and had a varied experience as teacher and preacher before he came to the north. He died April 24, 1626, at San Felipe. A detailed sketch of his life and many virtues is given in the *Anua, 1625*, MS., 711–29. See also *Ribas*, 341; *Alegre*, ii. 169–70; *Ramirez, Hist. Durango*, 70–1.

[46] *Anua, 1626*, MS., 750. According to *Ribas*, 362–3, and *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, his death was several years later. See *Urrea*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 42–4.

Toapas, Matapes, Batucos, and Sisibotaris were clamorous for padres; and finally the conversion of the latter was undertaken by the veteran Mendez. The *Anua* of 1629, consisting of a letter from Padre Guzman on the Nevomes and their ninety rancherías, is the last of the original records in my collection.[47]

In 1630 fathers Martin Azpilcueta and Lorenzo Cárdenas went to live among the Aivinos and Batucos, where Basilio and Oliñano had already baptized children. The Christian ardor of the Aivinos had cooled somewhat through the influence of apostate Nevomes. Cárdenas increased the spirit of hostility at first by removing a vault containing the body of a dead chief, and frequented by the people as a shrine for their protection against lightning. Almost immediately a woman was struck by the dreaded thunderbolt; still, as a baptized child in her arms escaped injury, and as another woman at the point of death recovered on the reception of the rite, the padre was able to restore quiet. Azpilcueta was not well received either at Batuco; but by patience and kindness as usual gained the good will of the people. Home troubles once overcome, a new danger threatened from abroad in the form of a hostile band from Sonora Valley, who thought to frighten all padres from their country by killing this one. Azpilcueta was, however, equal to the emergency, adopting a policy almost unheard of in Jesuit annals. He sent a message to the foe, asking them to make haste as he was ready and would soon behead them all, and then, surrounded by a murderous array of machetes and fire-arms, coolly awaited their approach. This novel attitude on the part of a missionary surprised and disconcerted the savages to such an extent that when the padre discharged a musket and brandished a machete they turned and fled, and troubled the

[47] *Anua*, 1626–9; MS., 730–803; Baptisms in 1625–6, 8,530; *Ribas*, 362–3; *Alegre*, ii. 172–6; *Mange*, 399.

mission no more; on the contrary they soon became the best of converts.[48]

The revolt of 1631–2 in the Chinipa region was the most notable event of the period. Here, where we left Father Pascual toiling with flattering success in his three towns, the Guazápare chief Camabeai fell from grace, gained a following, and plotted to take the missionary's life. The faithful Chinipas, finding that Pascual would take no precautions, obtained from the fort a guard which for a time impeded the rebel designs; but the malcontents were so fervent in their pretended devotion as to disarm all suspicion until the soldiers were sent back, when they resumed their plottings and gained adherents from the Varohios.

On January 23, 1632, Padre Manuel Martinez arrived as a co-laborer with Pascual; on the 31st the two, with a small band of neophytes, were attacked at Varohio; and next day, after their house and church had been burned, were killed. Brutal indignities were offered to their bodies, which were recovered and buried at Conicari by P. Marcos Gomez on the 14th of February. Fifteen Indians perished with their martyred masters. Captain Perea made a raid into the mountains, and with the aid of native allies is said to have killed eight hundred of the rebels. New padres were sent here, apparently Juan Varela and Francisco Torices, and the Chinipas were victorious in several encounters with their apostate neighbors; but it was soon deemed best to abandon the mission, and the Chinipas, with many faithful families of Varohios and Guazápares, came to live in the country of the Sinaloas, being distributed among the different towns. The surviving rebels fled to the mountains, resumed their wild life, and mingled to a considerable extent with the Tarahumares, although

[48] *Alegre*, ii. 185–8. Mange, *Hist. Pimería*, 400, speaks of an apostate who entered a church with two knives to kill P. Mendez, and who, after being shot, was *quartered* by Capt. Perea for his sacrilege.

many years later, as we shall see, the Spaniards found them back in their old homes.[49]

During this period also the conversion was extended over into Sonora Valley, the region of the modern Ures and of the ancient and ill-fated San Gerónimo. Padre Bartolomé Castaño first came here to live among the Ópatas in 1638, though Mendez may have visited the country some years earlier, and Madre María de Jesus Agreda is supposed to have extended her miraculous tour of about 1630 up through this country to the Rio Colorado.[50] Within a year three or four thousand of the natives were baptized and settled in three towns with fine churches. Early in 1639 Padre Pedro Pantoja came to aid Castaño, and new towns were founded.[51] The Ópatas never gave the Spaniards any trouble in later years. In 1639 a new mission district was formed in the north by the visitador Leonardo Jatino, acting in the name of Ribas the provincial. It was called San Francisco Javier, and embraced the missions, or partidos, of Comuripa, Aivino, Batuco, Ures, and Sonora. This left to the central district of San Ignacio the Yaquis, Mayos, Tepahues, Conicaris, Onabas, and Mobas.[52]

Brother Francisco Castro, said to be a relation of Viceroy Villamanrique, died in 1527 after thirty-four years of service in Sinaloa.[53] Bishop Hermosillo of Durango visited the province in 1631, going as far north as Nacori among the Tehuecos. He confirmed some twelve thousand persons at San Felipe, where he said the first pontifical mass; but he died soon after setting out on his return and his body was carried

[49] *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 399–400; *Relacion de la Nueva Entrada*, 779–80; *Alegre*, ii. 190–3; *Ribas*, 256–68.

[50] Stone, *Sonora*, 9–10, says erroneously that P. Mendez established a mission at Ures in 1635.

[51] S. Pedro Aconchi, Concepcion Babiacora, Remedios Banamichi, S. Ignacio Sinoquipe, and Rosario Nacameri are named, some of them not founded probably before 1646, or even later. In *Sonora, Estadística*, 627, it is stated that P. Castaño entered in 1640 and was soon joined by P. Lorenzo Flores.

[52] *Alegre*, ii. 222–3; iii. 111; *Ribas*, 392–7; *Mange*, 400; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iv. 574; *Hernandez, Comp. Geog. Son.*, 15–16; *D'Avity, Descrip.*, ii. 85–7.

[53] *Alegre*, ii. 173–4; *Ribas*, 231–5.

back to San Felipe for burial.[54] About 1632 Father Pedro Zambrano is named as one of the missionary force, and in 1633 Padre Juan de Albieuri was at the mission of Bamupa, where he completed his history of Father Tapia's life and services.[55] In 1634 Villafañe who had come to the country before 1595, but had been absent several times on visits to Mexico and Europe, died at his old post.[56] This death left Father Pedro Mendez the oldest pioneer; but he retired in 1635 weighed down with age and infirmities,[57] leaving Father Vicente de Águila the oldest resident missionary. In 1636 the province had to lose by death four of its Jesuits, Paredes, Azpilcueta, and the brothers Varela.[58] Floods in 1639 afflicted the country, and a pestilence in 1641, strengthening according to the Jesuit version the hold of the padres on the natives. In 1641 also the veteran Father Águila died at the age of seventy years.[59] All the deceased of the period receive from the chroniclers eulogies which it is to be hoped were entirely deserved; but it is to be regretted that Jesuit eulogies are so like one another as to be of comparatively little use to the historian.

Captain Perea seems to have held the command from 1626 to 1640. Captain Francisco Bustamante signed himself in 1636 lieutenant-governor and captain of San Felipe presidio;[60] but this is all we know of

[54] *Ribas*, 177–8; *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 95, 98; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 248; *Alegre*, ii. 176. The last author implies that the visit was earlier, but is in error.

[55] *Ribas*, 281; *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 12–13.

[56] *Ribas*, 349–57; *Alegre*, ii. 201. Villafañe was a native of Leon, Spain, and the son of noble parents. He was serving in Michoacan when the news of Tapia's martyrdom called him to Sinaloa. He was rector at San Felipe for years; and also served a term as rector in Mexico, subsequently visiting Rome as procurador. His service in Sinaloa amounted to thirty years. He wrote an *arte* of the Guazave language.

[57] *Alegre*, ii. 209. Mendez had come before 1595 and had once before retired for a time to Mexico.

[58] *Alegre*, ii. 188, 203–4.

[59] *Ribas*, 397–402; *Alegre*, ii. 235. Águila came to Sinaloa about 1606, being a Spaniard by birth, and having served a few years at San Luis de la Paz. He left several MS. works. *Backer*, iv. 4.

[60] *Ortega, Copia de la Demarc.*, MS. Another captain, Matías Lobo Pe-

his rule, and the records are in other respects somewhat confused. In 1640 or 1641 Luis Cestin de Cañas succeeded Perea;[61] whereupon the latter obtained from Viceroy Escalona, with royal approval, a division of the province and a new command for himself. This temporary division was the most important event of the decade, but little is known about it. Perea obtained half of the presidial force, agreed to pacify and convert the natives north of the Yaqui, and established himself in the Sonora Valley, styling his new province Nueva Andalucía and his capital San Juan Bautista.[62] It is possible that he began operations here several years earlier, and that the confusion already noted respecting rulers at San Felipe pertains to the officers left in temporary command.[63] Perea seems also to have visited Mexico, or at least to have reached his province from Parral through the Tarahumara country in the autumn of 1641, taking with him at first Padre Gerónimo Figueroa.

Dissensions ensued between the two comandantes, the particulars of which are not known, but during which Perea had to submit to a reduction of his force and obtained twelve men from New Mexico to fill up the number to twenty-five. His rule was also marked by a quarrel with the Jesuits and a consequent attempt to put the spiritual interests of Nueva Andalucía, or Sonora, into the hands of another order. Four or five Franciscans under Padre Juan Suarez were brought in for this purpose. According to Mange's statements these friars were stationed among

reira, is named by Niel, *Apunt.*, 67–8, as having conquered Sonora in 1636. I have no idea what this can mean.

[61] Alegre, ii. 235–6, implies that the change was in 1641. Zamacois, *Hist. Mej.*, v. 326, calls the new ruler Luis Cestinos. Nothing seems to be known of his rule except his trip to California mentioned elsewhere in this volume. Mange, *Hist. Pim.*, 481–2, tells us that Peralta y Mendoza succeeded Perea in 1640; and even Alegre, ii. 244, speaks of Padre Canal about 1644 having a commission to investigate the acts of the 'defunct governor Peralta.'

[62] According to *Zapata, Relacion*, 363, San Juan was a mining town seven leagues from Oposura and was still called capital in 1678.

[63] Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 183, says Perea made a contract for northern reduction with Viceroy Cadereita in 1636. He was to obtain from the governor of Nueva Vizcaya the titles of justicia mayor and capitan á guerra.

different tribes and rancherías,[64] where they did good service as missionaries for some years; but this author's narrative on the subject ends here vaguely and abruptly. According to Alegre, however, the only other writer who speaks of the matter at all, when the Franciscans arrived and the comandante attempted to station them, particularly in the Cumupas Valley, the Jesuit visitador Pantoja protested and sent Padre Gerónimo Canal to Mexico with a report to the provincial and viceroy. Pending a decision Perea endeavored to locate his friars in the valleys of the wild Imuris, by whose warriors he was forced back. His disappointment laid him on a sick-bed. Recovering somewhat he started from Banamichi to Toape, but died on the way, October 4, 1644. A little later Padre Canal returned with a decision favorable to the Jesuits. He brought an order for the Franciscans, waiting at Babispe, to relinquish all claims to the mission field,[65] and perhaps for Perea to quit his office and his province, thus putting an end to the existence of Nueva Andalucía as a separate province. Rivera tells us, however, that after Perea's death Simon Lasso de la Vega was appointed to succeed him as alcalde mayor and comandante of Sonora, and becoming involved in quarrels with the comandante of San Felipe, was treacherously killed and succeeded by Juan Fernandez de Morales. This officer's authority was also disputed by Admiral Casanate, who had succeeded to the command of Sinaloa.[66] This

[64] Potlapigua, Babispe, Baseraca, Guazava, Oputo, Techico de Guachi, Batepito, Teuricachi, Cuquiarichi, Arizpe, Chinapa, Bacuachi (Bacatu de Guachi), Cucurpe, and Toape are named, the orthography being somewhat modified by me. *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 401–2. The same writer gives a certificate of P. Suarez at Chinapa, without date, to the effect that Francisco Perez Granillo, *teniente de justicia mayor y capitan á guerra de esta nuestra conversion y de otras de la Compañia de Jesus*, had served for five years, and that by his aid the Franciscans had baptized over 7,000 souls, running great risks in the Potlapigua valleys, at Teuricachi, and at 'our convent' at Chinapa.

[65] *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 242–4, 235–6. Yet the same author, 404, speaks of disturbances among the Franciscans of Teuricachi district in 1649–50, caused by the disgraceful retreat of the Sinaloa comandante who marched against the Sumas with a strong force.

[66] *Rivera, Gobernantes de Mex.*, i. 183.

must have been as late as 1650;[67] and between the terms of Cañas and Casanate at a date not exactly known Juan Peralta y Mendoza seems to have held the position. About the middle of the century, however, it is certain that the two provinces were practically reunited under the authority of the captain at San Felipe; yet the "captain of Sonora" was still vaguely mentioned, a garrison being generally maintained at San Juan for the protection of the Sonora Valley.

Father Luis Bonifacio retired in 1640 to succeed Ribas as provincial in Mexico, dying in Michoacan four years later. Pedro Castini retired about 1644 after twenty-four years of service, and José Collantes after twelve years. The same year occurred the death of Miguel Godinez and of Angel Balestra. Bartolomé Castaño, the pioneer missionary of Sonora proper, retired about 1645 after serving twenty-five years. Baltasar Cervantes was another of the Jesuit band, about whom nothing appears, except that he died at Mexico in 1649. Pedro Velasco, who held the post of provincial in 1646, also died in 1649. He had probably retired long before, as the term of his service is given as fourteen years.[68] The only hostil-

[67] It was in a cédula of August 1650 that the king recommended the appointment of Casanate, if there were no serious objections. *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 63–6. Navarrete, *Introd.*, lxxiv., also implies that Casanate obtained the post, though it would seem to have been a few years earlier.

[68] Bonifacio, or Bonifaz, was born at Jaen in 1578; became a Jesuit in in 1598, and came to New Spain in 1602. His service in Sinaloa was 20 years; but was interrupted by long absences as master of services at Tepozotlan, rector at Mexico, and provincial, which office he held twice. Castini was born in 1587 at Plaisance; came to Mexico in 1602; and died in Mexico in 1663. Godinez, whose original family name was Wading, was born at Waterford in 1591, and joined the society in 1609. After leaving Sinaloa, or perhaps before, he taught philosophy and theology in Mexico and Guatemala. He died in Mexico, the date of his departure from the missions not appearing. I have his *Práctica de la Teología Mystica*, Sevilla, 1682. Castaño was famous for his humility, his musical talent, his dark skin, and his linguistic skill. He was known as the Indio Sabio of Sonora. He was a Portuguese, born in 1601, and died in Mexico in 1672. His biography by P. Tomás Escalante was published in editions of 1679 and 1708. Pedro Velasco, born in Mexico 1581, became a Jesuit in 1596. After the close of his missionary career, he was professor of theology in Mexico and procurador in Madrid and Rome,

ity on the part of the natives was that of the Guazavas, whom Perea was unable to subdue after a bloody battle, but whom he finally brought to terms by threats of destroying their cornfields. Once conquered they became faithful allies.

In 1646 the northern district of San Francisco Javier under Father Pantoja as superior residing at Babiacora, consisted of seven mission partidos with as many padres.[69] Cristóbal García had begun the conversion of the Guazavas in 1645. Over two thousand persons were baptized in the district in 1646, and the total number down to 1647 was over twenty thousand. Also in 1647 it was proposed to convert the Imuris, on what was later Rio San Ignacio, and two padres were about to start with good prospects, but the comandante deemed it unsafe, and ordered a suspension of the entrada. This conversion was reserved for Kino in later years.[70]

In 1645 was published the *Triumphs of the Faith* of Ribas, the standard authority, followed necessarily by all later writers, on Jesuit annals in the north-west down to about that date.[71] At this time there

besides being provincial. See *Backer, Bib.*, ii. 245; iv. 60, 106–7, 113, 721, with mention of the different MS. and printed works written by the padres named. Collantes died in Mexico in 1663. His service is said to have been among the Chinipas. *Alegre*, ii. 433; *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 611.

[69] The distribution was as follows: Gerónimo Canal, Huepaca with Banamichi, Sinoquipe, Arizpe, and Teuricachi; Francisco Paris, Ures and Nacameri; Juan Mendoza, Batuco; Egidio Montepio, Comuripa; Miguel (or Marcos) del Rio, Guazava, with Oposura and Nacori; and Pedro Bueno, Matape.

[70] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 247, 257–8, 265–7, 359, 461–2.

[71] *Historia de los Trivmphos de Nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas bárbaras y fieras del nueuo Orbe; conseguidos por los soldados de la milicia de la Compañia de Iesvs en las missiones de la Prouincia de Nueua-España. Refierense assimismo las costvmbres, ritos, etc. Escrita por el Padre Andrés Perez de Ribas, Prouincial la Nueua-España, natural de Cordoua.* Madrid, 1645, fol., 16 l., 756 pp. The author, a native of Córdova, came to the New World in 1602, only 12 years after the Jesuits begun their labors in the north-west; served, as we have seen, in the Sinaloa missions, much of the time as superior, from 1604 to 1620; and then became provincial of his order in Mexico. His book was completed in 1644. It is a complete history of Jesuit work in Nueva Vizcaya, practically the only history the country had from 1590 to 1644, written not only by a contemporary author, but by a prominent actor in the events narrated, who had access to all the voluminous correspondence of his order, comparatively few of which documents have been preserved. In short, Ribas wrote under the most favorable circumstances and made good use of his opportunities. His style is diffuse, his plan

were thirty-five missions in Sinaloa and Sonora, each including from one to four towns, and each under the care of a Jesuit. The missions were divided into three districts: that of San Felipe in the south, extending practically from Mocorito to Álamos; San Ignacio on the rivers Mayo and lower Yaqui; and San Francisco Javier to the north. Each district was under a superior, who at San Felipe was also rector of the college, at which two or three padres were constantly employed in giving instruction. The *cabecera* of each mission and many of the visitas had fine churches of adobe suitably decorated and cared for. The mission books showed a total of over 300,000 baptisms down to date. The presidio had a force of only forty-six soldiers, which fact of itself is sufficient proof how completely and easily the natives had surrendered themselves to missionary control. Each padre as a rule lived alone in his mission, protected by a military escolta only when threatened by some special danger. He was visited at long intervals by the superior, or visitador, and usually managed once a year to visit his nearest neighbor for confession, social intercourse, and to avoid forgetting his own language.[72]

clumsy according to modern ideas, and he is at times not sufficiently exact in the matter of chronology; but many of his errors in this respect have either been corrected by Alegre or may be corrected from original documents yet extant. He left two manuscript volumes on the foundation of Jesuit colleges in Mexico, which have never been printed. He died March 26, 1655, at the age of 79 years. Pinelo and Brunet cite a letter of his on the death of Padre Ledesma, printed in Mexico in 1636. See also *Backer, Bib.*, ii. 485.

[72] *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 65–70, 125–9, 157–9, 196, 340, 358, 435–6.

CHAPTER X.

ANNALS OF SONORA AND SINALOA.

1650–1700.

Rulers in Sinaloa—Coast Events—Tajo Mine—Spanish Settlements—Missionary Annals in the South—Minor Items, Statistics, and Names of Jesuits—The Old Sonora Districts—The Name Sonora—Tables of 1658, 1678, and 1688—Troubles with the Bishop—Chinipas District—Labors of Salvatierra—Revolts of 1690 and 1697—Map—Conquest of Pimería Alta—Father Kino and his Labors—At Bac and Caborca, 1692-3—Jironza in Command—Mange's Diaries—Kino on the Gulf Coast, 1694—Boat-building—Trip to the Gila, 1694—Revolt, Murder of Father Saeta, and Massacre of Pimas—Kino in Mexico—Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Entradas to the Rio Gila, 1697-1700—Vain Efforts to Obtain Missionaries for the Far North—Missions of Dolores, San Ignacio, Caborca, Tubutama, and Cocóspera—Military Operations in Apachería—Don Pablo's Revolt—Pimas Defeat the Apaches—Seris and Tepocas.

The territory from Chametla to San Felipe, corresponding to the modern Sinaloa, has for the second as for the first half of the seventeenth century practically no recorded annals. I cannot give even a complete list of the commandants, or governors, at the presidio. The California explorers seem to have been in command much of the time. Casanate as we have seen probably held the post in 1650. Miguel Calderon is named as the alcalde mayor at San Felipe in 1671. Rivera tells us that Bernardo Bernal Piñadero obtained the command in 1674. Pedro Hurtado de Castilla was captain in 1680. And in 1684 Isidro Otondo y Antillon is said to have been in charge of the government, leaving Juan Antonio Anguis in command during his absence.[1] In earlier chapters on

[1] *Rivera, Gobernantes de Mex.*, i. 242; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 456; iii. 25, 54.

gulf explorations we have had occasion to notice the touching of different craft from time to time at mainland anchorages, the records of these voyages affording no information respecting the state of affairs at the settlements.[2] In a later chapter on the Jesuit occupation of the peninsula in the last years of the century we shall notice other similar arrivals revealing nothing of mainland annals and being also for the most part north of the Rio del Fuerte.[3] The only definite record of mining industry is the statement that the famous Tajo mine at Rosario was accidentally discovered by a peasant named Leon Rojas in 1655.[4] Doubtless other mines were worked in the south, and in the north a few *reales de minas* will be mentioned in mission statistics. San Sebastian, Mazatlan, and San Miguel maintained their municipal existence on a small scale; and in 1678 the villa of San Felipe de Sinaloa had a Spanish and mixed population of about twelve hundred, with a garrison of forty men.

The closing of Ribas' record with the year 1645 had an effect on the written missionary annals of the country which is the best evidence of how valuable that record was and how closely other writers have followed and must follow it. With the exception of one or two statistical statements of mission progress and condition, the recorded history of the old mission districts, the subject of the preceding chapter, is exceedingly meagre, in fact almost a blank during the last half of the century, and it is only the exploration and conquest of new lands and the conversion of new tribes, especially in the far north, that will furnish material for a continuous narrative, and that only for

[2] See chap. vii.–viii., this volume.

[3] See chap. xi., this volume.

[4] *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 452 et seq. See also mention of mines of Mazatlan and Rosario in *Dampier's Voy.*, i. 265–9; *Buelna, Compen.*, 39 et seq.; *Ogilby's Amer.*, 285–6. When Father Salvatierra from California was visiting the mining camp of Los Frailes in 1700 the miners were engaged in a lawsuit at Guadalajara on which their future prospects depended. Salvatierra summoned all to devotional exercises in honor of Our Lady of Loreto, and as they left the church news came that the suit was won. *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 112.

the last years of the period. Yet even in the south we may almost evolve from nothingness and bring before the eyes of the mind the mission annals from year to year, feeling sure, as is indicated by the scattered documents of the archives, that nothing happened out of the dull routine, and that we have lost little more than names of padres, statistics of baptisms, instances of miraculous intervention,[5] and puerile anecdotes of neophytic doings.

The Chicuris, neighbors of the Chicoratos, were converted in 1671, at which time Father Gonzalo Navarro was rector, Tomás Hidalgo was at work among the Ahomes, and Jacinto Cortés among the Tehuecos. Melchor Paez, said to have been for twenty years a missionary in Sinaloa, died near Mexico in 1676; and the next year Andrés Egidiano, or Eugidiano, died, after long service at Bacum.[6] In 1677 also Matías Goñi visited the Chicoratos, but did not remain.[7] In 1678 Father Juan Ortiz Zapata made a general inspection of all the Jesuit establishments of Nueva Vizcaya; and by his report, the statistics of which for Sinaloa I append,[8] it appears that the

[5] Of such interference we are not left wholly in ignorance, but the instances are not very brilliant or extraordinary ones. At S. Pedro Guazave an image of the virgin wrought many miracles; 27 Indians were at the point of death in a time of pestilence, and the image was implored to save life; 16 recovered instantly, 10 within two hours, and one next morning after special prayer. A hurricane destroyed the church, but the image in its niche was not harmed. While the church was being rebuilt water failed, but the virgin sent a shower to fill the reservoir, so that it remained full till the church was done. An image at Mocorito was unwilling to be moved; the man who tried to remove it broke his saw; another who carried it away fell dead; and the padre who gave the order was thrown from a mule and died within a year! *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, 403–4, 410; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 457–8.

[6] Life and eulogy in *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 229–30.

[7] *Alegre*, iii. 14.

[8] *Zapata, Relacion de las Misiones que la Compañía de Jesus tiene en el Reino y Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1678.* In *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 301–419 (Sinaloa matter, p. 392–411); also MS. I shall further utilize this important report in this and other chapters on the missions of Sonora, Durango, and Chihuahua.

Mission of San Felipe y Santiago, 9 partidos, population, 9,689.

(1.) Concepcion de Vaca, 25–30 leagues Conicari, 30 l. s. w. Temoris, 35 l. N. S. Felipe (?), on Rio Carapoa, pop. 584. Santiago Guires, 5 l. N. E. Vaca, on same river, pop. 304; Partido under Padre Gonzalo Navarro, rector, with 888 persons.

(2.) San José del Toro, 4 l. s. w. Vaca, on same river, pop. 360. S. Ignacio

southern mission district, or modern Sinaloa, under the old name of San Felipe y Santiago consisted of twenty-three villages, with a population of nearly ten thousand, divided into nine partidos, and served by the same number of Jesuits. The largest military force was now sixty men at Montesclaros, while San Felipe presidio had only forty. The Spanish population according to some rather uncertain indications may have been five hundred exclusive of the one hundred soldiers.

In 1681 an effort was made by the bishop, in connection with the preparations for Otondo's expedition to California, not only to send a clérigo as chaplain on the fleet, but to station a provincial vicar at San Felipe. The Jesuits, however, were prompt with their protests and the threatened secularizing interference with their missions was stayed.[9] Nothing

Zoes, 6 l. N. E. Toro, on arroyo running into same river from Tubares, pop. 380; Sta Catalina Baitrena, 6 l. S. E., pop. 165. Partido under José Tapia with 910 persons, includes estancia S. Pedro belonging to college, 5 l. S. Toro.

(3.) Tehueco, on Rio Carapoa, pop. 782. Villa de Carapoa, or Fuerte Montesclaros, or S. Ignacio, 5 l. N. Tehueco, pop. 304, 60 soldiers; Asuncion Sivirijoa, 5 l. S. Tehueco, pop. 624; S. José Charay, 10 l. S. W. Tehueco, pop. 636. Partido under José Jimenez, to be succeeded by Francisco Sepúlveda, with 2,456 persons.

(4.) San Gerónimo Mochicagui (Mochicavi), 4 l. S. W. Charay, on Rio Carapoa, pop. 559. S. Miguel Suaqui, 4 l. W. Mochicavi on river, pop. 674; Asuncion Hoomi (Ahome?) 8 l. S. W., pop. 626. Partido under José Jimenez with 1,855 persons.

(5.) Santiago Ocoroni, 14 l. Charay, 16 l. S. E. Mochicavi, 6 l. N. W. S. Felipe, pop. 150. Bauria pueblo destroyed, under Francisco Reuter.

(6.) San Pedro Guazave, 14 l. S. W. Ocoroni, pop. 531. Reyes de Tamazula, 3 l. S. Guazave on river, 5 l. from sea, pop. 265; S. Ignacio Nio, 1½ l. N. E. Guazave on river, pop 308. Partido under Juan Bautista Anzieta with 1,101 persons. (See in *Jesuitas, Papeles*, no. 23, an autograph letter of this padre as visitador in 1681 to Salvatierra. Pecoro was then rector.)

(7.) Concepcion Bamoa, 5 l. W. S. Felipe, 4 l. Nio, on river, pop. 240. S. Felipe Villa, pop. 1,200 (partly Spanish), 40 soldiers; S. Lorenzo Oguera, 6 l. E. S. Felipe on river, pop. 185. Partido under Antonio Urquisa with 1,625 persons.

(8.) Concepcion Chicorato, 7 l. E. Oguera on river, pop. 228. S. Ignacio Chicuris, 5 l. N. Chicorato, pop. 99. Partido under Gerónimo Pistoya with 327 persons.

(9.) San Miguel Mocorito, 12 l. S. E. S. Felipe, 12 l. from sea, pop. 243. S. Pedro Bacoburito, 7 l. S. Chicorato, 10 l. N. Mocorito, pop. 152. Partido under Pedro Mesa, with 712 persons. Includes 43 ranchos, estancias, etc., with 43 Spanish families or 214 persons.

For the missions of Topia lying farther south and east see chapter xiii.

[9] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 27–8.

more is known of Sinaloa down to 1700, if we except the miraculous movements of a cross at Rosario in 1683, as certified by twenty-three witnesses whose testimony is recorded in the parish records.[10]

The origin of the name Sonora is a curiously complicated subject, respecting which the truth cannot be known. The two derivations suggested with some plausibility are the Spanish word *señora* and the native word *sonot*, forming in its oblique cases *sonota;* but the matter is further confused by the claim that the two words were identical in meaning, or that the latter was merely an attempt of the Opatas to pronounce the former. I append a note which brings out the various aspects of the problem, and shows that while a connection is probable between Sonora and Señora, it is not easy to decide whether the present name is a Spanish corruption of a native word or the reverse.[11]

[10] *Diccionario Universal*, viii. 735.

[11] Coronado in 1540 named the valley of Señora near the one called Corazones by Niza a few years earlier. Here was founded, or hither was transferred, a little later San Gerónimo. *Coronado, Relacion*, 147–9; *Jaramillo, Relacion*, 156; *Castañeda, Relacion*, 44; *Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xi. It seems that the name was Señora and not Nuestra Señora. Arricivita, *Crón. Seráf.*, prólogo, 4, says the valley was named for a rich native widow who entertained the army, adding that it was perhaps in order to forget her kindness that the name was changed to Sonora! Mange, *Hist. Pim.*, 392, tells us that the word *senora* heard by the Spaniards (in 17th century) was an attempt to say *señora* and thus to show that they had not forgotten the teachings of Cabeza de Vaca about the virgin. They could not pronounce the 'ñ,' and the Spaniards changed Señora to Sonora in order to be able to derive it from *sonota*, a 'maize-leaf.' Ribas, *Hist. Triumphos*, 392, on the contrary seems to imply that the original native word was Sonora, and that the Spaniards corrupted it into Señora. 'El valle de Sonora, de que tuuieron noticias los primeros descubridores de la Prouincia de Cinaloa, y corrompiendo el vocablo, llamauan valle de Señora.' Alcedo, *Dicc. Geog.*, iv. 574, regards Sonora as a corruption of Señora. According to the author of *Sonora, Estad.*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 625, writing in 1730, the oldest Indians said that a ranchería of natives living about a muddy spring near Huepaca built their huts of reeds and maize-leaves, and called them *sonota*, which the Spaniards changed to Sonora. Hernandez, *Geog. Son.*, 5–6, favors the last derivation, but notes an opinion of some that the settlers called the country *son-ora*, wishing to express in one word the richness of soil and the sonorous quality of gold! The author of *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 493–4, in 1764, also writes: 'Creo que no me engañaré si me inclino á pensar que por lo mucho que ha *sonado* en Mexico y aun en Europa su prodigiosa riqueza se haya merecido el nombre de Sonora.' 'Sunora, as the Indians say, or Sonora as the Spaniards call it.' *Niel, Apunt.*,

In the north, the territory of the modern Sonora, we find that in 1653 the district of San Francisco Javier included twenty-three towns with over twenty-five thousand neophytes, of whom eight thousand had been baptized within the last few years. Since 1650 the final conversion of the natives of Arizpe and Sinoquipe had been accomplished by fathers Canal, Ignacio Molarja, and Felipe Esgrecho, the latter remaining in charge. This conversion involved several failures and serious obstacles, even threats of personal violence. One native argued so eloquently and skilfully against christianity as to show clearly that he was inspired by Satan. During this period also a band of one hundred and sixty Imuris from Pimería Alta had been added to the Nacameri mission under Padre Francisco Paris; while others of the same tribe had settled at Bacobichi. Moreover Padre Marcos del Rio of the Guazava mission accomplished by gentleness and zeal what military force had utterly failed to do, bringing some of the wild Sumas to Oputo to make peace and prepare the way to conversion. Yet 1651 was a year of famine and much suffering, and the Jesuits lost also one of their veterans, Padre Vandersipe, who had toiled nearly thirty years among the Nevomes.[12]

For 1658 we have the *puntos de anua* of the Nevome mission of San Francisco Borja, a document that the Jesuit historian Alegre seems not to have consulted.[13] The mission, or district, had sixteen pueblos, in seven partidos each with its

79. Mowry, *Arizona*, 41–2, supposes that *Sonot* or *Senot* was the native name for señora, or madam. Velasco, *Sonora*, 17, and *Id.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 216, admits the derivation from *sonot*, but thinks the word was merely a native attempt to say señora. Orozco y Berra, *Geog.*, 337, expresses no opinion. In *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 506, it is printed 'Tzonora,' but not so in the MS. p. 1104.

[12] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 383–4, 402–5, with a letter from Padre Canal.

[13] *Puntos de Anua, 1658*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 767–72. It is not impossible that there is an error in the date of this document, as in the case of another important one to be noticed a little later, or that Alegre has disregarded both papers, as I have been tempted to do, because he could not reconcile them.

padre. Three, Sahuaripa, Onabas, and Mobas, with seven towns, were in the mountains and known as Nevomes Altos; while four, Tecoripa, Comuripa, Matape, and Batuco, were in the plain. Four different languages, Cahita, Eudeve, Pima, and Ure, were spoken. No names of padres are given; but the baptisms for the year were seven hundred and seventy-two, and the marriages two hundred and two. Spiritual condition and prospects were all that could be desired, and miracles were not wanting. A terrible pestilence enabled many to show their predestination to salvation by being more anxious about their souls than their bodies. Despite the devil's efforts through two old women to persuade the people that the pest was his own work, they chose to believe that it came from God as a punishment, and believing *muy de veras* that the author could give relief, resolved on a grand *rogativa* and procession, which took place in a pouring rain and all were healed. This was at Nuri; the same expedient was tried elsewhere, but as faith was weaker and superstition stronger, the result was less satisfactory. At Comuripa where the long-continued *embustes* of native sorcerers were powerless to produce rain, the prayers of innocent children gathered for doctrina brought down a copious shower as they left the church. At Onabas a relic of the dead Padre Bernardino Realino cured a dying paralytic in a night. The spirit often moved gentiles to come in from distant regions for baptism, and the slightest illness caused the padre to be summoned, no matter how far away he might be.

In 1673 a new difficulty arose between the Jesuits and ecclesiastical authorities. The bishop having died, Brother Tomás de Aguirre was sent in his place to 'visit' the establishments of Sinaloa and Sonora. He was kindly received at Matape college by the rector Daniel Angelo Marras, by the Jesuit visitador Álvaro Flores de Sierra, and by other padres; but he was refused access to the mission books, and was shown

royal orders in justification of the refusal. On February 5th Aguirre in writing refused obedience to the cédulas on the grounds that they were in conflict with ecclesiastical authority, had never been confirmed by later kings, and had never been enforced. The same day Father Marras replied, also in writing, claiming that the orders exempting Jesuit missions from the bishop's visitas did not conflict with episcopal authority, having been issued with the sole view of promoting conversion and Christianity; that they were not invalid *per non usum* since in sixty years the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora had been inspected only once, the Jesuits having submitted under protest in 1668 to save quarrels; and that they required no confirmation. He calls upon Aguirre to retract his *auto*. Next day the would-be visitador in his turn replied that while he could not grant the correctness of the rector's arguments, yet to prevent hard feelings and dissension he would suspend his inspection and leave the question to be settled by superior authorities.[14]

In 1677, as Alegre tells us, a small beginning was made in the conversion of the Seris, so troublesome in later years. The first, and perhaps the only convert, was an old man of one hundred years, who came to Banamichi to be baptized by Padre Búrgos. Then we have for 1678 Padre Ortiz Zapata's valuable report, according to which the northern mission districts were three in number: San Francisco Borja with ten partidos and twenty-seven pueblos; San Francisco Javier de Sonora with eight partidos and twenty-two pueblos; and San Ignacio de Yaqui with ten partidos and twenty-three pueblos. Thirty padres were serving about forty thousand persons, of whom perhaps

[14] *Testimonio auténtico de lo sucedido en la Visita, etc.*, in tom. xvi. of *Archivo General*, printed in *Sonora, Materiales*, 773–8; *Alegre*, ii. 466–7. The latter implies that the Jesuits objected only to a visita from an official of lower rank than the bishop; but the original documents show that they disputed the right of the bishop himself to inspect the books, asserting that on past visits he had never insisted on such an inspection, but had taken it for granted that all was correct.

five hundred were Spanish or of mixed race.[15] There is another similar document extant, which both in my manuscript and printed copies bears the date of 1658, which must be an error, since some towns are correctly stated in the document[16] to have been founded as late as 1679. From several circumstances which it is not necessary to name I suppose the date to have been 1688. This catalogue omits the Yaqui district in the south, but out of the other two forms three districts, or *rectorados*, as follows: San Francisco Borja, with nineteen pueblos in seven partidos; San Francisco Javier with fourteen pueblos in six partidos; and Santos Mártires de Japon, with eighteen pueblos in six partidos—an increase of one padre, one partido, and three pueblos in ten years. The new district, formed chiefly from the old San Francisco Javier, included the towns from Batuco and Nacori northward. In a note I give the statistical substance of Zapata's *Relacion*, and add such variations, excepting minor ones of orthography, as are found in the *Catálogo*. I omit, however, in most cases distances, because the Sonora towns with few exceptions can be definitely located on the map.[17]

[15] *Zapata, Relacion*, 344–92.

[16] *Sonora, Catálogo de los Partidos contenidos en los rectorados de las Misiones de Sonora por el año de 1658*, in tom. xvi. of *Archivo General*, and printed in *Sonora, Materiales*, 790–4.

[17] Mission of San Francisco Borja de Sonora, 10 partidos (rectorado with 7 partidos in 1688. *Cátalogo*):

(1.) San Ildefonso Yecora, population 356, founded 1673; S. Francisco Borja Maicoba, pop. 153, founded 1676. Padre Pedro Matias Gori (Goñi?) with 509 persons. Manuel Sanchez in 1688.

(2.) San Francisco Javier Arivechi, pop. 466, founded 1627; S. Ignacio Bacanora, pop. 253, founded 1627; Sta Rosalía Onapa, pop. 171, founded 1677; Padre Natal Lombardo (or Sambrano) with 890 persons. (I have in *Jesuitas, Papeles*, an autograph letter of Lombardo to Salvatierra of 1677.) A few small mining camps, the Spaniards going to Sahuaripa for religion.

(3.) Sta María Sahuaripa, pop. 682, founded 1627; Teopari (S. José), pop. 369, founded 1676; San Mateo (Malzura), pop. 596, founded 1677; P. Domingo Miguel (rector in 1688), with 1,749 persons.

(4.) Santos Reyes Cucurpe, pop. 329, founded 1647 (belonged before and after to S. Fran. Javier mission); S. Miguel Toape, pop. 240; Asuncion Opodepe, pop. 320. P. Gaspar Tomás with 989 persons. P. Pedro Castellanos in 1688.

(5.) San Miguel Ures (in S. Fran. Javier rectorado in 1688), pop. 904, founded 1636; Santa María Nacameri, pop. 362, founded 1638; Nra Sra del Pópulo Valley, no mission in 1678, but P. Fernandez ready to found one;

In the mountain district stretching north and south from Chinipa, a part of modern Chihuahua, any attempt with the data extant to clear up the confusion in pueblo geography would be utterly vain. Few of the towns can be even approximately located, and we must be content to know that they were in the sierra about the head-waters of the rivers Mayo and Fuerte.

founded 1679, P. Francisco Javier Soto with 1,266 persons. P. Juan Fernandez in 1688.

(6.) S. José Matape, college town, pop. 482, founded 1629; Sta Cruz (Nacori), pop. 394; Asuncion Alamos, pop. 165; S. Fran. Javier Reboico, pop. 330, founded 1673. P. José Osorio (also in 1690), with 1,431 persons; P. Daniel Angel Marras, rector of college. P. Marras not named in 1688. (He died in 1689 in Mexico, *Alegre*, iii. 66, and was succeeded by Cavero. *Sonora*, *Mat.*, 795.)

(7.) Sta María Batuco (partido in new rectorado in 1688, pueblo Asuncion Batuco), pop. 428, founded 1629; S. Francisco Javier Batuco, pop. 480; S. Joaquin y Sta Ana Tepachi, pop. 388, founded 1678. P. Juan Fernandez Cavero, rector, with 1,296 persons. Some mining camps. P. Fernando Pecoro.

(8.) San Francisco Borja Tecoripa, pop. 269, founded 1619; S. Ignacio Subaque, pop. 415; S. Pablo Comuripa, pop. 450 (called S. Pedro in *Catálogo*). P. Nicolás Villafañe, with 1,141 persons.

(9.) San Ignacio Onabas, pop. 875, founded 1622; Sta María del Pópulo Tonichi, pop. 510, founded 1628; P. Juan Almoniza, or Almonacir, with 1,365 persons, visitador in 1688.

(10.) Santa María Mobas, pop. 308, founded 1622; S. Joaquin y Sta Ana (Nuri), pop. 180. P. Alonso Victoria with 488 persons. (P. Juan Meneses in 1690.)

Mission of San Francisco Javier de Sonora, 8 partidos (rectorado with 6 partidos in 1688. *Catálogo*):

(1.) San Miguel Oposura, pop. 334, founded 1644 (in new rectorado 1688); Asuncion Amipas (or Comupas), pop. 887; P. Juan Martinez, rector, with 1,621 persons. P. Manuel Gonzalez in 1688.

(2.) San Francisco Javier Guazava (in new rectorado 1688), pop. 632, founded 1645; S. Ignacio Opotu, pop. 424 (also Sta Gertrudis Techicodeguachi, in 1688). P. José Covarrubias, with 1,146 persons. P. Antonio Leal, rector, in 1688.

(3.) Sta María Nacori (in new rectorado 1688), pop. 450, founded 1645; S. Luis Gonzaga Bacadeguachi (written many ways), pop. 370; Sto Tomás Sereba (Setusura), pop. 262. P. Luis Dávila.

(4.) Sta María Baseraca (in new rectorado in 1688), pop. 399, founded 1645; S. Juan Guachinera, pop. 538; S. Miguel Babispe, pop. 402. P. Pedro Silva, with 1439 persons. P. Juan Antonio Estrella in 1688.

(5.) San Ignacio Cuquiarachi (in new rectorado in 1688), pop. 380, founded 1653; Guadalupe Teuricachi, pop. 224; Sta Rosa Tibideguachi, pop. 214; S. Fran. Javier Cuchuta, pop. 227. P. Juan Antonio Estrella, with 1,050 persons. On frontier. P. Marcos Leyola in 1688.

(6.) Asuncion Arizpe, pop. 416, founded 1648 (no pueblos in 1688); S. José Chinapa, pop. 393 (separate partido with a pueblo of Vescuachi in 1688); S. Miguel Bacuachi, pop. 195. P. Felipe Esgrecho, with 1,004 persons. Chinapa under P. Cárlos Celestri in 1688.

(7.) San Lorenzo Huepaca, pop. 268, founded 1639; S. Ignacio Sinoquipe, pop. 367, founded 1646; Remedios Banamichi, pop. 338, founded 1639; P. Juan Muñoz de Búrgos, with 1,043 persons.

(8.) San Pedro Aconchi, pop. 580, founded 1639; Concepcion Babiacora,

The conversion and revolt of these mountaineers in 1620–32 have been already narrated. In 1670 Padre Álvaro Flores de la Sierra of Toro mission converted a few Varohios of Yecarome, and with them founded a pueblo of Babuyagui half way between the mission and their home, sending for padres to continue their work. Alcalde Miguel Calderon also asked for padres for the Tubares whom he found well disposed during his mining explorations. In 1673 five new padres came, and one was stationed at Babuyagui by Sierra, who was now visitador. But Sierra died in 1673; the pueblo became a mere *visita;* the Maguiaguis were troublesome; the devil placed a tree across the trail, thus causing the padre's mule to jump with its venerable rider into a deep barranca; and the new conversion had to be temporarily abandoned.[18]

Many Babuyagui converts, however, came to Toro, and were instructed by Padre José Tapia. In April 1676 Nicolás Prado arrived and was followed a few

pop. 445. P. Juan Fernandez, with 1,025 persons. P. Fran. Javier Soto in 1688.

Mission of San Ignacio de Yaqui, 10 partidos (not in *Catálogo*):

(1.) Sta Rosa Bahium (Bacum), pop. 337; Espiritu Santo Cocorin, pop. 510; P. Antonio Oreña, with 847 persons.

(2.) San Ignacio Torin, pop. 1,070; Trinidad Bicam, pop. 1,271. P. Andrés Cervantes, with 2,349 persons.

(3.) Asuncion Rahum, pop. 3,231; Trinidad Potan, pop. 1,133; Nra Sra Belen, newly founded among Guaymas, pop. 564. P. Diego Neazquina, with 4,958 persons.

(4.) Sta Cruz de Mayo, pop. 2,803; Espíritu Santo Echonoba (Ehojoa?), pop. 2,164. P. Antonio Diego Sabanzo with 4,967 persons.

(5.) Natividad Nabohona, pop. 172; Concepcion Covirimpo, pop. 1,141. P. Luis Sandoval, with 1,313 persons.

(6.) San Ignacio Tesia, pop. 497; Sta Catalina Cayamoa, pop. 420. P. Antonio Leal, with 917 persons.

(7.) San Andrés Conicari, pop. 413; Asuncion Tepahue, pop. 368, with rancherías Batacosa and Macoyahui. P. Antonio Mendez with 1,335 persons. Mining camp of Piedras Verdes with 30 Spaniards.

(8.) Sta Inés Chinipa, pop. 580; Guadalupe Boragios (Tayrachi), pop. 290. P. Nicolás del Prado.

(9.) Nra Sra Loreto Varohios, pop. 269; Sta Ana, pop. 300; P. Fernando Pecoro, with 569 persons.

(10.) Sta Teresa Guazápares, pop. 814; Magdalena Temoris, pop. 585; Nra Sra del Valle Umbroso, pop. 235. P. Bautista Copart with 1,634 persons. Many other places where missions are proposed are vaguely located in the sierra.

[18] *Relacion de la Nueva Entrada de los padres de la Compañía de Jesus á las Naciones de Chinipa, etc.*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 779–83; also MS.; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 455–7, 465–6.

months later by Fernando Pecoro. In June both padres, with a party of the Varohio converts, started for the land of the gentiles and arrived in six days at Chinipa, where the ruins of the old church were still to be seen. Prado remained here and founded Santa Inés Chinipa among the Guailopos; while his companion went on in July to visit the Varohios, who had killed Pascual and Martinez, and who seemed at first likely to do as much for Pecoro, but soon became friendly, and were gathered in the towns of Guadalupe, Valle Umbroso, and Santa Ana. The Guazápares next submitted, their pueblo being Santa Teresa; and then the Temoris at Santa María Magdalena. The bands known as Husarones, Cutecos, and Tecavoguis were also influenced more or less to give up their hostilities and immoralities. The two pioneer missionaries attended for four years to the whole field, baptizing more than four thousand persons, until June 1680, when Juan María Salvatierra, afterward famous as the apostle of California Baja, but now fresh from his studies in Mexico, came and took charge of Santa Teresa and Magdalena. Eager to convert gentiles he started at once on a visit to the frontier Jerocavis and Husarones, baptizing many of the former and only prevented from baptizing all the latter by an order from his rector to proceed slowly as that people were notoriously of bad faith.[19]

In 1681 or a little later the conversion of the Tubares, hitherto well disposed, was undertaken on a very novel plan. One of the secular clergy, whom the bishop had not succeeded in settling as curate at Sinaloa, resolved to become the Tubare apostle, and tried it with a guard of five or six soldiers. His success for the first few days not coming up to his expectations he adopted the ingenious expedient of shackling the pagans and releasing them only when they begged for baptism. This naturally irritated the natives, who revolted, drove out the clérigo, and retained for years

[19] *Relacion de la Nueva Entrada*, 84–9; *Alegre*, iii. 12–15, 25–7.

a prejudice against the true faith. It is well, however, to bear in mind that this story is told by the Jesuits. In 1684, when Salvatierra had added to his Guazápare mission the pueblo of San Francisco Javier de Jerocavi, he was called to Mexico; but so inconsolable were his neophytes and so eager the padre for missionary work that he was soon permitted to return. Back again his first work was to visit the ranchería of Cuteco and the barranca of Hurichi, where he made a good impression, though the Tubares worked against him. Then he went after the Tubares themselves, removing largely their prejudices and obtaining their aid to build roads from Vaca to Jerocavi.

The disaffection of the Tubares is claimed by the Jesuits to have caused indirectly the revolt of 1690, which, chiefly affecting Chihuahua, is to be recorded in another chapter; yet through Salvatierra's influence the Tubares themselves did not engage in the rebellion, neither did the other bands under his personal care. Vague as are the records of this revolt east of the mountains they are still more so on the west. Alegre states that the Chinipas, or part of them, were near causing the death of Salvatierra, who was protected by the majority; also that on April 2d the savages fell upon the missions, mines, and haciendas, ravaging and burning everything as far as Ostimuri. There was much alarm also in the north about Baseraca and Babispe; but I find no clear indication that any lives were lost, churches burned, or towns abandoned west of the sierra. Salvatierra had just been appointed visitador,[20] and not only did he keep his own former subjects quiet, but he crossed the sierra to the Tarahumara missions in the Yepomera region, where the padres had been killed and the converts for the most part had run away, doing more, it is said, to restore peace than could be effected by the military

[20] We have seen that, according to the *Catálogo*, Padre Copart was in charge of the Guazápare mission.

force. Again in 1696–7 there was trouble in the northern regions of the sierra, and the Guazápares and Cutecos not only did not join the rebels, but marched bravely against them and contributed largely to their defeat, greatly to the delight of Salvatierra, who was at the time visiting his old flock while waiting for a vessel to take him to California. He relates that each Christian warrior wore a rosary hung to his neck, and that not one thus protected was wounded above the waist.[21] In 1697 it seems that Prado was still in this field; Manuel Ordaz was in charge of Jerocavi and Cuteco; and two others were Martin Benavides and Antonio Gomar. Again in 1700 Salvatierra had the pleasure of revisiting for a day or two his old mission with a party of California Indians whom he had brought across to study the advantages of pueblo life. He was received with triumphal arches, and every demonstration of joyful welcome. Benavides and Gomar were yet here, but Prado and Ordaz had been replaced by Guillermo Ming and Francisco Javier Montoya.[22]

With the exception of the statistics already placed before the reader, the history of the old Sonora mission districts, as already stated, is a blank during the last quarter of the century. It is only in the northwest, in Pimería Alta, from the San Ignacio to the Gila, that the course of events has left any definite trace. Here Father Eusebio Francisco Kino was the central figure and moving spirit in all that was done.[23] We have seen him as priest and cosmogra-

[21] *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 109–12; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 50–4, 70–3; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 91.

[22] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 113.

[23] Eusebius Kühn, as his name was doubtless written in his early years—Kino being a Spanish compromise between the original and Quino—was born at Trent in the Austrian province of Tyrol about 1640, and was educated in the same country at Ala college, and subsequently in Bavaria, where he was connected with the university at Ingoldstadt. Attributing his recovery from serious illness to the intercession of San Francisco Javier, patron of the Indies, he adopted the name Francisco and vowed to devote his life to the conversion of American gentiles. With this view—whether he was already

pher under Otondo in California, and learned that he left the colony at San Bruno in the autumn of 1684, crossing over to the Yaqui. He probably remained in Sonora a year, attending to supplies for the colony, making the acquaintance of missionaries, studying the country and the people, and especially seeking information about the gentile Pimas in

Pimería in the Seventeenth Century.

a Jesuit or now became one does not clearly appear—he resigned a professorship of mathematics at Ingoldstadt, or perhaps simply declined that position tendered him by the Duke of Bavaria, and came to Mexico in 1680 or 1681. He first attracted attention in scientific circles by engaging in an astronomical discussion with the famous Sigüenza y Góngora, and was soon after attached to the expedition of Admiral Otondo as cosmógrafo, as well as priest for California, where his services have already been narrated. See p. 187 etc. of this volume. It was perhaps in California that he made his final profession as a Jesuit on Aug. 15, 1684. See *Apostólicos Afanes*, 230, 328–30; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 155–6; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 3–4; *Clavigero, Storia Cal.*, i. 263–4; *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 547. His *Explicacion del Cometa* was printed in Mexico, 1681. For a list of his MS. writings see *Backer, Bib.*, v. 367–8.

the northern region; for it was by that way that he hoped yet to reach the wonderful Californian lands in whose existence he believed, like others of his time, and which it seemed impossible to reach by any other way. He doubtless knew all that was to be known about Sonora, when, at the end of 1685, Otondo came over and took the *cosmógrafo* on a voyage to warn the Manila galleon.

Most of 1686 was spent in Mexico in perfecting plans for the spiritual conquest of Pimería. No one had any objections to his converting gentiles as far north as he pleased; the only difficulty was to get money from the royal coffers. Yet as the sum required was small, and the absence of so persistent and logical a beggar was very desirable, the viceroy gave him at last an allowance for two new missions, one to be founded among the Seris of the gulf coast, and he started northward the 20th of November. During his stay in Sonora he had noted a prevalent disregard of royal orders bearing on repartimientos and native laborers, which was one of the greatest obstacles encountered by the padres. He therefore stopped at Guadalajara on his way, where he demanded and obtained from the audiencia an order exempting new converts for five years from all work in mines and haciendas. About the same time arrived the royal cédula of May 14th, of like tenor, but extending the exemption to twenty years,[24] a cédula strictly obeyed perhaps—in districts where there were neither mines nor haciendas.

Armed with these documents and clothed in Jesuit zeal, Kino reached Ures early in 1687, obtained interpreters, and on March 13th as a beginning of his apostolic career founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores just above Cucurpe, at the source of the river since called San Miguel, or Horcasitas. His subsequent movements for several years are not re-

[24] Previous cédulas of 1607 and 1618 had prohibited such labor for ten years after baptism. *Recop. de las Ind.*, tit. i. 20, v. 3.

corded in detail; but he founded the towns of San Ignacio[25] and San José Imuris on the Rio San Ignacio some twenty-five or thirty miles across the mountains from Dolores, and also Remedios between Dolores and Imuris. Imuris would seem to have been abandoned some years later. The natives were the most intelligent and docile yet found in Sonora; but from the very first years exaggerated and absurd rumors of their ferocity are vaguely alluded to as having kept away other padres and greatly troubled the pioneer, who nevertheless kept on alone and before 1690 had fine churches in each of his villages.[26]

The Apaches, Jocomes, Sumas, Janos, and other savages in the north-east were constantly on the war-path,[27] and by the authorities in Sinaloa and Mexico, in fact by everybody but Father Kino, the Pimas

[25] It seems to have been called S. Ignacio Caborca at first, but as the native name was rarely applied later, and then with a great variety of spellings, and as there was another pueblo known as Caborca, I have contrary to my usual custom used the Spanish name exclusively. The pueblo of Imuris was oftener written Hymeris or Himeris.

[26] *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus escritos por un padre de la misma sagrada religion de su Provincia de Mexico*, Barcelona, 1754. This important and rare work was completed in Mexico in 1752 and published by P. Francisco Javier Fluviá as above. The writer modestly claims that his book is only a collection of original *memorias* from the pens of different Jesuit missionaries, arranged in chronological order with here and there slight modifications to insure a certain uniformity of style. No special lack of uniformity is, however, noticeable, and the style is perhaps equal to that of other similar chronicles of the time. Certain passages in the work show that the editor was probably Padre Joseph Ortega of the Nayarit missions. See also *Backer, Bib.*, iv. 497–8, from Beristain; and *Id.*, v. 354. The work is full of miraculous happenings, but the author protests that in recording divine intervention in behalf of persons not canonized by the church, he claims no other credit than such as is awarded to a 'purely human' and diligent historian. The copy consulted by me is in the library of the Jesuit college of Santa Clara. Libros ii. and iii. relate to the Jesuit work in Pimería, and the former almost exclusively to Kino's achievements down to 1710, being in substance as is believed Kino's own letters on the subject. It may be regarded probably as the *Historia de Sonora* vaguely alluded to by several writers as having been left in MS. by Kino. It is of course an authority of the very highest class, having in fact only one rival to be mentioned later. See also on the beginnings of this conversion *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 60–2; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 843–5; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 87–90; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, i. 176–7; *Velasco, Sonora*, 139; *Id.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, viii. 658.

Padre Osorio, writing Feb. 24, 1690 from Matape, where Juan Fernandez Cavero was now rector since the death of Marras, states that the Pimas are anxious for conversion and desire that Padre Juan Menoses at Mobas be sent to them. *Sonora, Materiales*, 795–6.

[27] According to *Sonora, Descrip.*, 605–6, the savages attacked Sta Rosa and Cuquiarachi in May and June 1688, driving out the Opatas. Fifteen soldiers

were supposed to be implicated in their outrages. This caused great annoyance all through his career to Kino, who insisted that the Pimas were innocent, as they doubtless were now and for some years. Salvatierra in his tour as visitador met Kino at Dolores in the spring of 1691, and these two kindred spirits fairly revelled in their apostolic castle-building and plans for spiritual conquest on both sides of the gulf up to the latitude of Monterey, if not to the strait of Anian or the North Pole. Kino took the visitador on a tour not only to his villages of converts, but far beyond among the gentiles, intent on showing how well disposed they were for Christianity. They went to Tubutama and Saric, possibly crossed the modern Arizona line to Tumacacori,[28] and returned to Cocóspera after having met a large delegation of Sobaipuris who begged for padres. At Cocóspera they parted, Kino remaining awhile in this vicinity, and Salvatierra continuing his visita southward after exacting a promise from his companion to build a vessel on the coast with a view to further exploration.

Again in 1692 Kino returned to Suamca, and is said to have gone as far north as Bac, near the modern Tucson;[29] and at the end of the same year, or more likely early in 1693, he explored for the first time the country from Tubutama westward down the river to a point within sight of the gulf. Four thousand people, called Sobas, from the name of their cacique, were found round about Caborca, willing to be converted and to make peace with their eastern neighbors, for-

were sent up from Sinaloa and founded in 1690–1 the presidio of Fronteras, or Corodeguachi, though the site was afterward changed.

[28] The route according to *Apost. Afanes*, 248–52, was Dolores, Magdalena, Tupo, Tubutama, Saric, Tucvbavia, S. Cayetano Tumacacori ((see note 35), Sta María Suamca, Cocóspera. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 73–4, names Guevavi as the place where the Sobaipuris were met; and he strangely speaks of Tubutama, Saric, and other rancherías as missions already founded, although at most they could only have been visited by Kino and a few children baptized. Still more strangely he speaks of the padres being ordered to retire from Remedios and Imuris, although there had been no padres there at all. Velasco, *Sonora*, 139, speaks of Tubutama as re-established and Guevavi as founded during this trip.

[29] *Apost. Afanes*, 251; *Alegre*, iii. 82.

merly their foes. Padre Agustin Campos had now come up to take charge of San Ignacio, and he was one of this party.[30]

In 1693 Sonora was again separated, practically and perhaps formally, from Sinaloa, or from the jurisdiction of the comandante at San Felipe. At the petition of the inhabitants, a new "flying company" of fifty men was organized for the defence of Sonora, and Domingo Jironza Petriz de Crusate, ex-governor of New Mexico, was in February put in command with the title of capitan-gobernador. He is called in documents of the time, governor, general, or captain, and his authority in Sonora was apparently the same as that of the comandante of Sinaloa, there being nothing to indicate that he was in any way subordinate to that official. He also held after March the office of alcalde mayor in place of Melchor Ruiz. His capital and ordinary place of residence was at San Juan Bautista. He came up to Sonora probably in 1693, obtaining recruits for his company on the way, including six at Sinaloa presidio; and at once proceeded to initiate his men into active service by two successful campaigns against the savages who had recently attacked Nacori and Bacadeguachi. In 1694 the work was zealously prosecuted in at least four campaigns on the north-eastern frontier against the Apaches, Jocomes, Janos, and allied bands. In the first Jironza killed thirteen and captured seven of the band that had stolen 100,000 head of horses in the vicinity of Terrenate and Batepito. This was in the spring. Again in September he repulsed with great slaughter six hundred savages at Chuchuta, being aided by three hundred Pimas with poisoned arrows. In November also the Pimas aided in an ent[illegible]a made by the combined forces of

[illegible]delmair, Re'

[30] *Sec.*, 375. *Relacion*, 844; *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 226–31; *Velarde, Descrip. Hist.* [illegible]no and C[illegible] author of the *Apost. Afanes*, followed by Alegre, says that [illegible] Campos on this occasion ascended the Nazareno hill, and this may be so; but probably not, for Mange implies that it was at least named on a later trip when he was present. According to the *Apost. Afanes*, Kino made a second visit to the coast in July 1693. In *Magdalena, Libro de Bautismos*, MS., Padre Campos writes: 'Entré en esta mision el año de 1693.'

Jironza and Captain Juan Fernandez de la Fuente of the Janos presidio; but little or nothing was accomplished after much hard marching and not a little fighting. Subsequent raids were of frequent occurrence, but are for the most part very imperfectly recorded.[31]

Juan Mateo Mange was a nephew of Governor Jironza, who had left Spain in 1692 to join his uncle, and had been appointed by the latter ensign in the *compañía volante.* At the beginning of 1694, being made lieutenant, alcalde mayor, and *capitan á guerra,* he was detailed to accompany the padres on their expeditions, with orders to write official reports of all discoveries. His reports have fortunately been preserved, and are the best original authority on the exploration of northern Sonora, being often more satisfactory than even Kino's letters as embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes.*[32] On the 1st of February Mange left San Juan, the capital, arriving the 3d at Dolores

[31] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 227–59; *Alegre*, iii. 84.

[32] *Mange* (*Historia de la Pimería Alta. Diarios originales y oficiales por D. Juan Mateo Mange, capitan á guerra y teniente de alcalde mayor*). Thus shall I refer to a work without title preserved in MS. in tom. xvii. of the *Archivo General* in Mexico, of which I have a MS. copy. It was also printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. tom. i. 226–402, to which of course my notes refer. The work is composed of Mange's diaries given literally, but connected apparently with remarks by some editor whose name is not known. It is divided into 12 chapters, giving a very complete history of northern Sonora and southern Arizona from 1692 to 1721. Chapters ix.–xii. pp. 344–90 were written by P. Luis Velarde, the successor of Kino at Dolores in 1716. These chapters contain an account of the people and the country with some historical information. Chapter xii., written either by Mange, or more likely by the unknown editor, is chiefly descriptive, but also contains a résumé of history before 1692. I shall cite Velarde's part of the work as *Descripcion Histórica de la Pimería*, with the page of the printed edition.

Under the title *Sonora, Materiales para la Historia de la Provincia*, may be noted the contents of tom. xvi.–xvii. of the MSS. of the *Archivo General*, copies in my Library from the collection of the l. tom. G. Squier, printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 489–932; sonora annals: i. 1–468. This is an invaluable collection, the very foundation of because many of its documents are worthy of being cited as separate works not very frequent occasion to refer to its general title, under their own titles. See in list of authorities *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.; Id., Descrip. Suscinta; Id., Desped.; Lizasoin; Catálogo; Id., Resúmen; Salvador, Consulta; Noticias de Leones; Vildosola, Cartas; Keller, Consulta; Quijano, Informe; Cancio, Noticias; Id., Informe; Id., Jornada; Instrucciones; Reyes, Noticia; Testimonio Auténtico; Relacion de la Entrada; Bernal, Relacion;* and *Kino, Tercera Entrada.*

ready for the duties of his new position. On the 7th Kino and Mange, armed with faith and with a picture of the celestial apostle San Francisco Javier, crossed over the Sierra del Comedio to Santa María Magdalena, where after a day of preaching and baptizing they were joined by Padre Antonio Kappus from Opodepe, and two Spaniards. Starting on the 9th they took a turn north-westward through the mountains, returning to the river near the junction of the two branches, and reaching Caborca in two days.[33] They followed the river down to its sink, and the general course of its dry bed westward, turning aside on the 14th to cross a range of hills, from the highest peak of which, named Cerro Nazareno, they looked out upon the waters of the gulf, its isles, and the contra costa.[34] Next day Kino and Mange went on in advance of the rest, and were the first to reach the coast from the interior of Pimería Alta. The return to Dolores, where they arrived on the 23d, was by the same route, save that they kept nearer the river between the junction and Magdalena. It does not seem desirable in this or other similar entradas to describe the petty incidents of the march or of intercourse with the natives, whom they found always friendly and willing to hear their preaching. Caborca, in a fertile region artificially irrigated by the Soba inhabitants, seemed to all the best spot for a mission.

With a view to visit other Soba rancherías, with certain reported salinas, or salt-beds, and especially to build a boat for exploration as had been agreed with Salvatierra, another trip was made almost imme-

[33] Magdalena was called by the natives Buquibava. The route was: Tupocuyos, S. Miguel Bosua, Laguna S. Bartolomé Oacue (to which point Capt. Fuente and Alcalde Castillo had penetrated three years before in pursuit of runaways from Opodepe. On the return march Toape and Mastuerzos were named in this region nearer the river), Pitiqui, on river; Caborca, sink of river, 3 leagues; S. Valentin, 9 l.; Cerro Nazareno, 6 l.; Ollas, 3 l.; coast, 9 l.

[34] Four hills on the California coast were named the Santos Evangelistas; an island in the N. W. with three hills, Tres Marías; and the island of the Seris, or Tiburon, in the S. W., San Agustin.

diately. Kino and Mange left Dolores the 16th of March with twenty native servants and carpenters bearing tools and even some of the more complicated parts of the proposed craft. This time they crossed over by Magdalena to San Pedro Tubutama, which was now a regular mission pueblo, with four hundred inhabitants, under Daniel Januske, who had taken charge in 1693. Thence they went down the river, passing Santa Teresa, San Antonio Oquitoa, and a place they named El Altar, which name has since clung to locality and river. The boat, thirty feet long, was to be built at Caborca and dragged to the sea. A large poplar was selected for the purpose, and after a certain amount of machete work at the base, Captain Mange climbed the tree to attach a rope by which it was to be pulled down. The tree fell somewhat prematurely, bringing down with it the valiant captain, who was saved from serious injury only by the prayers of the pious Kino kneeling on the ground below. Mange went to the coast again by the same route as before, finding some fine salinas and a little port which he named Santa Sabina. The natives were tractable as before, and each chief received a badge of office from the representative of the Spanish crown. Eighty children and sick persons were baptized, and the list of registered candidates for salvation was increased to 1,930. The timber must be seasoned before the boat could be built, and the party returned to Dolores on the 4th of April, to return again in June. This time Mange left Kino at Tubutama, and went up the river to a ranchería named Cups some twenty-three leagues beyond Tacubavia,[35] where he heard of large tribes, and particularly of *casas grandes*, five days' journey north-eastward on a great river flowing from east to west. Rejoining Kino at Caborca he found that the padre had received

[35] Mange says that Tacubavia was the limit of Salvatierra's *visita*, so that if he went on to Tumacacori, as reported, he must have turned back and taken a more eastern route. The route at this time was: Tubutama, Entubur, 2 leagues; Saric, 5 l.; Busanic, Tacubavia, 3 l.; Gubo, 9 l.; Cups, 14 l.

from the visitador Juan Muñoz de Búrgos an order to suspend his boat-building, an order which he obeyed although acting under the orders of his provincial. Mange was left sick at San Ignacio under the care of Father Campos. The patient craved cold water, which the padre médico denied him; but one night in his thirsty delirium he reached the shelf on which the water was kept, and by tipping over the *tinaja* drenched himself from head to foot. The padre rushed in at the noise, but too late; the sick man was cured and was soon able to go to the capital.[36]

Kino was not at first disposed to credit the report of casas grandes and a great northern river; for there is nothing to show that he had any definite knowledge of Coronado's explorations in the past century; but some natives from Bac visited Dolores and confirmed the report. Consequently in the autumn of 1694, while Mange was with General Jironza on an Apache campaign, he started on alone to ascertain the truth, reaching and saying mass in the now famous Casa Grande of the Gila. No diary was kept, and our knowledge is limited to the bare fact that such an entrada was made.[37] Reports to the provincial and viceroy on the disposition of the Sobas brought Padre Francisco Javier Saeta from Mexico, and he went in January 1695 to his mission of Concepcion Caborca. Planting a cornfield, and repairing the house already built, he began his work with the most flattering prospects.[38] Trouble was, however, brewing in Pimería, largely it is believed by the fault of the Spaniards. I have alluded to the prevalent suspicions of Pima complicity

[36] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 230–55; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 82–3; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 252; Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 91, erroneously states that Kino completed the boat, and in it discovered the port of Santa Sabina, a statement repeated in *Californie, Hist. Chrét.*, 97.

[37] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 259; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 845–6; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 83–4. In *Apost. Afanes*, 253, it is implied that Kino on this trip named two Pima rancherías on the Gila Encarnacion and S. Andrés. See also *Velasco, Sonora*, 140.

[38] According to *Apost. Afanes*, 254, Kino accompanied Saeta to Caborca in Oct. 1694, before he went on his northern trip, and Saeta's arrival in Jan. was on his return from a tour of begging for supplies.

in the raids of savages, suspicions which neither Kino's assurances nor the conduct of the Pimas had removed; at least the Spanish officers and soldiers were careless and committed many hostile acts on unoffending natives. For instance Lieutenant Solis, finding some meat in a ranchería, killed three Indians and flogged all he could catch on a charge of cattle-stealing. The meat proved to be venison! Again a Spanish major-domo,[39] with Ópata assistants introduced at Tubutama to instruct the neophytes, became overbearing and cruel, resorting to the lash for every trifling offence, and thereby incurring the hatred of natives whom the padres had always found tractable under kind treatment. The result was a revolt. On March 29th, in the absence of Father Januske, the Pimas not only rescued one of their number about to be flogged, but killed one or more of the Ópatas, burned the padre's house and the church, and profaned the sacred images and vessels, the very depth of iniquity in the eyes of the chroniclers. Then the malecontents started down the river, obtained some recruits at Oquitoa, failed to do so at San Diego Pitiqui, and on April 2d, holy Saturday, arrived at Caborca. Here they attacked the native servants, and when Saeta came out to restrain them with gentle words two arrows pierced his side. Falling on his knees he crawled to his room and bed, where, after suffering a thousand indignities and torments, he was despatched with twenty-two arrows and blows of clubs, the assassins then proceeding to the same excesses and destruction as at Tubutama.[40] Four servants were killed, and the rest of the people fled, apparently with-

[39] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 84–8, is, however, the only authority who mentions a Spaniard as one of the offenders at Tubutama.

[40] According to Velarde, *Hist. Descrip.*, 375–82, Saeta had heard of danger but preferred martyrdom to flight. It had been his intention to go to California and found there a mission of Sta Rosalía de Palermo. An Indian burned the body, swollen from the effects of poisoned arrows; but the ashes were saved and deposited at Toape or Cucurpe, whence in 1714 they were removed to Sicily. A very rare flexible crucifix embraced by the dying martyr was kept at Arizpe as a most precious and sacred relic. See sketch of Sacta's life, in *Dicc. Univ.*, vi. 732–3.

out having taken any active part in the outbreak. Jironza and Mange, with padres Campos and Beyerca, and an armed force, hastened to the spot, but found all the villages abandoned. The country was scoured and a few fugitives were killed or captured. Taking with him the ashes of the martyr, with the arrows that killed him, Jironza returned to Dolores; while Solis with the main force was sent to Tubutama. Here a few natives were killed, and the rest begged for peace, which was promised on condition that they were to give up the guilty and come unarmed to the Spanish camp. Fifty of them did so come and were treacherously massacred.[41]

On the supposition that the natives would be intimidated by this wholesale murder, called by the despicable Solis a victory and not very much disapproved it would seem by the governor, the army was now sent to Cocóspera en route for Apachería, except a guard of three men at San Ignacio under Corporal Escalante, and also three men under Mange at Dolores. But the Pimas hardly waited for the soldiers to get out of sight, when, having completed the work of destruction in Tubutama Valley, they crossed over and meted out the same fate to all the towns on the Rio San Ignacio. Padre Campos saved his life by running away to Cucurpe, protected by the four soldiers, who fought as they ran. After it was all over the padre "felt very sad to think that martyrdom had twice escaped him," yet he bore this misfortune bravely. Father Januske had not attempted to return to his mission. Of Kino during the whole trouble we only know that he hid the sacred utensils in a cave and calmly awaited death at Dolores, a mission which, however, was not attacked, on account of the padre's popularity, or his prayers, or perchance

[41] Mange, *Hist. Pim.*, 261–71, says some trouble occurred while the guilty were being tied, and all were killed without any one knowing exactly how it happened; some say by order of Solis. The Jesuits condemn the act as an uncalled-for murder, except Velarde, who does not mention this part of the affair at all.

because the soldiers came up too soon. Governor Jironza called upon all the presidios for aid, and with a large force ravaged the whole country in a campaign respecting which no details have been preserved, until the people were compelled by hunger and fear of annihilation to come in crowds to beg for peace and pardon and food and work. By missionary influence a general pardon was granted on August 17th, and the padres set to work to recover lost ground.[42]

From the middle of November 1695 to the middle of May 1696 Kino was absent from Pimería on a visit to Mexico, where he went to defend the Pimas from unjust charges, to explain the true causes of the revolt, and to obtain missionaries with license to explore and convert in the far north. In Mexico he again met Salvatierra and labored without immediate success to advance their mutual plans for the reduction of California. He obtained a nominal apportionment of five padres for Pimería; but for some not very clearly explained reason only one, Padre Gaspar Varillas, came back with him. On the homeward journey, by way of Tarahumara, the Jesuits turned aside to visit a missionary just in time to save their lives, for the whole company of attendants including some Spaniards were killed by savages. Crowds of Pimas, Sobas, and Sobaipuris came from far and near to welcome the returning apostle at Dolores, loading him with gifts and promises and petitions; but he had no aids to undertake his favorite schemes, and had to be content with slow progress. The devil seems to have given his particular attention to the creation of obstacles by circulating false reports about the Pimas, who were

[42] In the *Magdalena, Lib. Bautismos*, MS., Campos writes: 'Se perdieron los papeles de los bautismos al año de 1695 en el alzamiento y quemazon de estos tres pueblos. Y la gente esparcida no se agregó hasta este año de 1698.' The author of *Apost. Afanes*, 255–63, mentions another masscre of 16 Pimas without any inquiries about their guilt. The leaders were given up and sentenced to death, but by the influence of PP. Kino and Polici their lives were spared. Sedelmair, *Relacion*, 844–5, says Saeta was killed March 15th, and that peace was not finally declared until Nov. 1696. Niel, *Apunt.*, 67, attributes the murder to Sobaipuris. See also mention in *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 583; *Velasco, Sonora*, 140.

accused of being at the bottom of every hostile movement, no matter how far from their country. Father Campos, who had served at Dolores during Kino's absence, now rebuilt San Ignacio, and the three, with Captain Mange, revisited Tubutama and Caborca, Varillas chosing the latter, though it does not appear that he went there to live permanently for some years.[43] Of Januske nothing more is heard in Pimería.[44]

In 1696–7 Kino revisited most or all of the places that have been named, perfecting arrangements for future work especially in the north, baptizing children, and leaving some live-stock.[45] Early in 1697 Padre Pedro Ruiz de Contreras arrived and was put in charge of Suamca, with Cocóspera as a *visita*. Strong as was Kino's attachment for Pimería it had by no means extinguished his first love for California, and when in 1697 Salvatierra at last got his license, Father Eusebio at once announced his intention to join him; but so great was the grief of the Pimas, and so urgent the protest of Jironza and Polici, declaring his presence absolutely necessary to the peace of the country, that he either consented or was ordered by his superiors to remain, a course of which time proved the wisdom even for the interests of California, for whose missions he did much more on the main than he could have done on the peninsula.[46] On September 15, 1698, a grand religious fiesta was held at Remedios, a visita of Dolores, on the occasion of dedicating in her new church a beautiful image of Our Lady sent

[43] According to *Apost. Afanes*, 263–70, P. Kino conducted the new padre to Caborca in Feb. 1697.

[44] Velarde, *Descrip. Hist.*, 375, says that before 1695 Pimería had five padres and was formed into the rectorado of Dolores. These were those already named: Kino, Campos, Kappus, Januske, and Saeta. Horacio Polici was now superior of the Sonora missions residing at Baseraca.

[45] S. Pablo Quiburi, S. Javier del Bac, S. Luis, S. Cayetano Tumacacori, S. Gerónimo, Sta María Suamca, and S. Pablo are named.

[46] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 89, 99–100. According to *Apost. Afanes*, 282, the arrangement was that Kino should stay alternately six months in Pimería and six months in California. See also on mission progress of the period *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 271; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 844–5.

from Mexico. It was a time of joy and enthusiasm, of processions and church rites, of bell-ringing and salutes and music, of speech-making and preaching, in the presence of Spaniards and neophytes from the south and of native chieftains from the country as far north as the Gila Valley. The pen of the pious Kino fairly revels in the narrative of the day's glories.[47]

The suspicions respecting Kino's gentiles led in the autumn of 1697 to the first military expedition to the Gila, the object of which was to ascertain the real disposition of the natives and to search for a general repository of the stolen goods accumulated during the raids of the past thirteen years. On November 5th Lieutenant Cristóbal Martin Bernal, with Alférez Francisco Acuña, Sergeant Juan B. Escalante, and twenty soldiers of the compañía volante, marched by order of General Jironza from Corodeguachi by Terrenate, Suamca, and San Joaquin, to Quiburi on the river now known as San Pedro. Here Bernal was joined on the 9th by Kino and Mange, who with ten servants, thirty horses, the *viático*, and a few trifling gifts for the Sobaipuris, had left Dolores on the 2d.[48] At Quiburi lived Captain Coro, a Sobaipuri cacique who instead of being a confederate of the Apaches was found engaged with his warriors in a dance round thirteen Apache scalps, and who joined the expedition with thirty natives. Kindly received by the people of every ranchería and meeting with no adventures worthy of mention they marched down the river, called Rio Quiburi, to the junction of the Gila, a stream whose aboriginal name is perhaps recorded for the first time in the diaries of this journey, it having been called before Rio Grande, or by Oñate in 1604–5, Rio

[47] *Kino, Relacion de Nra Sra de los Remedios en su nueva capilla de su nuevo pueblo de las nuevas conversiones de la Pimería.* Letter of Sept. 16th, from Dolores, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 814–16.

[48] Kino's route had been Dolores; Remedios, 8 leagues N.; Cocóspera, 6 l. N.; S. Lázaro, 6 l. N.; Sta María (Suamca), 6 l. E. up river: S. Joaquin Basosuma, 14 l. N.; Sta Cruz Gaibauipetea, 6 l. E. on river; Quiburi, 1 l. N. on river.

de Jesus.[49] From the 16th to the 21st of November they explored the Gila Valley westward somewhat beyond the Casa Grande, of which monument of more ancient times, since famous, the diaries of this trip contain the first definite description, showing that the condition of the ruin has been but little changed since that time.[50] One group of ruins was examined by Escalante on the north side of the river. Many rancherías were visited by detachments wandering in different directions, and reports were received of quicksilver mines, and of white men bearing fire-arms and swords who sometimes came to the Colorado. Of course no record of northern exploration at this period could be complete without such tales. The party started back on the 21st up the river since called Santa Cruz, by way of Bac, Tumacacori, Guevavi, and Cocóspera, to Dolores, where they arrived the 2d of December.[51] The journey out and back was estimated at 260 leagues; the explorers had been received with triumphal arches and every token of welcome; 4,700 natives had been registered, and, so far as time would permit, instructed; and 89 had received the rite of baptism. Badges of office had been given, as the custom was, to many chieftains; and so far as the members of the party were concerned all doubt of Pima fidelity was dispelled.[52]

[49] The ranchería names in their order down the Rio Quiburi were: Quiburi; Álamos, 10 leagues; Causac, 15 l. (a point previously reached by Capt. Ramirez); Jiaspi or Rosario, 21.; Muiva, 11.; S. Pantaleon Aribaiba, 61.; Tutoida, 3 l.; Comarsuta, 3 l.; Victoria Ojio, 3 l.; Gila River, 6 l.

[50] Coronado had perhaps visited this ruin in 1540, calling it *chichilticale* or 'red house;' and Kino as we have seen said mass in it a few years before this visit. For a complete description, with cuts of the Casa Grande, with a chronological history of all visits to it, including quoted descriptions from these diaries, see *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iv. 621–32, this series. The original MSS. obtained since the publication of my former work contain some simple drawings of the Casa not reproduced in the printed copy. I have also photographs of the ruins.

[51] Route: S. Andrés, Sta Catalina, S. Agustin, S. Javier del Bac or Batosda, S. Cayetano Tumacacori, Guevavi, Cocóspera, Remedios, Dolores.

[52] *Bernal, Relacion del Estado de la Pimería, que remite el P. Visitador Horacio Polici, por el año de 1697*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 797–809; also MS. This *Relacion* is made up of 1st a letter of Lieut. Bernal, mentioned by Mange always as Capt. Martin, to P. Polici, dated Dec. 3d, speaking in general terms of his journey beyond the Gila 'to the confines of the new nations of the

After an illness of several months Kino started north again on September 22, 1698, with seven or eight natives and sixty horses, accompanied by Captain Diego Carrasco instead of Mange, an unfortunate substitution for the historical student as the original diary is not extant. Reaching the Gila by way of Bac, he found the natives friendly as before at the rancherías of Encarnacion and San Andrés, some distance below the Casa Grande and perhaps near the Pima Villages of modern maps. From San Andrés he went on to the gulf, where "to the leeward of the mouth of the great river" he found a good port with fresh water and wood. Thence he went down the coast to Caborca, and returned to Dolores by way of Tubutama before the 18th of October, having counted forty rancherías with over four thousand souls, baptized four hundred children, and given out some badges of office. This is Kino's own statement in a letter to the visitador, and writers who have apparently seen other original documents have not been able from them to satisfactorily define the exact route followed.[53] The evidence

Ópatas and Cocomaricopas; and even to near the Moquis'! and 2d, a detailed diary, signed on Dec. 4th by Bernal, Acuña, Kino, Escalante, and Francisco Javier Barsejon. Strangely Mange's name is not mentioned at all. The other diary is that given by Mange, *Hist. Pim.*, 274–91. Kino, *Breve Relacion*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 811, also briefly notices this entrada 'hasta cerca de los Moquis.' See also *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 101–2; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 846; *Apost. Afanes*, 268–9; *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 204.

[53] *Kino, Carta* (Oct. 18th), in *Sonora, Materiales*, 817–19. This is a hasty letter written before he had time to copy his regular diary, which was sent on Oct. 20th. He states that Carrasco also wrote a report. He implies that he reached the gulf near the mouth of the river, and that he found the 40 rancherías on the coast which he followed for the greatly exaggerated distance of 80 leagues. He names two, S. Francisco and S. Serafin. According to *Apost. Afanes*, 272–4, Kino went from S. Andrés 80 l. s. w. to the gulf, and supposed the port discovered to be the Sta Clara of former voyagers. This writer says also, that although it is not mentioned in the relation before him, Kino elsewhere states twice that in 1698 he saw from the top of Sta Clara mountain (this mountain was near the mouth of the Rio Pápago, though the author evidently supposes it farther north) that the gulf came to an end at the mouth of the river. From the port he examined the coast for 90 l. southward to Caborca. He names S. Andrés, S. Francisco, S. Serafin, 2 l.; Merced, San Rafael (Actun), S. Marcelo Sonoydag (Sonoita), 15 l. w.; Caborca, 40 l. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 203–4, saw Kino's diary and quotes from it to the effect that he at S. Mateo Soroydad (S. Marcelo Sonoita?) ascended a hill which he called Sta Brígida, and from the top made his survey of the gulf, seeing the port which he supposed to be Sta Clara, and the mouth as he thought of the Colorado; but could not see the California coast on account of

and probabilities favor the supposition that Kino passed from the region of the Pima Villages southwestward to the latitude of Adair's Bay, which was probably his Santa Clara, made his observations from the hills between Sonoita and the mouth of the Rio Pápago, and returned homeward not along the beach but keeping east of the hills, and obtaining perhaps from their summits occasional glimpses of the gulf.

The worthy apostle could by no means keep his thoughts or his steps from turning northward, and February of 1699 found him ready for a new entrada. This time he was accompanied by Mange, who came up from San Juan for the purpose, and by Padre Adan Gil. The route was by way of Tubutama, now a visita of San Ignacio under Father Campos; Sonoita, where the worn-out horses and fifty cows were left as a base of supplies for the reduction of this region, and for California if the padres should come over to Port Santa Clara; and thence to the Gila at a point about three leagues from the Colorado junction, arriving the 21st of February.[54] It was the intention to go on to the Colorado river and down that river to its mouth; but the natives refused to serve as guides in that direction where their enemies lived. On the way the travellers heard of a giant from the north, who had bitterly oppressed the people till they suffocated him with smoke in a cave; and here on the Gila there were strange tales of white men who had once passed down to the sea and returned eastward—perhaps a tradition of Oñate—and of a very wonderful white woman,

fog. Thus he shows the earlier writer to be in error in the statement that Kino at this time discovered that California was a peninsula. The two statements referred to were simply that he had twice seen the gulf and not its head, not from Sta Clara Mt in 1698, but from Nazareno Hill in 1694. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 91–2, tells us that Kino explored the coast south from Sta Clara to Sta Sabina Bay; and Gobien, in *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits*, i. 355, that he advanced northward along the coast as far as Sta Clara mountain.

[54] Full route: Dolores; S. Ignacio, 10 leagues w.; Magdalena, 3 l.; Laguna Tupo (with good flax), 6 l. N. W.; Tubutama, 12 l. N. W.; Saric, 7 l. N. up river; Tacubavia, 3 l.; Guvoverde, 10 l. W.; Sta Eulalia, 5 l. W.; arroyo, 5 l. N. W. 5 l. W.; mud-holes, 13 l. W.; Actun (S. Rafael), 5 l. N. W.; Laguna, 6 l. W.; Sonoita, 4 l. N. W.; Carrizal, 10 l. W. down stream; Luna, 6 l. N. W. and 14 l. N.; Gila, 12 l. N. W., 15 l., and 6 l. N. W.

doubtless Sor María de Jesus Agreda, who had preached in an unknown tongue, and had twice risen from the dead when shot by the Colorado tribes; also of white and clothed men living in the north and on the coast, who sometimes came to trade for skins. Mange counsels investigation, since foreign heretics may be trading with and corrupting the natives.

On the 24th they started up the Gila, named by Kino Rio de los Apóstoles,[55] leaving the river at the big bend and striking it again on March 2d a few miles beyond the junction of the Salado and Verde, which streams they had discovered and named the same day from a hilltop.[56] Ten leagues farther over a sterile desert brought the explorers to San Andrés Coata, the western limit of previous exploration. They had registered thus far 3,600 new gentiles, and were now on familiar ground. Passing Encarnacion, San Clemente, and Agustin Oiaur, they were welcomed at Bac the 7th of March by 1,300 natives who entertained their visitors for two days, and pointed with much pride to their adobe warehouse full of corn and their live-stock and other things made ready in the hope of having a real live padre to live with them. On the journey southward[57] Kino was seriously ill. Cocóspera mission had been destroyed by Apaches in 1698, and Padre Contreras had retired. At Remedios the new church, lacking a roof, had filled up with water like a tank and burst, and at Dolores where they arrived on the 14th, some damage had been done by heavy rains; yet many new candi-

[55] He also named the Colorado Rio de los Mártires, and the Salado and Verde with the southern branches (S. Pedro and Sta Cruz) Los Evangelistas.

[56] The Salado at the time of discovery is mentioned simply as 'otro rio *salobre*' which joins the Verde; but is named elsewhere in the diary. The Verde was so called—or by an equivalent in the vernacular—by the natives because it passed through a sierra of many green stones.

The rancherías passed were: S. Mateo Caut, San Tadeo Vaqui, S. Limon Tucsani, S. Bartolomé Comac, the last being a Pima town 3 leagues from the Salado junction. An *escoria* of silver-bearing ore was found west by the big bend, supposed to have been washed down from N. Mexico by the current.

[57] Bac, Tamacacori, 20 leagues; Guevaví, 6 l.; Bacuancos, 7 l.; Cocóspera, 16 l.; Remedios, 6 l.; Dolores, 8 l.

dates for salvation had been found, marvellous reports had been heard in the north, and the heart of the missionary was exceedingly glad.[58]

Foes of conversion or of the Jesuits or dupes of the "enemy of souls" were not wanting who refused entire credit to Kino's reports of rich lands and docile Indians. It was suspected that his enthusiasm served as a magnifying lens transforming "worms into elephants." Absurd rumors were in circulation respecting the Gila tribes now that the more southern Pimas were partially relieved of suspicion and calumny. The Jesuits themselves were in doubt, and it was impossible to get new padres; yet the apostle was indefatigable in his efforts to set things right. Any one who came to Dolores was sure to be taken on a tour to the Gila so long as the padre could walk or sit on a mule. Antonio Leal, now visitador of Sonora, resolved to make the tour, and Father Francisco Gonzalez had a mind to be one of the party. Accordingly Kino and Mange made ready, and all left Dolores October 24, 1699, going up to San Javier del Bac by the route of the recent return. Here a strange thing occurred. On the summit of a hill the Spaniards found a white stone of somewhat regular shape, which, fearing it might be some kind of an idol, they overturned, leaving a small round hole in the ground. No sooner had they come down than a violent gale began, so strong that a man could not stand before it; and it blew all night, filling the natives with dismay, for they declared that the "home of winds" had been opened. Next morning they went up and stopped the hole, whereupon the wind ceased. Leal and Gonzalez remained at Bac, while Kino and Mange went somewhat farther down the river. Leal was very favorably impressed with the prospect, counted three thousand souls, and promised to send Gonzalez to be their missionary. The 5th of November they crossed over

[58] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 292–310; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 110–12; *Velasco, Sonora*, 140; *Apost. Afanes*, 275–8.

to the Sonoita region,[59] and returned to Dolores on the 18th, having registered eighteen hundred Papabotes, and baptized thirty-five persons. It was hoped this trip might banish the prevailing ignorance and prejudice in Mexico, and cause padres to be sent.[60]

Two other tours to the north were made before the end of the century, one to San Javier del Bac, and the other to the junction of the Gila and Colorado. In March 1700 Kino received a new present of blue sea-shells sent down by the Cocomaricopas, which directed his attention anew to the mysteries of California geography and to the importance of clearing up those mysteries. It was with this object in view that he started the 21st of April. At Cocóspera he found the church rebuilt. At Los Reyes he was received by Captain Coro, who had recently come down to Dolores to be baptized, and at Bac he was induced to remain awhile and to give up for the present his explorations. Here he was visited by delegations from many rancherías far and near; but his chief attention was given to laying the foundation of a large church, the building of which the natives seemed enthusiastic to undertake. There was an abundance of *tetzontli*, a light porous stone, in the vicinity, which was largely used in the structure.[61] It is said that Kino would have remained permanently at Bac could he have obtained any one to take his place at Dolores. He returned in May, and the 24th of September started for the Gila by a route for the most part new, striking the river east of the bend,[62] and following it down to the Yuma country, where he succeeded in

[59] Bac, Tupo, 16 leagues; Cups, 3 l.; Actun, 8 l. In *Apost. Afanes.* S. Serafin is also named.

[60] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 311–20. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 112–13, gives the date of starting as Oct. 21st, and says that Padre Gonzalez was actually sent to Bac but did not stay long. The author of *Apost. Afanes*, 275, 279–80, speaks of S. Luis Guevavi and S. Cayetano de Bac!

[61] It is possible, but not probable, that this was the beginning of the fine church which still stands at San Javier.

[62] Route: Dolores, Remedios, S. Simon y S. Judas, S. Ambrosio Busanic, 28 leagues; Tacubavia, Sta Eulalia, Merced, 12 l.; S. Gerónimo, 20 l.; Gila, 5, 12, 10 l.; down Gila 50 l.

making peace between the Yumas and their neighbors. Climbing a high hill he could see nothing but land for thirty leagues south and south-west, land which the natives said was occupied by Quiquimas, Bagiopas, Hoabonomas, and Cutganas. From this point Kino was invited by the Colorado Yumas to visit their country, which he did by crossing the Gila and going down the north bank to the junction, where he named the chief Yuma ranchería San Dionisio from the day of arrival, and preached to crowds of gentiles, many of whom, of especially large stature, came from across the Colorado by swimming. Kino speaks of the lands in this region as Alta California;[63] and he thought that by going up the river some thirty-six leagues he might reach Moqui without passing through Apachería. Returning to his former point of observation he ascended a higher mountain, and at sunset clearly saw the river running ten leagues west from San Dionisio and then twenty leagues south into the gulf. From another hill to the south he saw the sandy shore of California, and thence returned home by way of Sonoita and Caborca,[64] reaching Dolores the 20th of October. On his return he was thanked by the governor and by Salvatierra for his discoveries. What he had seen had strengthened his opinion that California was not an island, but had by no means settled the question as some authors imply.[65]

Of military operations from 1695 to 1700 we have no continuous record; but the nature of the warfare

[63] This may be the first use of the name; but it is attributed to Kino's *Relacion*, which may have been written some years later.

[64] Route: Gila, Trinidad, Agua Escondida, 12 leagues; watering-place, 12 l.; creek, 18 l.; Sonoita, 8 l.; S. Luis Bacapa, 12 l.; S. Eduardo, 20 l.; Caborca, 16 l.; Tubutama, 12 l.; S. Ignacio, 17 l.

[65] *Apost. Afanes*, 282–5; *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 152–3. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 94–7, and Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 117–18, imply that Kino's discoveries at this time settled the geographical question by proving California to be a peninsula, and that it was for this he was thanked by the authorities. See also Gobien, in *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits*, i. 356, and Kino's map, in *Id.*, 395. Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 12, taking his information from Frejes, evidently confounds this with a later trip.

waged against the Apaches and other savages of the north-east was of the same type as that carried on against the same tribes well nigh down to the present day. The comandante, often called governor, resided usually at San Juan, and a garrison of armed men was kept constantly at Fronteras, or Corodeguachi. It does not appear that there was any other permanent presidio in Sonora during the century; but this garrison acted in concert with that of Janos in Nueva Vizcaya, and reënforcements were often obtained from more distant points. The soldiers were almost continually on the move in pursuit of savages who had attacked some frontier pueblo and fled with the plunder, chiefly live-stock, to their northern retreats. The booty was often recovered, a few of the raiders were killed, and numbers of women and children captured; but a decisive victory resulting in a long period of quiet was impossible, as it has been for the most part ever since. I have already noticed some military expeditions in connection with mission work, but there were others that may be briefly mentioned.

In September 1695, after the suppression of the Caborca and Tubutama revolt, the three çomandantes, or generals, Jironza, Teran, and Fuente, united in a campaign against the Apaches, Jocomes, and Janos. The result was the killing of sixty savages and the capture of seventy "pieces of chusma," which, or who, were divided among the soldiers of the three companies. General Teran de los Rios died in this campaign, and most of the men were made ill by drinking the water of a spring supposed to have been poisoned. Father Campos served as chaplain. Early in 1696 Lieutenant Antonio Solis marched against the Conchos, who had committed outrages at Nacori, where Padre Carranco was missionary. Three chiefs were shot and quiet was restored. In March the Apaches raided Tonibavi, taking two hundred horses, of which on pursuit one hundred had been recovered, the rest having died, and eighteen of the raiders having been

killed. Immediately after the return of the soldiers the Apaches attacked and killed in the sierra of San Cristóbal a party from Arizpe consisting of Captain Cristóbal Leon, his son Nicolás, two other Spaniards, and six Indian arrieros. Jironza pursued with his compañía volante but killed only three of the foe. Then General Fuente was summoned from Janos, and the Apaches were driven to the Sierra Florida up in the Gila region, where thirty-two were killed and five *piezas de chusma* taken.[66]

Later in 1696 the safety of the province was again seriously threatened, and this time not by savages but by neophytes. Pablo Quihue, an intelligent native, ex-governor of Baseraca, planned a revolt, and exerted himself with much diplomatic skill and no small chances of success to make the movement a general one. His arguments were not only eloquently expressed but as may be believed well grounded. He claimed that the Spaniards had taken their lands, filled the country with soldiers, often made the natives virtually slaves, and had in return brought no benefit. Nominally protecting the Pimas, Ópatas, Conchos, and Tarahumares from the savage Apaches, they had in reality killed more of their protégés than they had of the Apaches or than the Apaches could have killed. The savages generally escaped after their raids, but the submissive natives on the most absurd and frivolous pretexts were accused of apostacy and rebellious designs, and were hanged, enslaved, or flogged. The success of Quihue's plans for a general rising was prevented perhaps by the precipitate action of the people at Cuquiarachi, Cuchuta, and Teuricachi, who before the leader was ready seized the church ornaments and other portable mission property, and ran away from their pueblos. The forces of Jironza, Fuente, and Zubiate were soon on the ground, and with the aid of faithful allies, among whom were the Guazápares of Salvatierra's former flock as already narrated, suc-

[66] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 270–2.

ceeded by operations not clearly described, after two new hegiras of the neophytes and the hanging of ten rebels, in restoring order before the end of the year, although Don Pablo with a small party of followers kept up a show of resistance until the middle of 1697.[67]

Early in 1698 the savages directed their raids chiefly against the Pimas Altos of the frontier, either converts or at least friendly to the Spaniards, and, what was much more important to the Apaches, well supplied with corn and live-stock. Three pueblos were plundered and burned, with considerable loss of life, including Cocóspera, where Padre Contreras barely escaped with his life after being wounded. The soldiers killed thirty of the foe; but it was reserved to Coro of Quiburi to strike the most decisive blow. Immediately after an Apache attack on Santa Cruz del Cuervo, or Jaibanipitca, Coro with five hundred warriors fought against the enemy all day, killed sixty men on the field, and fatally wounded a hundred and sixty-eight more with poisoned arrows.[68] The Pimas received many compliments and some contributions of money for their brave conduct in this affair; but the slanders against them were not long checked, neither could they get the instructors which above all things they desired. Again in 1699 a native captain Humari distinguished himself by killing thirty-six savages in battle, and capturing some boys whom he sent to Kino for baptism.[69]

At the end of 1699 Padre Melchor Bastiromo, in charge of Cucurpe and Toape, had been ordered to found a mission among the Tepocas, and had made some progress with a pueblo of Magdalena; but the

[67] Mange, *Hist. Pim.*, 272–3, says that Pablo and four companions escaped to Janos where God sent a thunderbolt and killed them at the very door of the presidio. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 92–4; *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 109–12.

[68] *Kino, Breve Relacion*, 810–13, says all but six of the attacking party were killed, and 54 dead bodies were found on the field. The author of *Apost. Afanes*, 270–1, says that 10 warriors were chosen on each side to decide the battle, and the savages all fell, whereupon 300 of the flying survivors were killed by the Pima arrows. This writer and Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 100–1, make the date 1697. See *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 290–1.

[69] *Apostólicos, Afanes*, 277–81.

Seris became troublesome, extending their plundering incursions in some instances as far as Cucurpe. Alferéz Escalante was sent with fifteen men in January 1800 to Magdalena, Pópulo, and to the coast. This may be deemed the beginning of the Seri wars which so long desolated the province. Escalante killed and caught a few Seris, but most escaped in balsas to Tiburon Island. In February he repeated the expedition, finding no Seris but bringing back one hundred and twenty new Tepocas for the pueblo; but on a third attempt in March he killed nine of the foe, also bringing in a few captives for Padre Gil at Pópulo. Father Maires is named as in charge of Magdalena a little later. Escalante, before returning to the capital, captured and returned over a hundred runaways from Father Campos' mission of San Ignacio, besides making a successful hunt for apostates down as far as the Rio Yaqui.[70]

[70] *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 320–2; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 118–19. In addition to the authorities I have cited on the conquest of Pimería, the following may be mentioned as containing nothing original: *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 547–51, chiefly from Alegre; *Californie, Hist. Chrét.*, 97–102; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 366–70; *Tuhill's Hist. Cal.*, 50–2; *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 161–7; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, 288–327.

CHAPTER XI.

JESUIT OCCUPATION OF BAJA CALIFORNIA.

1697–1700.

Discouragement from Past Failures—Kino's Efforts—Salvatierra Enlisted—Brighter Prospects at Last—Begging Alms—Foundation of the Pious Fund—License from the Viceroy—Full Control in Jesuit Hands—Venegas, Clavigero, and their Followers—Salvatierra's Journey to the North—Voyage across the Gulf—Casting Lots—At San Dionisio—Founding of Loreto Conchó—Linguistic Studies—The Porridge Question Leads to Hostilities—A Battle—Coming of Piccolo—Salvatierra's Letters—A New Fort—New Church for Christmas—The New Year—Movements of Vessels—The Native Priests Make Trouble—A Second Fight—A New Ship—Pearl-fishery—A Miracle—Expedition to Londó—Vigge Biaundó—Mendoza Succeeds Tortolero as Captain—View of the Pacific—Indian Policy—New Mission of San Javier—Misfortunes—Loss of the 'San Fermin'—Salvatierra Visits the Main—Vain Appeals to Government for Aid—Distrust of the Jesuits—Mendoza and the Garrison Discharged—Salvatierra Again Crosses the Gulf.

From the time of Cortés to that of Otondo, we have followed the successive attempts of Spain to occupy California. All had resulted in failure, and several in disaster. Obstacles, chief of which was the fact that the country was not worth occupying, seemed insurmountable by the ordinary methods. Had Californian coasts been lined with rich and fortified cities, the problem would have presented fewer difficulties. The Spanish conqueror, an invincible hero with the prospect of hard fighting and plunder before him, without that incentive became too often a mutinous malecontent. The pearls of the gulf could be obtained better by private venture than by colonizing expeditions; and the arid peninsula, if it was a peninsula,

had no other attraction to the soldier of fortune. After Otondo's failure in 1683 the government was discouraged, resolving that no more costly expeditions should be fitted out. Yet the geographical position of California made its acquirement important if not indispensable to Spain. A council, summoned for the purpose, resolved in 1686 to intrust the conquest to the Company of Jesus; and wisely, for often where the mettle of the soldier had failed missionary zeal had triumphed.

But the Jesuits, though offered an annual subsidy of 40,000 pesos, declined the task, on the ground that the undertaking would involve temporal concerns foreign to the purposes of the company. They did not regard California as a very desirable field for missionary operations; or perhaps they hoped for more favorable terms at a later date.[1] A proposition of Lucenilla to conquer the country partly at his own expense was declined; but later it was decided to advance to Otondo 30,000 pesos as a year's expenses for a new attempt. Just as the money was to be paid over, there came to the viceroy a royal demand for funds, with an order to defer all Californian enterprises while the Tarahumara war lasted. The government made no more efforts; though Itamarra in 1694 was permitted to make an entrada at his own cost, which resulted in failure.[2]

Father Eusebio Kino, who had accompanied Otondo, never forgot California or the promise of missionaries to its people. He even became an enthusiast on the

[1] The offer was declined during the absence of Provincial Bernabé de Soto, who on his return is said by Salvatierra, *Informe al Virey, 25 Mayo, 1705*, to have regretted the decision. Forty thousand pesos is the subsidy named in *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 160–1. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 60, makes it 30,000. Father Kino and Admiral Otondo are said to have been members of the council. I have found no original record of its proceedings.

[2] *California, Estab. y Prog.*, 12–13; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 60, 81; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 238–40; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, 40, 175–6. It was said that over 40 vessels had now failed; 6 entradas had been ordered by the king; 4 had been attempted by Cortés at a cost of over $300,000; and 12 had been made by private persons. Itamarra brought back the information that the natives were awaiting the promised return of the missionaries.

subject, vowing to devote his life to the work. As the heart of the conqueror is elated at the prospect of a new kingdom to vanquish, so the heart of the Ingoldstadt votary glowed with pious rapture as he contemplated the spiritual conquest of this virgin field of paganism in the far north-west. It was with this object in view that Kino obtained a transfer to the Sonora missions. His heroic efforts in Alta Pimería are recorded in other chapters of this volume; and while he was not able to reach California either by water or land to serve personally, yet as we shall see he rendered no less effectual service in his chosen cause. In the north Kino met Father Juan María Salvatierra on his tour through the missions as visitador.[3] This missionary of ardent and sanguine temperament was quickly carried away by the eloquent fervor of his friend. The mantle of Kino had fallen upon him, and from that day forth the conversion of California was the object of his life.

Without delay Father Juan María put his hand to the plough, nor looked back till the task was ended; but it was to cost him many a trial and disappointment, and could hardly have been accomplished by a man of less patient persistence. He met opposition from all quarters. The society, through more than one provincial, looked coldly on the scheme as impracticable; the audiencia of Guadalajara, the viceroy of New Spain, the king turned successively a deaf ear

[3] Salvatierra, originally written Salva-Tierra, was born, as Clavigero says, at Milan in 1644, of noble parentage and Spanish descent. His first studies were at the seminary of Parma. Becoming a Jesuit, full of zeal for the conversion of heathen, he set out for Mexico in 1675, and was sent to the Tarahumara missions of Nueva Vizcaya, where he did good service for several years. Returning to Mexico he was honored by his superiors with high positions; but all his emoluments he gave up, declining still higher places—even the post of provincial, the goal of every Jesuit's ambition—when he had undertaken the California enterprise. No eulogium on Salvatierra's character is needed here; the pages that follow will recount his deeds, and these will tell more eloquently than words what manner of man he was. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 96, gives his portrait, which is reproduced in Gleeson's work. Melchor de Bartiromo in an autograph letter of my collection, *Papeles de Jesuitas*, no. 24, communicates to Salvatierra in 1694 kind remembrances from the Princess Doria and other prominent persons in Italy. Salvatierra's autograph occurs several times in the collection just cited.

to the enthusiast's entreaties. This discouragement only impelled Salvatierra to fresh efforts; and he was cheered by a letter from Father Juan Bautista Zappa who assured his old friend that he was chosen by God to plant the faith in California. Zappa promised a speedy visit, and it is even said that he paid it the next year in spirit form just after his decease. By his advice Our Lady of Loreto, the invincible conquistadora, was made by Father Juan María his spiritual queen and patroness of his great enterprise. Still the years dragged on, and the end seemed no nearer. Salvatierra was transferred from the college at Guadalajara to that of Tepozotlan; and in 1696 he visited Mexico, where he met Kino, and the two vainly exhausted their powers of argument, each returning in disappointment to his labors.

But the general of the company, Tirso Gonzalez de Santaella, had become interested, and visiting America openly espoused the cause. The crown solicitor, José de Miranda Villaizan, had long been Salvatierra's friend; and the provincial, Palacios, had been won over.[4] Under such influences the audiencia saw the scheme in a different light, and represented it favorably to the viceroy. The sky looked brighter. Salvatierra was released by his provincial from other duties to seek pecuniary aid from private sources, it being understood that nothing could be expected from the crown. He went to Mexico for that purpose early in 1697. There he met Father Juan Ugarte, professor of philosophy in the Jesuit college, a man as shrewd as he was pious, with a remarkable address in the management of temporal affairs, who with unlimited zeal joined Salvatierra in the work of collecting funds, and consented to act as general agent of the enterprise in Mexico.

[4] The story is that Palacios, an opponent of the scheme, was attacked by a serious illness at Tepozotlan, and begged the intercession of the rector and his novices. Salvatierra, however, said he could hold out no hope unless the sick man would promise the virgin his aid to the California mission; whereupon the frightened provincial vowed to urge the matter, and Salvatierra

The first fruit of their united efforts was a promise of 2,000 pesos from the count of Miravalles and the marquis of Buena Vista. The generous example was quickly followed, and soon the contributions amounted to 15,000 pesos. Then the congregation of Dolores in Mexico gave 8,000 pesos to endow a mission, afterward increasing the sum to 12,000 or an annual revenue of 500 pesos. To crown all, Juan Caballero y Osio, a wealthy priest of Querétaro, subscribed 20,000 pesos as a fund for two other missions, promising, moreover, to honor all drafts bearing Salvatierra's signature. These generous contributions were the foundation of the famous *fondo piadoso de Californias*. Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, treasurer at Acapulco, gave a *lancha*, or long-boat, and promised to lend a galliot to cross the gulf.

There was a royal cédula forbidding expeditions to California; but it was urged that the Tarahumara war, the foundation of that order, was ended; and an argument of still greater weight was that the royal pocket was not to be touched. After much discussion the viceroy, Conde de Moctezuma, granted a license on February 5, 1697. It empowered Salvatierra and Kino to undertake the conversion of the Californians on two conditions; first, that it should be at their own expense, and second, that the country should be taken possession of in the name of the king. They might enlist and pay soldiers, appoint and remove officials; indeed the whole affair was left in their hands.

Thus the boon so long and patiently sought was obtained—permission to enter at their own risk and cost a poor and unattractive country for the purpose of converting the heathen; and no conqueror ever craved more persistently leave to invade and plunder a rich province. It has been the fashion to see sinister and selfish designs in all Jesuit undertakings; but, however much Loyola's followers in other parts of

brought an image from the Casa de Loreto which effected a cure. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 90–1.

the world may have merited this opprobrium, no just person will suspect that the founders of the California missions were actuated by any but the purest motives. That the founders in serving God sought to advance the glory of their order, and that the Jesuits not only dreamed of undiscovered wealth in the north-west, but attached an otherwise inexplicable importance to the arid peninsula in comparison with other missionary fields by reason of the exclusive control given to the society, are facts that by no means detract from the credit due to Salvatierra and his associates. Nor is it strange that Jesuit and other Catholic writers have exaggerated the difficulties overcome and the magnitude of the achievement.

Leaving Ugarte to collect and invest the promised funds,[5] Salvatierra hastened to Sinaloa to make preparations for his voyage. He spent some time in a fruitless search for two Californians brought over by Otondo, who would have been most useful as interpreters, but who were concealed by their master lest their services as slaves might be lost.

[5] The standard authority on the early history of the missions has always been *Venegas* (*Miguel*), *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manvscrita formada en Mexico año de 1739, por el Padre Miguèl Venegas, de la Compañia de Jesus; y de otras Noticias, y Relaciones antiguas y modernas. Añadida de algunos mapas particulares; y uno general de la America Septentrional, Asia Oriental y Mar del Sür intermedio, formados sobre las Memorias mas recientes, y exactas, que se publican juntamente. Dedicada al Rey Ntro Señor por la Provincia de Nueva-España, de la Compañia de Jesus.* Madrid, 1757, 3 vols. The author never visited California, but wrote in Mexico, using as his material letters of the missionaries and other documents, including a manuscript history by Padre Taraval. About 10 years after its completion, in 1739, it fell into the hands of Padre Andrés Marcos Burriel, a learned Jesuit of Madrid, who made extensive additions from Spanish archives, improved it in form and style, and finally published it, adding several maps and illustrations. Some of the maps I reproduce in their proper place. The work is in four parts, of which the first treats of the country and its inhabitants; the second, of voyages to California before 1697, as already utilized in this volume; the third gives the mission history down to 1752; and the fourth discusses the latest northern explorations and to some extent the Northern Mystery. An English translation, marked by numerous errors and omissions, was the *Natural and Civil History of California.* London, 1759, 2 vols.; and this, retranslated into French, was the *Histoire Naturelle et Civile de la Californie.* Paris. 1767, 3 vols., 12mo, containing in the preface a bitter attack on the Jesuits, with much incorrect information on the mission system. There was also a Ger-

Having to wait for the craft promised by Sierpe, Salvatierra made a visit to the scene of former labors in the mountains; and later a revolt in Tarahumara Alta required his presence, so that he was delayed till the middle of August. Back at the Yaqui he found

man translation and a Dutch one. The work of Venegas and Burriel deserves nothing but praise both for matter and style. It is a straightforward statement of facts derived from the best sources; notably free from the bigotry, tedious dissertations, and other defects that often marred missionary chronicles. It was well nigh the first work to apply common sense to the solution of northern geographical problems. Doubtless there may be some truth in De Pauw's statement, *Recherches Phil.*, i. 158–9, that the work was intended by the Jesuits as a refutation of charges by Anson and others; but it was the most legitimate of defences, a plain record of what the Jesuits had done in California, valid in the absence of evidence against them. De Pauw's charge that after reading it, 'on ne sait absolument rien: on reste dans l'illusion ou l'ignorance, and on s'étonne qu'on ait pu tant parler d'un pays, sans en rien dire,' is a very unjust and stupid one.

Foremost among the followers of Venegas is Francesco Saverio Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz of Italian extraction, of whom in connection with his famous work on Mexico much is said in other parts of this work. He, like Venegas, never visited California; but he collected much material in Mexico, and after the expulsion went to live in Italy, where he wrote his book, published two years after his death. *Storia della California. Opera postuma del Nob. Sig. Abate D. Francesco Saverio Clavigero.* Venezia, 1789. 12mo, 2 vols. A Spanish translation was the *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California.. Traducida por el presbítero D. Nicolás García de San Vicente.* Mexico, 1852. An English translation from the Spanish of all or part of the work was published in the *S. Diego Herald*, 1858; and an abridged translation of fragments was the *Historical Outline of Lower Cal.*, San Francisco, n.d. (after 1862). Clavigero's record for the first half century is little more than a copy of Venegas; but for later years he used the manuscript histories of padres Barco and Ventura, both missionaries in California for many years, who revised his work and made additions. Though not the result of much original research the work is based upon excellent authority; and it is besides clearly and elegantly written. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*—a work noticed elsewhere—in that part relating to California, follows Venegas very closely, omitting nothing, but condensing greatly.

The authorities cited, and chiefly Venegas, have been followed, at first or second hand, by modern writers, who have added nothing but inaccuracies, some of them not even those. There are other original authorities consulted by me, to be mentioned in later notes of this and other chapters; but these have had no influence on modern works. It must be noted that most works, other than Spanish, have consulted the English translation of Venegas or the secondary French translation, and have thus perpetuated many errors. Many sketches of the Jesuit era have been written as prefatory matter to the annals of Upper California, without original research or much regard for accuracy; but there have also been carefully prepared accounts. *California*, by '*D. P. E. P.*,' is an account published in 1799 in *Viagero Universal*, xxvi. 1–189. *Lasspras, De la Colonizacion de la Baja California.* Mexico, 1859, though mainly devoted to events of a later period, gives an able review of the earliest missionary period. *Histoire Chrétienne de la Californie. Par Madame la Comtesse * * *.* Plancy, 1851; also in Spanish *California, Hist. Cristiana*, Mexico, 1864, giving Jesuit annals down to 1746, has nothing original, having been drawn apparently from the inaccurate French edition of Venegas, and the writer having added divers inaccuracies of her own. *Gleeson's*

the lancha and galliot, and was greeted by the commander with a harrowing tale of perils escaped by Our Lady's aid on the way from Acapulco.[6] The vessels were kept waiting for nearly two months longer; and after all there was great disappointment, chiefly because Father Kino was prevented by Indian troubles from joining the party as he intended, and also because for the same reasons only a small quantity of provisions could be obtained. Francisco María Piccolo had been appointed in Kino's place, but was not waited for. With a military escort of six men, a motley army with which Cortés himself might have hesitated to undertake a conquest, Father Juan resolved to embark without further delay, a step characteristic of the man.[7]

History of the Catholic Church in California, San Francisco 1872, 2 vols., is largely devoted to the peninsula missions. The author closely follows Venegas and Alegre. He is somewhat over-anxious to defend the missionaries from all accusations, devoting to this subject much space that might be more profitably utilized for a plain record of events. An important part of J. Ross Browne's *Sketch of the Settlement and Exploration of Lower California*, San Francisco, 1869, is Alex. S. Taylor's *Historical Summary of Lower California, 1532–1867*. This is probably the best of the works that have resulted from the untiring zeal and limited opportunities of the author. It is largely confined to voyages, but gives a concise review of mission history. Navarrete in his introduction, *Sutil y Mexicana, Viaje*, gives a brief review of the founding of the missions; and there is some information in *Escudero, Noticias Estad. de Sonora*, Mexico, 1849. See also statements en résumé in *Frejes, Historia Breve*, 244 et seq.; *Diccionario Universal de Hist. y Geog.*, passim, being largely biographical sketches of the missionaries; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 445; viii. 658; ix. 235; *Hernandez, Compend. de Geog.*, no. ii.; *Humboldt, Essai Politique*, 310 et seq.; *Williams (Mrs E.) Catholic Missions in Cal.* In *Hesperian*, ix.–x.; *Delaporte, Voyageur François*, x. 361 et seq.; *Anson's Voyage*, 327 et seq., *Leese's Hist. Outline; Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits*, i. 395 et seq.; *Kip's Hist. Scenes*, 50, etc.; *Hughes' Cal. of the Padres*, etc. There is also a résumé in *Forbes' Hist. Cal.;* an excellent one in *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.;* and others of varying degrees of accuracy in many works on Upper California which it is not necessary to name here. All the works cited follow Venegas and Clavigero as already explained. Other authorities, original in the sense of not following the writers named, will be noticed in note 15 of this chapter; and elsewhere some will be mentioned as belonging to special topics or to later events exclusively.

[6] The commander was Juan María Romero de la Sierpe, cousin of the treasurer. Venegas, ii. 16, says the trip had lasted seven months, which must be an error. Clavigero, i. 183, makes it one month and seven days. The vessels ran on a rock near Navidad; at Chacala the men were mutinous on learning that there was to be no pearl-fishing; they were also in great danger while waiting at Yaqui; but the virgin led them to a hidden anchorage as she had rescued them from previous perils. *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 112.

[7] The padres at Yaqui gave 30 cattle, one horse, 10 sheep, and four pigs, which were put on the lancha. *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 15. Something was done

In the evening of October 10, 1697, the vessels left the port of the Yaqui, anchoring outside; and next morning spread their canvas for the voyage. The missionaries on shore watched their venturesome brother depart, expecting never to hear of him again alive, and perhaps envying his prospective crown of martyrdom. It seemed as if these forebodings were to be speedily fulfilled; for hardly had the galliot sailed a league when a squall drove her aground on a sand bar; but with strenuous exertions on the part of all she was again set afloat. By night they had advanced ten leagues; next morning the Californian coast was sighted; and at dusk they anchored in San Bruno Bay. Fearful of shoals they put to sea again; and in the night the lancha lost sight of her consort and was driven back to the main. The galliot was driven next day up to Concepcion Bay, where the voyagers landed the 15th to say mass, returning southward in the night and landing on the 16th at San Bruno. A few natives were met here who kissed the Christ and were most friendly. Salvatierra with Tortolero and others proceeded to Otondo's old camp at some distance, where they spent the night; but here was only desolation; water was scanty and brackish; it was no place for a mission; and they returned to the shore much disheartened. Then Captain Romero bethought him of a pleasant cove at San Dionisio some ten leagues farther south which he had visited before.[8] By the casting of lots the matter was left to the virgin patroness, and the decision was in favor

toward having a small vessel built for the California service, but it was never finished. *Id.*, 155–6; *Apost. Afanes*, 250. The force was composed of Alférez Luis de Torres Tortolero; Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo, a Portuguese who later became captain; Bartolomé de Robles Figueroa, a creole of Guadalajara; Juan Caravaña, a Maltese; Nicolás Marquez, a Sicilian, and Juan, a Peruvian mulatto. Also three Indians, Francisco, Alonso, and Sebastian, from Sinaloa, Sonora, and Jalisco respectively. Romero commanded the vessels, and there were six sailors on the lancha.

[8] 'Dos años antes,' says Salvatierra. *Cartas*, 121. This may be a misprint for 'doce años,' which might make the statement agree with that of Venegas, ii. 19, that Romero had been with Otondo; or he may have accompanied some private pearl expedition.

of a change. Accordingly the adventurers reëmbarked and arrived safely the 18th at San Dionisio. It proved to be a desirable spot, well wooded and watered, and inhabited by tractable natives. Beginning on the 19th it took four days to pitch their camp on a mesa at a little distance from the shore and to bring there the galliot's cargo.

The stores in a triangle round the camp formed an impromptu fort; a *pedrero*, or swivel-gun, mounted on a mezquite stump, was their artillery. The natives

LORETO AND VICINITY, 1700.

helped willingly enough for a daily allowance of *pozole*, or porridge, and a handful of maize for each special task. Familiarity soon diminished their fear and respect for the strangers, resulting in thefts and impudent disregard for rebuke; but a strict watch was kept. A smart shower fell on the 23d, much to the damage of exposed stores and to the surprise of the new-comers, who had supposed it never rained in California. Next day the image of Our Lady of Loreto was landed, and carried in procession with great ceremony to the camp, where a cross had been set up and

a tent prepared as a church. On the 25th mass was said and formal possession of the country taken for Spain. Such was the founding of the first California mission, named Loreto in honor of the holy patroness.[9] The native name of the place seems to have been Conchó, or at least early letters were generally dated at Loreto Conchó.

Of the lancha, bearing six men and the best part of the supplies, nothing had been heard for two weeks. The loss, if she was lost, must be made good without delay; and the 26th the galeota sailed in quest of men and provisions. Meanwhile Salvatierra, besides serving as priest, officer, sentry, and even cook, had found some spare moments to study the native tongue. He had a vocabulary and catechism made by Copart at the time of Otondo's visit. Children were his chief instructors, and his pronunciation caused much merriment among his little fellow-students; but by dint of infinite patience a kind of jargon of Spanish, Indian, and gestures was formed to meet present needs. It is wonderful with what facility the New World missionaries acquired the native languages. It is not uncommon to find them a few days after arrival in a new country giving religious instruction in the vernacular. Great as was their zeal and skill, however, it is likely that a literal rendering of what was said on both sides at these early conferences would be more amusing than instructive. Salvatierra soon had regular hours for teaching prayers to the more tractable of his flock, distributing after lessons extra allowances of pozole. This pleased the recipients; but there were many others, averse to prayers and work but fond of porridge, who, when they saw that only the pious and industrious were to be supported, waxed wroth and helped themselves to whatever they could lay hands on. They did not fail to note the diminished force

[9] Salvatierra's letter to Ugarte of Nov. 27th, *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 115–28, gives a much more detailed account of events down to this point than do Venegas, Clavigero, Alegre, and the host of lesser lights reflecting those luminaries. On these letters, see note 15.

of the strangers after the vessel's departure. Besides constantly pilfering from the maize-sacks they on one occasion drove off the sheep and goats, and on another stole the only horse. Fortunately the convert favorites served as informers and the stolen property was generally recovered.

October 29th there appeared a chief, "a great eater" says Salvatierra, whose body was half consumed by cancer, who said he had been named Dionisio by Otondo's party, and who revealed a plot of the Monquis to attack the camp that night. Preparations were hastily made to give the foe a warm reception, and a careful watch was kept. At midnight a gun was heard at sea in the direction of the Monqui ranchería, and was answered by a discharge of the pedrero. At dawn a departing vessel was seen, but from a native who had boarded the craft it was learned to be the galliot still bound for Yaqui, and not the lancha as had been hoped. The sail and the guns had frightened the hostile natives; but the 1st of November they came to the mission in large numbers, armed with stones and wooden swords, demanding pozole. Being given food they became more insolent and were finally driven away by the threats of the Spaniards after discharging a volley of stones at the fort.[10] Next day they came back for pozole as if nothing had happened, received it, and were allowed to hang about until evening, when with the aid of a fierce dog they were again dismissed. This state of affairs lasted several days till the fatigue of watching began to tell on the little force, provisions also becoming scarce to make their condition desperate.

But worse was yet to come. November 12th Dionisio, baptized the day before by reason of his increasing illness, gave warning of a new attack. Next day

[10] One Indian threatened to kill Salvatierra if he did not give him a sack of maize. The padre, however, pretended to mistake the word *lui* 'to kill,' for Luis, the name of an Indian carried away by Otondo, and thus while talking found his way out of the jostling crowd into the intrenchments. *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 135–6.

the Indians were more insolent than ever. Some of them managed to pick a quarrel with the guard, and were driven off by the fiery Tortolero. Live-stock was driven in, and even while it was being done a few arrows fell round the camp like the big drops preceding a tempest. Everybody stood to arms, Salvatierra with the rest, and in a few moments they were assaulted on all sides.[11] For two hours a storm of arrows, stones, and dirt raged against the camp, doing but slight damage; then there was a lull, followed by a renewed assault. It was time to teach the barbarians a lesson, and the pedrero, the great hope of the pilgrims, was trained upon the screaming mob and discharged. Where was Our Lady of Loreto! The gun burst, knocked the gunner down, and came near annihilating the rest of His Catholic Majesty's force in California. Seeing the enemy thus hoist with his own petard, and expecting to find nothing left in camp but pozole, the savages rushed forward, and retreated with no less alacrity on being met with a shower of bullets which killed three of their number and wounded many more. At sunset a messenger came to beg for peace, and women brought children as hostages. They were surprised to find no one hurt; for Figueroa and Tortolero concealed the fact that they were wounded.

The cry of 'A sail!' startled the Loreto pilgrims on the 15th, and soon the lost lancha came to anchor,[12] with welcome supplies and reënforcements, which put the garrison in high spirits and stimulated Salvatierra to renewed efforts. The arquebuse had proved mightier

[11] The Monquis had induced three other tribes, Edues, Didues, and Laymones, to join them. According to Clavigero, *Storia della Cal.*, 188, the assailants were 500. The garrison numbered 10 men.

[12] *Salvatierra, Cartas*, 148; *California, Estab. y Prog.*, 17; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 98. Venegas, ii. 32, and Clavigero, 191, make the arrival on the 14th, the day after the battle. The crew related that after the separation on Oct. 12th they had beaten about for some time in search of the galliot, and then returned to Yaqui. They said the galeota on her return had been in great peril on the mainland coast but had escaped.

than the missal in teaching submission, and now the natives became clamorous for baptism, which Father Juan María discreetly refused to administer without further proofs of conversion.[13] There was a quarrel between the factions of the formerly hostile natives, but the missionary with his customary tact contrived to patch up a peace. Religious lessons were resumed, and pozole was again doled out to those who attended. In a general assembly Salvatierra read the viceroy's instructions, made an eloquent harangue on the glorious future of the enterprise, and formally appointed Tortolero captain of the garrison, also regulating minor concerns of the young colony.

The galliot came back November 23d, bringing, to the inexpressible joy of the missionary, his old friend and co-worker Father Piccolo.[14] Success now seemed assured; and in the fulness of his heart Salvatierra at once wrote to his friends and benefactors in Mexico of what had been done, the letters being sent by the galliot, which sailed the 27th for Acapulco by way of Chacala.[15] The seven months for which the vessel had been lent had expired, and she was to be returned to her owner Sierpe.

[13] Dionisio had been the first to receive the rite; and now three children were baptized. Dionisio was called Bernardo Manuel, and one of the children, his son, Manuel Bernardo, in accordance with the wish of the viceroy and his wife that the first two converts should be so named.

[14] Francisco María Piccolo was a native of Sicily, born in 1650. He came to Mexico shortly before 1686, when he went to the Tarahumara missions of Chihuahua, where he labored most efficiently until permitted by his superiors to go to California.

[15] The letters written on this occasion are those I cite as *Salvatierra, Cartas.* They are four in number, printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 103–57. The first to the viceroy, dated erroneously Nov. 28th, briefly recounts late events, praising the soldiers, and Sierpe for his generous loan of the vessel. The second, Nov. 26th, is addressed to the viceroy's wife, the Duquesa de Gesar, a patroness of the enterprise. The need of more funds is the key-note of this communication. The third letter of Nov. 27th, addressed to Ugarte, is the most important of all, being a detailed account of all proceedings from the writer's arrival in Sinaloa down to date. The fourth letter is a religious rhapsody addressed to 'My Father, Brother, Friend, Commissioner and my Captain, Señor Don Juan Caballero y Osio,' the Querétaro priest, who it will be remembered gave 20,000 pesos for the missions, and who here gets nearly the worth of his money in extravagant eulogy and promises of future beatitude. These four letters and another to Ugarte of July 9, 1699, are found also in *Morfi, Coleccion de Documentos*, MS., 276–321.

Another and still more important collection of the venerable Jesuit's let-

There were now eighteen men at Loreto; two padres, seven soldiers, five sailors, and four natives. They were well supplied with arms and ammunition, and when the ship had gone applied themselves to the erection of new fortifications, a double line of palisades bound together with reeds and banked with earth, forming a wall three feet thick and five feet high. Within the enclosure were built a little wooden church, dwellings for padre and captain, and barracks for the soldiers. A magazine and other buildings were added later.[16] The galliot had left a four-pounder and two pedreros. These were conspicuously mounted, though it would have required a brave gunner to fire them; while two blacksmith's bellows were also placed upon the works, their nozzles crammed with bullets. They inspired more fear than the

ters is that which to which I give the title, *Salvatierra Relaciones, 1697–1709.* It contains principally three long letters to Ugarte dated July 3, 1698; April 1st and July 9, 1699; and one to the provincial Francisco de Arteaga written late in May 1701. These form a continuous and detailed narrative from November 1697, the date of the *Cartas*, to 1701. They fill 127 printed pages; and to them are added nine extracts from other letters of different dates down to 1709, addressed to Bishop Legaspi, Juan Miranda, fiscal at Guadalajara, and Father Kino.

These *Relaciones*, with extracts from reports of padres Tamaral, Barco, and others of 1730 and later years; with *California, Memorias para la Historia Natural de Cal. escritas por un religioso de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico, año de 1790*, 220–55; and with a concise chronological résumé of events from 1530 to 1762, filling about 70 pages, and interspersed with the letters and extracts—make up the work entitled *California, Establecimento y Progresos de las Misiones de la Antigua California. Dispuestos por un religioso del Santo Evangelio de Mexico (1791–2).* It was compiled by a Franciscan after the expulsion of the Jesuits; formed tom. xxi. of the *Archivo General de Mexico*, MS.; and was printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. tom. v.

I may mention here also *Salvatierra, Escritos Autógrafos, 1677–1702*, a collection of four original autograph letters in my possession. Two of them were written in Tarahumara before the writer came to California. Two are dated at Loreto Conchó, one Nov. 21 (or 27th), 1698, to Ugarte, the other April 21, 1702, to Nicolás de Aroca secretary of the provincial. All are routine communications of no value except as relics of so famous a man, who was also perhaps the worst penman of his order. Salvatierra's letters cited in this note constitute by far the best authority extant on my present subject. Their superiority over the authorities cited in note 5 of this chapter is apparent. They correct many errors of Venegas and his followers, though chiefly in matters of detail too minute to find place in my work.

[16] Venegas, ii. 39, says the church was of stone and clay with thatched roof. While the work was going on the men occupied the old triangular barricade, strengthened on the outside by thorny bushes. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 18. Venegas says the new fort was merely an enlargement of the old; but the subsequent destruction of the latter not mentioned by him shows this to be an error.

swivel-guns, and were much less dangerous to the gunners. The natives worked well on the structures without an idea of their intended use; but one cold night after their departure the Spaniards by vigorous efforts destroyed the old works, transferred all their effects, and much to the astonishment of the Indians, were found next morning in secure possession of their impregnable fortress. Christmas eve Father Piccolo consecrated the new church, and next day after six masses all indulged in a general merry-making.[17]

The 1st of January 1698 the lancha was sent across to Yaqui. This lessened the force, and some of the natives became unruly, but were not bold enough to revolt openly with the terrible bellows threatening from the rampart; and when on the 10th the boat returned to take a fresh start, having been driven some fifteen leagues up the coast to a little bay among hostile tribes, the Indians believed the crew had been called back in some mysterious way, and became correspondingly respectful. Every precaution was taken, however. Piccolo taught the children in the church; Salvatierra instructed adults in a hut outside, covered by one of the guns; while the dusky students might have noted that Captain Tortolero and a soldier, fully armed, attended the services with exemplary regularity. The lancha was seen again the 6th of February in a furious gale that for two days prevented her anchoring; but the trip had been successful, and she brought besides provisions a reënforcement of six volunteers—one of them an Englishman—for the garrison.[18]

Thus strengthened the pilgrims were confident they could repulse all the savage foes the devil could send against them. For every page of the record shows a

[17] Letter of July 3, 1698, in *Salvatierra, Rel.*, 17–24. Dec. 25, Salvatierra wrote to Bishop Legaspi a résumé of all that had occurred. *Id.*, 15–17.

[18] The new-comers were: Alférez Isidro Figueroa, from Seville; Antonio de Mendoza, a Castilian from Rioja; José Murguía, from Vizcaya; Juan de Arce, an Englishman brought up in Mexico; Francisco de Quiroga, a mestizo; and Marcos, a Yaqui Indian; all experienced soldiers. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 29.

belief that the powers of hell were arrayed on the side of the heathen. The story as told by Salvatierra and the rest sounds like a christianized echo from the Iliad. The most trifling incidents of daily life were attributed to the direct influence of one or the other of the supernatural powers. If an Indian pilfered a handful of maize, Satan held open the mouth of the sack. If an arrow narrowly missed a padre, it was the hand of Our Lady that turned it aside.

Still the natives acted more and more suspiciously, gathering in large numbers near the fort, and holding secret meetings, the meaning of which could not at first be learned. But when the lancha had started March 1st on another trip to the main, they became less careful and the secret leaked out. The native sorcerers, or medicine-men, were at the bottom of the trouble. The new faith was weakening their influence, and they were in danger of being regarded as ordinary men. Something must be done, and quickly, if their prestige was to be retained, so thought these wise men of California, and forthwith they banded together and used all their influence and eloquence to stir up the people against the invaders. Where were their countrymen whom Otondo had carried away? they asked significantly, reminding their hearers also that those who had been friendly to Otondo had been roughly treated after his departure, thus warning the timid of what might be expected when the padres should be driven away, as they soon would be. These arguments had their effect; attendance at prayers and lessons grew smaller; and on Palm Sunday only two of the people who were to represent the twelve apostles at table could be found. These two, however, enjoyed the meal so much that Salvatierra thought there would be no lack of apostles the next year. No actual hostilities occurred until after the boat returned with a small supply of provisions the 21st of March.

The 2d of April, while the Spaniards were engaged in religious exercises of easter, a mob of Indians broke

in pieces the lancha's boat drawn upon the beach. The hot-headed Tortolero, California's Miles Standish, at once sallied forth, drove away a body of natives who made a show of resistance, and sent half his men in pursuit by a by-path under Figueroa, while he followed the beach. Figueroa fell into an ambush, but Tortolero came up, and a fierce struggle ensued. The natives were defeated with several killed and many wounded, learning the much needed lesson that the Spaniards, only two of whom were slightly injured, could fight without the protection of their fort and cannon. There were no more hostilities for several months. The first Christian Indian had been buried in March, and, says Salvatierra, "we now felt repaid for all our hardships, for the cemetery was no longer without a tenant."

The lancha having gone in quest of supplies, the natives being for the most part absent in the mountains engaged in the festivities of the pitahaya season, eleven days after provisions had been reduced to three sacks of bad flour and three other of wormy maize, in answer to redoubled prayers a vessel arrived the 19th of June. It was the ship *San José*, a new cedar craft worth 14,000 pesos, which, less a debt of 826 pesos, was a gift from Caballero y Osio. She was commanded by Manuel Gadaro, bringing a large supply of necessaries collected by Ugarte, and a reënforcement of seven more volunteers. To aid in making up the deficiency Salvatierra imposed on the soldiers a light fine for each oath uttered. Let us hope that those brave fellows did not allow their young colony long to feel the burden of debt.[19] In August the mission navy was still further increased by the *San Fermin* and a new lancha called the *San Javier*,

[19] About the vessel, as for all events since Nov. 1697, I have followed Salvatierra's letter of July 3, 1698, to Ugarte. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 17–50. The letter was probably sent across in the ship, which was about to go after horses for the mission. The padre's letters of October to Ugarte are not extant, so that in the original authorities there is a gap from July to October. Venegas, ii. 47–8, and Clavigero, 198–201, say nothing about the *San José* being a gift.

both sent from Acapulco by Sierpe. The former was sent about the middle of October to the main; and the *San José*, which had turned out very leaky and unseaworthy, was careened for repairs. It would seem that Sierpe sent another cargo of supplies by a galliot, which sailed on her return on October 21st, carrying also some soldiers who went to bring their families.[20]

Soon the *San José* went to Coronados Island, near by, where the crew, under pretence of putting the ship in order, engaged in the pearl-fishery with the aid of Indians. The padres heard of it and were filled with dismay. They regarded pearl-fishing as the most dangerous of all evils threatening the mission work. Unscrupulous adventurers had created among the natives a distrust which it had required long efforts to partially remove. Moreover there was great danger that all the soldiers and sailors of Loreto might become uncontrollable through avarice. In their trouble the padres appealed to the holy patroness, and that very night the only three real pearls in the necklace of Our Lady's image dropped to the ground, showing that the country under her protection needed no pearls for its prosperity.[21]

The 1st of November Father Salvatierra with Captain Tortolero and six soldiers, all mounted,[22] and twelve Indians on foot, set out on their first exploration beyond the immediate vicinity of the mission. It was directed towards the north some ten leagues to the Cañada de Londó, or San Isidro, where Otondo was supposed to have been, though no traces of his

[20] *Relaciones*, 51. The repairs of the *S. José* cost 6,000 pesos according to Venegas, Clavigero, and Alegre; and after all the ship lost her cargo on the first trip, and was stranded at Acapulco in the second, being sold for $500.

[21] *Relaciones*, 52–3.

[22] There is no definite record of the coming of the horses, though it would probably appear in the missing letter to Ugarte. In July 12 horses had been offered, and the ship was about to be sent for them. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 49. They probably came in July or August. Eight more horses and 10 cows were brought by the *San Fermin* just after Salvatierra's return from this expedition. *Id.*, 57.

visit were found. The Indians of a ranchería in that region had expressed a desire to see the padre, but the place was deserted. On the return a letter in the Monqui language was sent to Piccolo, the first mail service in the country and a most wonderful thing to the natives. The journey was completed in eight days without accident or noteworthy adventure.[23]

Soon there arrived the *San Fermin* with horses, cows, and other aid from friends in Sinaloa. One of the cows at once distinguished herself by wandering off and discovering a new spring of water four leagues south of the mission. At the end of November the two vessels went to Cármen Island for salt, the *San José* to continue her voyage to New Spain.[24] December was marked by the fiestas of the Immaculate Conception, San Fráncisco Javier's day, and Christmas, celebrated with all possible pomp. During the festivities a *chino* sailor saw fit to start with his hat full of powder for one of the lanchas, and had his face terribly mangled by an explosion; but a holy relic of San Javier applied by Father Piccolo effected a speedy cure.[25] In the last days of the year Piccolo and Tortolero, with eight mounted soldiers, made an expedition southward ten or twelve leagues to the ranchería of Chuenqui, near Danzantes Bay. They were well received, baptizing some children.[26] There came also from Londó an appeal for baptism and a church.

Feeling themselves securely established at Loreto the Jesuits now began to think of extending their influence by founding new settlements, their horses

[23] Salvatierra's letter of April 1, 1698. *Relaciones*, 53–7, with full details. Bahuh, 4 leagues, Nienchu, Piedra Molar, and Cuesta de Juan de Arce are the names given between Loreto and Londó. Venegas, ii. 48–9, Clavigero, 201–2, and Alegre, iii. 113–14, represent this expedition to have been early in 1699, but of course Salvatierra is the best authority.

[24] The autograph letter in my collection, of Nov. 27th. *Salvatierra, Escritos, Autog.*, MS., was doubtless sent to Ugarte at this time.

[25] *Relaciones*, 58. The chino was probably not a Chinaman, though he had a narrow escape from being a celestial.

[26] *Relaciones*, 59–61. Vhonci was an intermediate ranchería.

and their approved knowledge of the native dialects rendering their tours of exploration much less laborious than before. It was a very wet season, unfavorable for travelling in January and February of 1699; but in March, after one or two unsuccessful attempts by the vessel, Salvatierra with his party went again by land to Londó, and to San Bruno a few leagues farther on the coast. He was kindly received by the natives, of the Cochimí tribe, baptizing many children, but having some trouble in making peace between hostile rancherías. At Loreto it was a prosperous season, the natives becoming more and more submissive to missionary rule, so much so that flogging was now resorted to as a penalty for minor offences. With the rains the grass sprang up; the cattle fattened; the number of converts rapidly increased; the soldiers gave no cause for complaint; and all was prosperity. Such was the purport of the correspondence sent by the lancha at the beginning of April.[27]

It was customary to send a few Indians to the mainland at each trip of the transports, whenever any could be induced to go, that they might see how their brethren *de la otra banda* were living in mission communities, planting corn, and submitting to the padres' gentle but firm rule. Now it chanced that the people of an interior ranchería of the western mountains heard these things from one of the native Sindbads who had visited Sinaloa; and they sent word that they would like to raise crops in their fertile vales. Accordingly in May Piccolo started with his captain and mounted guard to make explorations. The way soon became so rough that they had to leave the horses. The difficulties of the later march were much increased by the curious error of inquiring always for Vigge, which they understood to be the name of the ranchería, but which really meant 'high-

[27] Letter to Ugarte, April 1st. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 50–74. The writer is always prolix, and the letter is full of trivial occurrences for which of course I have no space.

lands,' so that they were guided to the top of the highest peaks. But finally they reached a fine large cañada named San Francisco Javier Vigge de Biaundó, where they remained four days, erecting a cross and baptizing children.

After his return Captain Luis Tortolero y Torres was forced by an affection of the eyes to resign the command, much to the sorrow of all, especially of the missionaries, as he had proved himself a notable champion of the cause. He started a little later for Guadalajara with a letter of recommendation for the audiencia. Adjutant Antonio García de Mendoza, an old soldier from Fuenterabía, who had served in San Luis Potosí, was made captain in Tortolero's place.

On May 23d, with Captain Mendoza and nine men, Salvatierra started again for Londó. A band of Monquis went with him, hoping through his influence to make peace with the Cochimís, and get permission to gather pitahayas in their country. Many natives were found assembled at what was now called San Juan de Londó. Much was accomplished, and the party returned to Loreto before the end of May.

Then Piccolo set out early in June with a large force of Indians to open a road for horses to San Javier, where it was intended to plant a new mission. By the 12th the horses were ridden triumphantly into the valley and turned out to graze on richer pastures than they had ever known in California. Soon after their arrival, Captain Mendoza and a few soldiers climbed a lofty height, and were rewarded for their toil by a magnificent view, which included both gulf and ocean coasts, this being the first discovery of the Pacific from the interior. A great bay was also seen, perhaps that of Magdalena. So elated were the discoverers that they fired a salvo with their arquebuses, which caused some alarm at the camp below, but Piccolo joined in the rejoicing when he knew its cause. They returned to Loreto on the 14th.

At the end of June the whole force set to work to clear a space for a new church some hundred paces from the fort.[28] Provisions had again run low, and it had been proposed on that account to postpone work on the church, but Piccolo's zealous exhortations overcame this resolution; and this devotion was rewarded by one of those singular coincidences or "special dispensations" so often recorded in the annals of missionary work. On the very day that work on the church began, the *Santa Elvira* arrived from the mainland with a large stock of supplies; and about the same time the *San Fermin* also brought six more volunteers for the garrison, which with this addition numbered thirty soldiers. The missionaries take pride in noting that volunteers for California are abundant, while other districts had difficulty in obtaining soldiers.[29]

The Indians were controlled by a two-fold policy, as ingenious as it was generally efficient. Force and severity, as represented by the captain and his men-at-arms, were combined with persuasion and kindness as practised by the padres. While the church was being built, some natives were induced by their priests to withdraw to the mountains for the performance of certain pagan rites. Their chief priest was arrested, bound, and sentenced by the captain to be flogged to death. After some blows the padres, by a preconcerted plan, appeared, and in presence of the crowd begged that the wizard's life might be spared, which request was of course granted. In this particular

[28] *Venegas*, ii. 53–4, who also mentions a chapel in the camp begun at the same time and consecrated in 1700, the church being completed in 1704. Salvatierra does not speak of the chapel; but in May 1701 he writes of the virgin's 'Casa de adobes, blanqueada y adornada con cuadros, etc., que parece un paraiso, y se halla menos de tiro de arcabuz del presidio.' *Relaciones*, 103.

[29] By the return of the vessel was sent the letter of July 9th, to Ugarte, which narrates happenings since April. *Salvatierra*, *Relaciones*, 74–93. The same ground is covered by *Venegas*, ii. 48–55; *Clavigero*, 202–4; and *Alegre*, iii. 113–15. By the same vessel was sent a memorandum of supplies needed from Nueva Galicia, of which I have the original in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, M. S., no. 27.

instance, however, the stratagem did not succeed as in many others. The sorcerer's friends, incensed at the indignity of flogging their leader, made many threats; and it was not until Captain Mendoza had exhibited the head of one of them on a stake as a warning that their anger was cooled.[30]

Salvatierra made another vaguely recorded trip to Londó; the lancha brought on September 7th an image of Our Lady, which next day was carried in procession to the new church, and in October Piccolo went with his escolta to found a new mission at San Javier. During his absence the galliot sailed with the ex-captain on board.[31] A few days later, at the end of the month, Salvatierra went over to Biaundó to assist at the consecration of the church of San Javier, where he was received with ceremonious demonstration, including athletic sports by the inland natives. The consecration, or founding of San Javier, was apparently on the 1st of November, though we have no original narrative of details.[32] While Piccolo had been engaged in preparing buildings for the new mission, Mendoza had made an exploration to the shore of the Pacific south-westward from Biaundó. He was disappointed in his chief object, that of finding a safe harbor for the galleon; but found a large ranchería of friendly natives, which was named Santa Rosalía. Piccolo did not yet remain permanently at his new establishment; but returned and accompanied Salvatierra on a tour to Londó, returning by a new way along the base of the great Sierra Giganta, as the main range of the peninsula was called. Besides much success in making friends and converts in the north, the fathers suc-

[30] *California, Estab. y Prog.*, 93–5. There is no narrative letter of Salvatierra, only two brief extracts to the fiscal Miranda, of events from July to November. A report for this period was sent to the provincial, but is not extant.

[31] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 97–8, 103. Letter to Miranda of Oct. 26th, during Piccolo's absence: 'para la contra costa á plantar en ella la santa cruz, y puede ser topen algun puerto para el abrigo de la nao de China.'

[32] It was described in the letter to the provincial of Nov. according to a later letter. *Relaciones*, 106. The reception is described in *California, Estab. y Prog.*, 98. Venegas, ii. 56, gives the date Nov. 1st.

ceeded in making a peace between the Edues and Cochimís by a treaty which was ratified at Loreto in connection with Christmas festivities. Thus in prosperity ended the year 1699.

The last year of the century and the third of mission annals was to bring many troubles to the Jesuit pioneers. The first blow was the loss of the *San Fermin*, which was grounded at the Sonora port of Ahome in the spring of 1700. The crew and some cattle were saved. This misfortune was so serious that Salvatierra thought it best to cross over to the main in person. He sailed in the *San Javier*, taking with him five Californians. There had lately been some trouble because of the murder of a native by a Sonora Indian named Marcos; and it was thought that by closer acquaintance with the mainland tribes the quarrel might be healed. The arrival of the missionary and his companions created quite a sensation in the Sonora missions, where the party were fêted to their hearts' content, and extended their travels to Salvatierra's old mission-field of Chinipas. It does not appear that anything was effected toward repairing the loss of the wrecked vessel; but the lancha was repaired and filled with supplies at Yaqui, and the Californian pilgrims sailed for home on June 19th, arriving at Loreto two days later.[33] The reports of the returning natives had a good effect; but Marcos continued to make trouble, and it was not until he had been shot that quiet was entirely restored. During Salvatierra's absence Piccolo had employed himself in visiting new rancherías in the region of San Javier, and in establishing amicable relations with his neighbors; and the good work went on after the superior's return.

In September the *San José* arrived with a much needed cargo of supplies; but she brought also the unwelcome news of the death of Sierpe at Acapulco.

[33] Letter of May 1701 to the provincial. *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 110–15. No dates for 1700 are given before June 19th.

In October Salvatierra went up to Londó and made explorations in the Cerros de San José de la Giganta farther west, saying mass in a fine cañada named Las Animas, and reaching Piccolo's mission by a new way through the mountains. There was never a time when there was not an impending scarcity of food, and the *San José* was soon despatched to the main for a cargo.

Salvatierra had in 1698–9 addressed more than one communication to the viceroy, reporting progress, soliciting protection, and intimating that the growth of the missions would soon call for government aid. But the viceroy had other urgent demands upon his attention and funds, and he merely forwarded the papers to the court at Madrid. There they seem to have excited a degree of interest and sympathy for the far-off province; but beyond the offer of 1,000 pesos per year for the mission expenses, an offer rejected by Ugarte as totally inadequate, nothing was done and weightier matters soon drowned all thought of California. In 1700 Salvatierra renewed his entreaties. In March he sent a memorial signed by both padres and thirty-five others; and while in Sinaloa he prepared another. Pointing out how foolish it would be for Spain to lose the province after so much had been done, he asked that the soldiers should be paid by government here as elsewhere. True it had been stipulated that the Jesuits were to occupy the country at their own expense, and they had done so; but could not be expected to hold it permanently on such terms. Dwelling on the loss of the *San Fermin* and the ruinous condition of the *San José*, he asked for the gift of a vessel; but he announced the unchangeable determination of himself and Piccolo to remain on the ground even without a boat or a soldier.

These appeals met with no response in Mexico or Spain. Besides the ordinary reasons for apathy in

responding to such demands, reasons growing out of the constant drains on the treasury for old-world expenses and New World conquests, there was a growing animosity against the Jesuits. The general grounds of this feeling, destined to culminate in the expulsion of the society from all Spanish dominions, do not concern us here. There were, however, some special phases of the general distrust that affected California. Among the adventurers who had sought licenses with government aid to occupy the country with a view mainly to the pearls of the gulf, there was much jealousy on account of Salvatierra's success both in occupying the province and in obtaining liberal contributions from benefactors. Naturally it was represented by these men, and there was a constantly growing number willing to take that view of the matter, that the Jesuits had found some rich treasure; that but for the pearl-beds they would never have left comfortable positions in New Spain for a miserable existence on the arid peninsula. There was a general outcry when it became known that they were extending their palms toward the royal treasury.

As if the cause had not foes enough abroad, a formidable one now appeared at home in the person of Captain Mendoza. This man, put in command by Salvatierra himself, though a brave soldier and competent officer, chafed under the restraints imposed upon him by the padres. His hot temper could ill brook the treachery and pusillanimity of the natives, and after the manner of his class he would have dealt with them more summarily than Salvatierra permitted. The prohibition of pearl-fishing was another grievance in the eyes of this worldly-minded trooper, and in this he had the sympathy and support of his men. They thought themselves entitled to profit by the resources of the country they defended, more especially as they got but little pay from any other source. Accordingly the discontented captain wrote several doleful letters to his friends and to the viceroy. In

one of the letters, dated October 1700, he discreetly took higher ground than the question of pay or authority, and praised the zeal of the fathers, while condemning their schemes as costly and impracticable. Yet his spite overcame his diplomacy when he suggested that the padres should be punished for their presumptuous demands; and like a petulant school-boy that he himself should be cast into a dungeon as a warning to others not to be deluded into such a service.

These reports, coming from one who had been an eye-witness of all that had occurred in California, made an impression even on the benefactors of the missions, whose alms became noticeably smaller in consequence. Salvatierra, with characteristic promptitude, resolved to get rid of the worst of the malecontents, even at the risk of leaving the country without defenders; and accordingly eighteen soldiers were discharged, reducing the garrison to twelve men.[34]

In the autumn of 1700 the *San José* returning from Yaqui with a cargo of supplies brought also important orders from Provincial Arteaga. The Sinaloa anchorages had proved very unsafe for the California service; a good port—that of Guaymas—had been found some fourteen leagues above the Yaqui; and it had been decided to put the Guaymas and other tribes near the port in charge of the Californian missionaries. Salvatierra was therefore instructed to go in person to make a preliminary examination with a view to the subsequent foundation of a mission. It was a somewhat critical time for the padre to be absent; but there was consolation in the thought that he

[34] On the troubles of 1700 see *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 56–73. A letter is quoted in which Salvatierra, announcing the discharge of the 18 men, says he awaits only the receipt of news from Mexico to discharge the rest. Then 'we will think of paying debts; and if before that is done our Californian children send us to report to God, for lack of a military guard, there remains the Señora Lauretana who doubtless will pay.' It must be understood, however, that letters of this tone were written largely for effect. The Jesuits had no idea of failure yet. See also *Bustamante, Defensa Comp. Jesus*, 10.

might obtain some succor from friends during his visit, and he sailed on the *San José* for Yaqui.[35] That unlucky craft could not enter the port in an unfavorable wind; nor by reason of her rotten cables wait outside for a change, so they put back to Loreto. The *San Javier* had just arrived, reporting that on the beach at Ahome were many useful fragments of the wrecked *San Fermin*; and accordingly the destination was changed to Ahome at the mouth of what is now the Rio del Fuerte. Salvatierra's plan was to proceed northward by land, seeking alms by the way; and in January 1701 he started from Ahome.[36] I have had access to the original mission registers of Loreto and of several other missions, from which a few items will be taken from time to time. The only record down to the end of 1700 is to the effect that there had been thirty-five deaths, a few being of gente de razon.[37]

[35] At the end of October according to Venegas; but I think it may have been later.

[36] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 124–5, letter to Arteaga of May 1701. Venegas, *Noticia*, ii. 74–5, represents Salvatierra's motive to have been the obtaining of aid, without mentioning the provincial's order respecting the annexation and exploration of Guaymas. In addition to the authorities already mentioned I may cite *Revilla Gigedo, Carta de 27 Dic., 1793, sobre el Estado actual de las Misiones de la Nueva España*, MS., as containing some general information on the missions during the Jesuit period, though mainly devoted to later times.

[37] *Loreto, Libros de Mision, 1700–69*, MS. These fragmentary records, containing the autograph entries of Salvatierra, Piccolo, Ugarte, and many later missionaries, are in the possession of Colonel O. Livermore of San Francisco, who has kindly allowed me to examine them.

CHAPTER XII.

ANNALS OF NUEVA VIZCAYA.

1600–1640.

GOVERNMENT—LIST OF RULERS—SEE OF GUADIANA—BISHOPS—GEOGRAPHICAL LINES AND DISTRICTS—PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH-EAST—SUPERSTITION, FAMINE, AND RIGHTEOUSNESS AT PARRAS—ACAXEE MISSIONS OF TOPIA—REVOLT—THE SABAIBO BISHOP—CONVERSION AND REVOLT OF THE XIXIMES—GOVERNOR'S CAMPAIGNS—THE TEPEHUANE DISTRICT—REVOLT OF 1616–17—MASSACRE OF TEN MISSIONARIES AND TWO HUNDRED SPANIARDS—PEACE RESTORED—HUMES AND HINAS—VÍRGEN DEL HACHAZO—CHIHUAHUA DISTRICTS—JESUIT BEGINNINGS IN TARAHUMARA BAJA—FRANCISCAN ESTABLISHMENTS—REPORT OF 1622—CONCHO MISSION—PARRAL FOUNDED—COAHUILA.

IN the seventeenth century the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, for like its southern neighbor it was commonly termed a *reino*, included the territory constituting the modern states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the southern parts of what is now Coahuila.[1] For reasons already explained, however, I have presented separately the annals of the coast provinces, nominally subject *en lo político* to the governor at Durango; and I now have to record in this chapter and the next the history of Nueva Viscaya proper, substantially Durango and Chihuahua, from 1600 to 1700.[2]

The governor of Nueva Vizcaya, residing for more than half the century at Durango, regarded as capital

[1] Not until 1785 was the Parras and Saltillo region attached to Coahuila proper as a separate province.

[2] See chap. v. of this volume for 16th century annals of the country, and as an introduction to what follows. My space does not permit much repetition, and the territorial peculiarities of my subject in this volume especially do not allow a continuous chronological connection from chapter to chapter.

from the first and made a *ciudad* in 1621, with a salary of two thousand pesos, was appointed by the king, holding also by royal appointment the rank of captain-general. So far as can be ascertained from the records, the rulers down to 1640, the period covered by this chapter, were as follows: 1600, Jaime Herrades de Arriaga; 1601–2, Rodrigo de Vivero; 1602–11, Francisco Urdiñola; 1615–18, Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar; 1630, Hipólito de Velasco; 1631–3, Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes; to 1639, Luis de Monsalve; from 1639, Luis Valdés.[3] These men are for the most part merely named incidentally as holding the position; and of their life, character, services, and troubles nothing further is known except a brief mention of official acts in the case of some in connection with mission annals. The somewhat complicated relations of provincial rulers to crown, viceroy, and audiencia have been sufficiently explained elsewhere.[4] In the exercise of political power the governor was responsible to the king alone, and he appointed alcaldes mayores and other civil officials; in some phases of his military power and in matters pertaining to the exchequer he was subordinate to the viceroy, there being at Durango a branch of the *caja real*, or treasury, under royal officers; and the audiencia of Guadalajara, holding judicial jurisdiction over all the north, had cognizance of official misconduct on the part of the governor, and might appoint a temporary governor, whose appointment ad interim came from the viceroy.[5] In all its minor and local details the govern-

[3] *Alegre*, i. 418; ii. 184–5, 220; *Torquemada*, i. 691; *Apost. Afanes*, 31; *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 554; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 244–5; *Noticias de Esped.*, 673; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 286; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 224; *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 189.

[4] See *Hist. Mex.*, iii. this series.

[5] N. Vizcaya independent of viceroy in political and military matters, but not in exchequer. *Instrucciones de los Virreyes*, 276; *Mancera, Instruc., 1673*, 489–90; subject to viceroy in matters of war and exchequer. *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 96. The government belonged 'en lo politico y de justicia' to the audiencia. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 400–1, 313. Viceroy given orders by king respecting taxes in N. Vizcaya. *Montemaior, Semarios*, 248. Kino obtained from the viceroy an order in favor of native laborers. *Veneyas, Not.*

ment was identical with that of Nueva Galicia. The most notable difference lay in the fact that Nueva Vizcaya was still for the most part a tierra de guerra; the military took precedence of the civil; comandantes of presidios were more powerful than alcaldes or corregidores; mission establishments requiring an annual outlay in stipends filled the place of the southern towns paying tribute and tithes. Both civil and political government were confined chiefly to large towns, presidio garrisons, and mining camps.

In 1620 the bishopric of Guadalajara was divided, and the northern region, including all of Nueva Vizcaya in its broadest limits, was formed by a bull of Paul V., dated October 11th, into a new bishopric of Guadiana,[6] under the patronage of Saint Matthew, receiving as its share in the apportionment of tithes 16,000 pesos.[7] Fray Gonzalo de Hermosillo, a native

Cal., ii. 89–90. The governor objected when Ribas asked for padres in Mexico. *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 303–5, June 18, 1624, governor ordered to obey orders of the viceroy as the representative of the king. *Montemaior, Sum.*, 164. Audiencia of Mexico severely reprimanded by the king for its course in late troubles between Gov. Monsalve and an oidor of Guadalajara. *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 189. Dec. 23, 1637, cédula ordering governors to reside at Durango, and not at the Parral mines or elsewhere. *Recop. de Ind.*, ii. 123. Temporary governor appointed by viceroy. *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 165. List of 20 offices filled by the governor at a salary of 250 pesos; lieutenant-governor; alcaldes mayores of Saltillo, Laguna y Parras, Gunaval, mines of S. Antonio de Cuencamé, S. Juan del Rio, mines of Coreto, mines of Mapimi, mines of Chindea, Sta Bárbara, mines of Guanacivi, mines of Topia, mines of San Andrés, mines of Pánuco, San Bartolomé, and San Francisco de Mezquital; besides those in Sinaloa named elsewhere. *Id.*, 100–1. Nombre de Dios in 1608 had not yet been finally adjudged to either N. Galicia or N. Vizcaya. It had an alcalde mayor appointed by the viceroy; besides alguacil, alférez, and notary, offices sold for 1,000, 1,400, and 8,000 pesos respectively; the alférez having besides a salary of 15,000 maravedís; and also two alcaldes electing their successors annually. *Nombre de Dios, Descrip.*, 218–42.

[6] See authorities in notes 7, S. Calle, *Mem. Not.*, 91, gives the date 1619, and p. 95 says the first bishop was chosen Jan. 27, 1620. Alegre, ii. 124, 139, 269, dates the bull June 14, 1620. By decree of Gregory XV., March 14, 1621, according to *Villa Señor, Theatro*, ii. 339; *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 15–16; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 22. Frejes, *Hist. Breve*, 272, makes the date 1631.

[7] *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 279–80. This author calls the diocese N. Vizcaya, and gives the boundaries, the Rio de las Cañas being that on the coast. The see was suffragan of Mexico, and of immense extent. *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. Revenue of see in 1646, 5,000 pesos. The dean got 1,200 pesos; the arcediano and chantre, 1,000; and two canónigos, 300. In 1645 the king allowed one canónigo to be made doctoral, and the bishop was allowed to use 3,000 pesos from the noveno surplus on the church building. *Calle, Not.*, 95. Income of bishop formerly 5,000 pesos, with 4,800 for five prebendaries. *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 24–6. Six thousand pesos in tithes in 1697.

of Mexico, professor of theology in the university, and a member of the Augustinian order, was made the first bishop. His appointment was confirmed by the pope on October 12, 1620; he took possession of the see by proxy a year and ten days later, and in person on September 1, 1623; and ruled to the satisfaction of all concerned until 1631, when he died in Sinaloa on January 28th while engaged in a tour of confirmation. His body was buried at San Felipe, but in 1668 was transferred to the cathedral at Durango. His successor was Don Alonso Franco y Luna, a native of Madrid, university professor at Alcalá, and curate. He was appointed by Felipe IV. December 3, 1631; approved by the pope June 6, 1632; consecrated in October of the same year, and took possession by proxy November 9, 1633. Bishop Franco travelled extensively in his diocese; spent large sums on different churches; obtained a royal *limosna* for his cathedral; and was transferred to Peru in 1639. He left Durango in 1640, but died the same year before receiving the bull confirming his new office. The third bishop was Francisco Diego de Evia y Valdés, a native of Oviedo in Spain, educated at Salamanca, and friar of the order of San Benito. His appointment of May 17, 1639, was confirmed the 1st of August; he took possession in January 1640; and in April he started out on his first episcopal tour of inspection and confirmation. All the bishops are eulogized; but it is impossible to form any clear idea of their respective characteristics. In episcopal as in political government there seem to have been no troubles or controversies in these years.[8]

In the missionary record now to be presented it must be noted that only in a general sense can the

Arlegui, 108. Curacy of Nombre de Dios in 1608 obtained 600 or 700 pesos for novenos. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, ix. 246. In 1687 all the prebendaries died. *Iglesias y Conventos*, *Relacion*, 317.

[8] On the bishopric of Guadiana and its bishops, see *Concilios Prov.*, 1555–65, 368 et seq.; *Nueva España*, *Breve Resúmen*, MS., ii. 322–47; *Ramirez*,

Sierra Madre be used as a boundary, since the southwestern section of Chihuahua is west of the main range, being in early as well as in later times a part of the western province; while the Topia province of Durango extended almost to the coast so as to include a large part of the modern Sinaloa. The mission groups were formed without reference to geographical lines, according to the homes of the converts, by friars who came indifferently from the east or west. The division is made for present convenience, and in view of later developments; but geographical difficulties would not be lessened, either by treating the whole territory together or by any attempt to draw the lines more definitely. There is necessarily great confusion in the location of the mission pueblos throughout the country, and especially in the mountain districts, resulting from the imperfection of the old and modern maps, as well as from the frequent changes that have taken place both in sites and names. Of course no pains will be spared to reduce this confusion to a minimum. The annexed map from Orozco y Berra's *Carta Etnográfica* will give an idea of the linguistic subdivisions of the territory; and my own sketch maps of this and the following chapters show the location of the principal missions and towns. The southern part of the territory may be conveniently divided into three districts: that of the Tepehuanes, embracing a large part of the modern Durango, especially the central and northern portions; that of Topia, home of the Acaxees, Xiximes, and kindred tribes, a mountainous region in western Durango extending westward to near the coast, and northward almost to the Rio de Sinaloa;[9] and finally

Hist. Dur., 21–4; *Id.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, v. 31 et seq.; *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 95–6; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 73; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 248–50, ii. 92; *Michoacan, Hist. Prov. San Nic.*, 184; *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, v. 530–1; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 229; *Alegre*, ii. 176; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 240; *Morelli, Fasti Nov. Orb.*, 365; *Cortés de Esp., Diario*, 1812, xii. 348; *Santos, Chron. Hisp.*, ii. 465; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvii. 121–2; *Crespo, Mem., Ajust.*, 6–7; *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 3–7; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 345; ix. 357.

[9] The Mocorito, or Évora, was the bound between Topia and Sinaloa. *Alegre*, i. 231.

OROZCO Y BERRA'S MAP.

the eastern lake province about Parras, to which the name Mision de Parras was usually applied.[10]

Before 1600 we have noted the foundation of Nombre de Dios, Durango, Parras, Saltillo, and other towns; the conquest of Topia; the exploration by various military expeditions of the country far into the present Chihuahua; the march through the territory of several armies en route for New Mexico; and the opening of rich mines, notably those of Indé, Aviño, Pánuco, San Andrés, and Santa Bárbara, the latter being the northern limit of actual settlement. We have seen the Franciscans, besides accompanying the military forces, and attending to the spiritual needs of miners, establish their convents at Nombre de Dios, Durango, Topia, Mapimi, Mezquital, San Bartolomé Valley, Cuencamé, and Saltillo. We have glanced at the first decade of Jesuit annals, at the end of which the company had its colegio at Guadiana, with six workmen in the missionary field. Of these fathers Santaren and Ruiz were in Topia; Francisco Ramirez and Espinosa at Parras; and Gerónimo Ramirez and Fonte in the Tepehuane mission at and about Papasquiaro.[11]

In the towns of the Laguna region, all visitas of the Jesuit mission at Parras, prosperity reigned for over forty years, only to be interrupted by secularization as will be seen later. Padre Espinosa died in 1602 and was replaced by Francisco Arista; and next year fifteen hundred converts were added to the four thousand already baptized.[12] No hostilities were ever experienced from the gentle Laguneros, who welcomed even doctrina when administered with plenty of food, and the padres' chief difficulty was to eradicate deep-

[10] Durango was also called Nueva Cantabria. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 497.

[11] See chapter v. of this volume.

[12] The *pueblos de visita* of Santa María de Parras in 1603 were San Pedro, Santiago, and San Nicolás round Lake S. Pedro; La Laguna and Rio Nazas; Santo Tomás and San Gerónimo; and a Spanish settlement of San Ignacio on the Rio Nazas. *Alegre*, i. 418.

rooted but puerile superstitions. The neophytes were always seeing visions and being frightened by sorcerers into the performance of conciliatory rites to El Demonio; and yet so fond were they of the Jesuits and so eager for Spanish protection that a threat of abandonment was often the most effectual means to check their anti-christian tendencies. The missionaries who toiled in this field during the first half of the century,

SOUTHERN NUEVA VIZCAYA, 1700.

in addition to those already named, were Luis Ahumada, Juan Betancur, Tomás Dominguez, Sebastian Yta, Diego Larios, Diego Diaz de Pangua, Gaspar Contreras, and Luis Gomez, the exact dates of service not being given.[13]

[13] *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 552. The *Anua* of 1607 in *Doc. Hist.*

In 1608 four hundred neophytes died of small-pox;[14] and in 1612 the country suffered from an inundation such as had not been known for thirty years. The Rio Nazas overflowed its banks, destroying the church and other buildings at San Ignacio, the chief Spanish settlement in that region. At San Pedro, though the natives ran away and the padre barely saved his life, the church had fortunately been commended to the virgin and was not injured. The next year was one of drought and famine; but the flood had not been without its benefits, since it had fertilized new districts and opened new channels. In former times drought had ever been productive of war for the possession of the deepest holes with their fish-supply; but Christianity had changed all that.[15] Of secular affairs at Parras and at Saltillo, with its Tlascaltec town and Franciscan convent, we know nothing, so smoothly moved the current of events, or so imperfect are the records preserved; and for the same reasons it matters not whether we close this first period of south-eastern annals at 1615 or 1640, since the intervening years form an absolute blank in history.[16]

I pass from the east to the extreme west, where fathers Alonso Ruiz and Hernando Santaren toiled in the sierra of Topia, in the region about the modern Tamazula, where a grand beginning was made as we have seen in 1600,[17] followed by much progress for about a year. The native Acaxees seemed docile and increasingly fond of village life; but Satan was not dead, neither did he sleep; and what was worse, practically, Topia was a mining district. Laborers were needed in the *reales* of Topia, San Andrés, San Hipólito, and Vírgenes; and such laborers were obtained

Mex., série iv. vol. iii. 81–8, speaks of six padres at work in Parras with 4,000 Christian natives in 20 pueblos.

[14] *Ahumada*, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 90.

[15] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 55–8.

[16] A mission was established at Cuencamé in 1630. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 184.

[17] See chapter v. of this volume.

without much regard to royal orders or Christian precepts. In 1601–2 fifty Acaxees, indignant at ill-treatment and chafing under restraint, aroused five thousand of their nation to take up arms with a solemn oath to lay them down only when the last Spaniard had been slain. There was no ill-will toward the padres, but their influence was feared and they were to be included in the slaughter. The rebels killed five Spaniards at the first outbreak; burned all the pueblo buildings, including forty churches; dealt the same fate to most of the mining camps; and finally, eight hundred strong, besieged Padre Ruiz, who with forty Spaniards and a few natives had intrenched himself in the church at San Andrés.

The soldiers defended themselves successfully and even made several sorties, in one of which the assailants were surprised at early morning and lost a large supply of food and some lives. In another Ruiz marched out in advance of the soldiers, unprotected save by his crucifix, and clouds of arrows were discharged at the holy man, but not one struck him. Meanwhile messengers had been able to reach Durango, and after fifteen days, when food and powder were about exhausted, Governor Urdiñola with sixty men came to the relief of the besieged, and the foe retired to their mountain strongholds.[13]

In the new aspect of affairs the first step taken was to send Padre Santaren to urge submission as a duty, and the only means of escaping war to the death. This missionary was especially beloved by the natives, and was able to go safely among them several times, though his escort was once attacked, and during one visit a Spaniard, a negro, and several Christian natives captured with a mule train on the Culiacan route,

[13] According to *Zacatecas, Informacion*, MS., Vivero was governor at the beginning of this revolt. Ribas says the rebels killed some Christian Indians in the pueblos; also that the real de Topia was besieged; and that some Spaniards were badly wounded at San Andrés. Santaren, in *Alegre*, i. 403–4, says it was the governor's lieutenant who came with 70 men, and that the Indians then burned the 40 churches and retired. Mention of the revolt in *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 78; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 245–6.

were killed in his very presence; still he could not bring the rebels back to their allegiance. Urdiñola's forces raided through the country, accomplishing but little. The natives often drew their pursuers to a favorable spot, attacked them from ambush, and, if unsuccessful, as they usually were, retired to inacessible barrancas. Meanwhile Bishop Mota was on his way to Topia escorted by forty men. This party was led astray by an ingenious device of scattering maize to attract crows and lead the Spaniards to suppose they were following Urdiñola's trail. The advance guard was attacked, and rejoined the bishop only after some loss.

The three representatives of political, ecclesiastical, and missionary power now combined their efforts. The governor supplemented his military operations with a bombshell hurled into the hostile camp in the form of a kind act. Capturing a party of women who had become separated from the warriors, he sent them safe and well fed back to their husbands, thus tying the hands of the savages, as they afterward confessed, in spite of their vow. Santaren continued his supplications. Bishop Mota sent his mitre as a pledge of intercession with the secular authorities.[19] All these influences, joined to present hardships and memory of past life in the missions, were too much for the patriotism and waning animosity of the Acaxees; and Santaren soon marched into Topia at the head of three thousand natives of eleven districts, bearing the cross and the white flag of peace. Kindly received, they submitted to all requirements, obtained full pardon, and went to work to rebuild their churches.

This submission naturally did not extend at once to all the ramifications of the Acaxee nation in the far-

[19] According to *Torquemada*, i. 690–3, the rebels, after receiving the mitre, were attacked by the Spaniards, and being hard pressed, they flourished the pledge which the officers and men came immediately to kiss. This gave the natives a very high idea of the talisman and did much to cause submission. The bishop afterward preached not less against the Spanish oppression than against the Acaxee revolt. The mitre was later preserved in the Culiacan church. *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 490.

reaching defiles of the sierra. The Sabaibos on the west not only continued the revolt,[20] but even deigned to learn a useful lesson as they thought of Bishop Mota's exploits. An old sorcerer proclaimed himself bishop and even God, chose two companions as Saint James and Saint John, and proceeded to baptize, marry, and divorce by original formulas of his own, retiring to a distant peñol. After two months' ineffectual effort,[21] Governor Urdiñola at last sent Santaren with four soldiers, who came back with seven or nine villages of natives ready to submit. Indignant at this defection, the gentile bishop ravaged the fields and burned the houses of the deserters; but he was soon taken and put to death, and with him vanished the last trace of rebellion and of his somewhat startling doctrinal innovations.[22] Padre Andrés Tutiño was added to the missionary force in 1602, and in 1604 there had been two thousand five hundred baptisms and three thousand were ready for the rite.[23] Before 1615 three new districts were added to the Topia conversion. These were the rancherías round the ancient Culiacan,[24] those in the Sierra de Cantarapa, and those of Bamoa,[25] all apparently in the modern Sinaloa. At Tecuchuapa there was at one time serious trouble with the Tepehuanes, arising from the kidnapping of certain maidens, and resulting in the massacre of a whole ranchería. Occupied with this

[20] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 422–3, implies that they had submitted with the rest, and that this was a new revolt. Santaren, in *Id.*, 404–5, represents it as a revolt only in a religious sense.

[21] There is some confusion in the narrative. Alegre says it was to the Sabaibos that the bishop sent his mitre; Santaren speaks of no fighting; and Ribas makes the acts of the Indian bishop the cause of the main revolt, referring the return of the women to this last phase of it.

[22] On the Acaxee revolt see *Ribas, Hist. Triumphos*, 477-92; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 418–23; Santaren's letters, in *Id.*, 403–5; *Torquemada*, i. 690–2; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 236–7.

[23] *Alegre*, i. 393–4, 423–4. The padre's name is written Justino by Valle in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. vol. iii. 129.

[24] Badiraguato, Conimeto, and Alicamac were the towns formed; and Sta María Tecuchuapa, San Pedro y San Pablo Bacapa, and San Ildefonso Tocorito in the Cantarapa, or Carantapa, region.

[25] This cannot be the Bamoa near San Felipe; but was another ranchería of similar name in the mountains.

matter the padres could not visit the Bamoas; but the latter were so zealous for baptism that they came to Cantarapa for it from their home on the Rio Sinaloa. By 1608 there were nine missionaries at work under Ruiz as superior, in the whole region known by the general name of San Andrés.[26]

The Xiximes were a tribe of savages and cannibals, living in the sierra south of Topia and west of the city of Durango.[27] They were the southern neighbors of the Acaxees, to whom they were linguistically allied, but were the inveterate foes of that people, whom they are said to have hunted for food.[28] It soon became of vital importance to subdue these savage tribes, or at least to arrest their inroads on the converts. Urdiñola was appealed to, and at his suggestion a Xixime was captured, kindly treated, and sent back to bear an offer of peace and pardon, with the alternative of war and condign punishment if their murderous assaults were continued. The decision was for peace, and the Xiximes tendered their allegiance. This was in 1607; for several years friendly relations continued, and in 1609 Padre Cueto even made a little progress in the conversion of the cannibals.[29]

But in 1610 hostilities were renewed, and Christian natives were persecuted more than ever. Another appeal was made to the governor, and by his order the comandante at San Hipólito, which had now been formed into a presidio for the protection of the whole district, made an ineffectual effort for peace

[26] The distribution so far as given was as follows: Alonso Ruiz, San Gregorio; Floriano Ayerve, Bamoa; Gonzalez Cueto, Otatitlan among the Sabaibos; Gerónimo S. Clemente, Tamazula; José de Lomas, Atotonilco; Hernando Santaren, Sierra de Cantarapa. *Ribas*, 501–4; *Alegre*, i. 454–60. Before 1616, besides Andrés Tutiño, Juan Acacio and Juan Álvarez were serving at Real de Topia, and Diego Acebedo and Gaspar Nájera at Cantarapa. Valle, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv. vol. iii. 129, adds the names of Diego Castro and Andrés Gonzalez. Pedro Gravina succeeded Santaren in 1616.

[27] See *Native Races*, i. 571–91, 614; iii. 718; *Orozco y Berra, Geog.*, 315–17, and maps in both works.

[28] They used to compare the flesh of Indians to beef, that of negroes to pork, and that of Spaniards to mutton! *Ribas*, 550. The Spanish soldiers found in their rancherías thousands of skulls, pots of human flesh, and human eyes served on maize-leaves.

[29] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 6–7.

without bloodshed through an embassy; but the Xiximes replied by a challenge to fight and a threat to kill and eat all Christians of whatever race, and did thereupon attack the Real de las Vírgenes, killing two Spaniards and five natives, whose entrails they left, but carried off their bodies for food. The viceroy, notified of the critical condition of affairs, authorized the governor to fit out an expedition to crush the rebels, and the latter accordingly marched from the capital in October 1610, with two hundred Spaniards and eleven hundred natives, attended by fathers Alonso Gomez and Francisco Vera. The two strongholds of the enemy were Jocotilma and Guapijuxe, the former of which was entered on October 18th, without resistance as it seems. Indeed, no trouble was encountered, save that naturally pertaining to the march in so rough a country, until Urdiñola attempted to secure from the assembled people certain hostages for promised good behavior. Then an old chief called upon his subjects to die rather than submit to the seizing and ironing of the hostages; a fight ensued, and many of the natives fell before they were overcome. Eleven ringleaders in the late outrages were condemned to death, and ten were hanged, confessing their crimes. Nine of them became Christians, but the old chieftain bravely refused to put his trust in a foreign faith, and his body was riddled with arrows after death by the Christian natives. One young man was pardoned at the intercession of Padre Vera.

The rancherías of the Jocotilmas having been destroyed, and the people having become good Spanish subjects, the governor marched for Guapijuxe. The Xiximes of this district were in arms and offered at first some resistance to Urdiñola's ambassadors; but finally at an interview the chief claimed that he and his seventeen rancherías had taken no part in the insurrection, and that their warlike attitude was only the result of alarm at what the Jocotilmas had done.

His word was taken and full pardon accorded to his subjects. The reader cannot fail to wonder at the facility with which the aborigines of these regions generally submitted to the Spaniards; at the uniform readiness of the latter to accept excuses and accord pardon, no matter what outrages had been committed; and above all at the fact that the natives under such circumstances often kept their pledges for years, until aroused by new oppression, real or fancied.

By the middle of 1611 seven thousand Xiximes were settled in villages under Santaren and Gomez, and three hundred had been baptized. Peace reigned from this time forward, and these people, or such of them as were spared by an epidemic dysentery, became as noted for their devotion to the new faith as they had been for savagism. Before 1614 the conversion had spread to the Yamoriba mountaineers, where Santa Cruz and Santiago were founded, and to the people known as Humayas and Alicamas, who with the natives of Oauzame, Huecoritame, and Orizame had been visited in 1611 by fathers Juan del Valle and Bernardo Cisneros. Pedro Gravina and Juan Mallen were added before 1616 to the missionary force in the Xixime country.[30]

In the Tepehuane missions eight Jesuits worked zealously with uninterrupted success and without any special incidents that call for mention.[31] The central establishments where the padres lived were in the south, but many tours were made in the north-western sierras, where some small pueblos seem to have been founded, as also in the south-west; for the Tepehuane country bounded the Topia province on every

[30] On the conversion of the Xiximes see *Ribas*, 531–50, and *Alegre*, ii. 6–7, 38–40, 44, 72–3. Ribas says the viceroy provided four extra missionaries for the Xiximes, with church ornaments and 300 pesos per year to support a seminary for children of chieftains. The same author speaks, p. 543, of a presidio with 16 soldiers, Xiximes and Tepehuanes.

[31] These were Juan Fonte, Diego Orozco, Bernardo Cisneros, Luis Álavez, Hernando Tobar, Juan del Valle, Gerónimo Moranta, and Andrés Lopez. Gerónimo Ramirez, the pioneer in this field, had left it for Michoacan where he died in 1621.

many years later, as we shall see, the Spaniards found them back in their old homes.[49]

During this period also the conversion was extended over into Sonora Valley, the region of the modern Ures and of the ancient and ill-fated San Gerónimo. Padre Bartolomé Castaño first came here to live among the Ópatas in 1638, though Mendez may have visited the country some years earlier, and Madre María de Jesus Agreda is supposed to have extended her miraculous tour of about 1630 up through this country to the Rio Colorado.[50] Within a year three or four thousand of the natives were baptized and settled in three towns with fine churches. Early in 1639 Padre Pedro Pantoja came to aid Castaño, and new towns were founded.[51] The Ópatas never gave the Spaniards any trouble in later years. In 1639 a new mission district was formed in the north by the visitador Leonardo Jatino, acting in the name of Ribas the provincial. It was called San Francisco Javier, and embraced the missions, or partidos, of Comuripa, Aivino, Batuco, Ures, and Sonora. This left to the central district of San Ignacio the Yaquis, Mayos, Tepahues, Conicaris, Onabas, and Mobas.[52]

Brother Francisco Castro, said to be a relation of Viceroy Villamanrique, died in 1527 after thirty-four years of service in Sinaloa.[53] Bishop Hermosillo of Durango visited the province in 1631, going as far north as Nacori among the Tehuecos. He confirmed some twelve thousand persons at San Felipe, where he said the first pontifical mass; but he died soon after setting out on his return and his body was carried

[49] *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 399–400; *Relacion de la Nueva Entrada*, 779–80; *Alegre*, ii. 190–3; *Ribas*, 256–68.

[50] Stone, *Sonora*, 9–10, says erroneously that P. Mendez established a mission at Ures in 1635.

[51] S. Pedro Aconchi, Concepcion Babiacora, Remedios Banamichi, S. Ignacio Sinoquipe, and Rosario Nacameri are named, some of them not founded probably before 1646, or even later. In *Sonora, Estadística*, 627, it is stated that P. Castaño entered in 1640 and was soon joined by P. Lorenzo Flores.

[52] *Alegre*, ii. 222–3; iii. 111; *Ribas*, 392–7; *Mange*, 400; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iv. 574; *Hernandez, Comp. Geog. Son.*, 15–16; *D'Avity, Descrip.*, ii. 85–7.

[53] *Alegre*, ii. 173–4; *Ribas*, 231–5.

back to San Felipe for burial.[54] About 1632 Father Pedro Zambrano is named as one of the missionary force, and in 1633 Padre Juan de Albieuri was at the mission of Bamupa, where he completed his history of Father Tapia's life and services.[55] In 1634 Villafañe who had come to the country before 1595, but had been absent several times on visits to Mexico and Europe, died at his old post.[56] This death left Father Pedro Mendez the oldest pioneer; but he retired in 1635 weighed down with age and infirmities,[57] leaving Father Vicente de Águila the oldest resident missionary. In 1636 the province had to lose by death four of its Jesuits, Paredes, Azpilcueta, and the brothers Varela.[58] Floods in 1639 afflicted the country, and a pestilence in 1641, strengthening according to the Jesuit version the hold of the padres on the natives. In 1641 also the veteran Father Águila died at the age of seventy years.[59] All the deceased of the period receive from the chroniclers eulogies which it is to be hoped were entirely deserved; but it is to be regretted that Jesuit eulogies are so like one another as to be of comparatively little use to the historian.

Captain Perea seems to have held the command from 1626 to 1640. Captain Francisco Bustamante signed himself in 1636 lieutenant-governor and captain of San Felipe presidio;[60] but this is all we know of

[54] *Ribas*, 177–8; *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 95, 98; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 248; *Alegre*, ii. 176. The last author implies that the visit was earlier, but is in error.

[55] *Ribas*, 281; *Albieuri, Hist. Mis.*, MS., 12–13.

[56] *Ribas*, 349–57; *Alegre*, ii. 201. Villafañe was a native of Leon, Spain, and the son of noble parents. He was serving in Michoacan when the news of Tapia's martyrdom called him to Sinaloa. He was rector at San Felipe for years; and also served a term as rector in Mexico, subsequently visiting Rome as procurador. His service in Sinaloa amounted to thirty years. He wrote an *arte* of the Guazave language.

[57] *Alegre*, ii. 209. Mendez had come before 1595 and had once before retired for a time to Mexico.

[58] *Alegre*, ii. 188, 203–4.

[59] *Ribas*, 397–402; *Alegre*, ii. 235. Águila came to Sinaloa about 1606, being a Spaniard by birth, and having served a few years at San Luis de la Paz. He left several MS. works. *Backer*, iv. 4.

[60] *Ortega, Copia de la Demarc.*, MS. Another captain, Matías Lobo Pe-

The friars were continually aided or opposed by divine or diabolical manifestations. They were always ready to give supernatural interpretations to the petty events reported by their converts, and the latter now attempted to interpret for themselves.

The result was a well arranged, wide-spread, and almost unsuspected plan for revolt. A statue of the virgin was to be set up in the church at Zape on November 21st. It was to be a grand gala day, sure to bring together all the Spaniards for many leagues around. It was therefore deemed a fitting occasion to throw off the mask of secrecy and begin the attack. The natives of Santa Catalina, however, were moved by their avaricious zeal to begin operations on the 16th by robbing two traders, who arrived at this time with their mule-trains of valuable goods from Culiacan, and by murdering the Jesuit, Hernando de Tobar.[34] This murder was regarded as a test by which to ascertain the power and will of the Christian God to interfere in behalf of his saints. One of the traders escaped to the hacienda of Atotonilco, while some of the native dependants bore the tidings to Guadiana. Simultaneous warnings flew over the country from different sources, and a body of Spaniards, men, women, and children, two hundred in number according to Ribas, assembled at Atotonilco. Here they were attacked next day by the savages from Santa Catalina with volleys of arrows, stones, and insulting taunts, supplemented with firebrands and red peppers, which soon forced a surrender, and all were massacred but two, one of the victims being the Franciscan, Pedro Gutierrez.[35]

At the same time thirty Spaniards were assaulted at Guatimape; but just as they were on the point of surrender and death, a band of horses came galloping

[34] Tobar was 35 years of age, a native of Culiacan, and had served some time in the mission of Parras. *Ribas*, 516–20.

[35] One of the survivors was Cristóbal Martinez de Hurdaide, son of the famous comandante of Sinaloa, saved by a friend of his father among the assailants. Padre Gutierrez fell as he went out crucifix in hand to remonstrate with the foe.

up in a cloud of dust, and the savages fled from what they regarded as a large reënforcement. The besieged reached Durango in safety. At Santiago Papasquiaro the Spanish families, with the lieutenant, alcalde mayor, and fathers Diego Orozco and Bernardo Cisneros, were besieged in the church and held out from Wednesday 16th to Friday in the hope of relief. Then the savages, pretending to be moved by Christians in their ranks, promised to permit an unmolested retreat and abandonment of the country. The victims gave up their arms, and as they marched in procession through the cemetery were brutally murdered, the padres being treated with especial indignities, and the church with its sacred images and ornaments being desecrated by a rabble intoxicated with sacramental wine—a crime which inspires in the chroniclers even greater horror than the murders committed. A few by concealment escaped, and met Captain Martin Olivas, who intrenched himself at Sauceda, was joined by Captain Gordejuela, and for forty days was able to protect the refugees, who gathered there to the number of several hundred, making some successful sallies, and at last retiring to Durango. Captives taken on several occasions were hanged after confessing under torture the plans of the rebels to free the country from all Spaniards.

At San Ignacio Zape, on Friday and Saturday of the fatal week, thirty Spaniards and sixty Indian and negro servants were slaughtered, together with the four padres, Luis Alavez, Juan del Valle, Juan Fonte, and Gerónimo Moranta. A boy fled to the mining camp of Guanacevi, and Alcalde Juan Alvear hastened up with twelve men in time to behold the corpses, and was himself attacked on the return. At Guanacevi the alcalde fortified the church and made a successful resistance, although all other buildings in the real and all in the surrounding haciendas and ranchos were destroyed. Padre Santaren from Ximme was on his way to the *fiesta* at Zape, and was

killed at Tenerapa. The Indians admitted their regret at the necessity of killing one who had been so kind to them; his only fault was that he was a priest.[36] Padre Andrés Lopez, apparently the missionary at Tenerapa, escaped to the mines of Indé, where with other Spaniards he was saved.

The city of Durango was saved, perhaps, by the premature outbreak, for the natives of Tunal and other villages near the capital were to have attacked it on November 21st; but the alarm was given in time to guard against an assault. Large stores of war material were found in the pueblos, one chief having in readiness the feather crown with which he was to be made king of Guadiana. Many leaders and suspicious persons were arrested and executed; women and children were removed to churches and public buildings once at a false alarm of impending attack; prisoners were set free on condition of serving the king; and the viceroy was called upon for aid.

The Tepehuanes could not draw into open revolt the pueblos of the Acaxees and Xiximes, though they were able through certain disaffected individuals and bands to cause much trouble, doubtless receiving aid and shelter throughout the war. At Coapa, a frontier pueblo, two chiefs began to preach sedition; but Captain Suarez from San Hipólito, warned by Padre Tutiño, hastened to the spot to arrest and execute the guilty ones, and no further disturbance occurred among the Acaxees. The Xiximes were more troublesome, a band of that tribe destroying three Christian pueblos, and forcing fathers Gravina and Mallen to take refuge at San Hipólito. But the converts themselves pursued and defeated the rebels, thus restoring quiet. There were threats to attack the Real de Topia and kill fathers Acacio and Álvarez; but the alcalde and

[36] He was a native of Huete in Spain; came to America in 1588; and served a short time in Puebla before coming north to Sinaloa and Topia, where he baptized some 50,000 persons. Once he was seen to bare his back and require two Indians to flog him without mercy. Ribas, *Hist. Triumphos*, 508–16, gives a full account of his life and character.

comandante Sebastian de Alvear—the Alveares were an office-holding family it seems—fortified the place, holding sixty men in readiness, and no attack was made. Next the Tepehuanes tried to arouse the Cantarapa villages, and Padre Acebedo retired to San Felipe; but the natives remained faithful, and the padre soon returned to Tecuchuapa with a guard of six soldiers. The natives of this village proved their fidelity by marching out and attacking the Tepehuanes; but somewhat later, being hard pressed, they decided to transfer their residence to Sinaloa. During the war some outrages were committed in the south-west on the route between Nombre de Dios and Chametla, the home of the Humes and southern Tepehuanes, the region adjoining Nayarit; and the natives of the coast took some advantage of if they did not engage directly in the revolt.[37] The burning of Acaponeta and other troubles in that vicinity are elsewhere noticed. Neither from the Tarahumares of the north, nor from the Laguneros of the east, do the rebels seem to have derived any material aid.

In Mexico war against the apostate rebels was decided upon by the political and approved by the ecclesiastical authorities. Orders were given for troops and money, the former to be raised in the north and the latter to be paid from the *cajas reales* of Zacatecas and Durango. But early in 1617, before anything had been accomplished under the viceroy's orders, Governor Alvear, deeming the safety of the capital assured, marched north with seventy soldiers and one hundred and twenty Indians, to visit the scenes of the late massacres, succor the places still holding out, and chastise such bands of rebels as he might be able to overtake. On the summit of the Cuesta del Gato, reached only after a fight of which no details are given, he found the bodies of Pedro Rendon, a regidor of Durango, and of the Dominican friar Sebastian

[37] *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 192-7.

Montaño, tenth in the list of martyred friars who fell in this revolt. Succor was left at Guanacevi, where the Spaniards still held out in their defence, though all about them was in ruins. Whether Indé had yet been abandoned does not appear clearly from the records.

It is not possible to construct from the meagre data any complete and consecutive account of this expedition. During January and February the army in two divisions, one of which was under Captain Montaño, visited all the deserted missions in the northern Tepehuane district. The victims were found and given Christian burial, save the missionaries, four or five of whom, with bodies untainted and the blood still fresh in their wounds, were removed to Guadiana.[38] Several minor encounters took place, but the foe was always repulsed with some loss, and the Spanish force was not adequate to effectual pursuit in such a country. Captives were forced by torture to confess and were put to death, one of these being the chief Pablo, whose treachery had caused the massacre at Santiago. It was found that many negroes, mulattoes, and half-breed Spaniards had joined the rebels, and even one of their leaders, named Mateo Canelas, belonged to the latter class. The most decisive conflict took place at Tenerapa, where the savages had assembled their women and children and had established their chief depot of arms and supplies under the care of a protecting idol. Alvear and Gordejuela attacked this place at dawn on February 12th or 13th, killed thirty warriors, and put the rest to flight, capturing two hundred and twenty men, women, and children, rescuing a few Spanish children and captive servants, and taking a large amount of supplies, which included much of the plunder from the missions. The victorious army was received at Guadiana in the middle of February with great rejoicings, and in March

[38] Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 244–5, says that Padre Gutierrez and the other martyrs were buried at Papasquiaro.

fitting honors were paid to the remains of the martyr missionaries.[39] Here, as at various points on the march, captive instigators of revolt, both men and women, were hanged.

On his return Alvear found two companies of reënforcements under captains Sebastian Oyarzabal and Hernando Diaz, and determined to start again without delay against the foe. The Jesuit chroniclers Ribas and Alegre do not attempt a full description of this second entrada, simply stating that the army marched over two hundred leagues through a mountainous country and destroyed some of the rebels' rancherías. They secured a large amount of plunder, especially of live-stock, captured many women and children, tortured a few spies, and defeated the foe whenever they could be found. One of the most famous leaders, Gogojito, was killed in battle, and it was noted that three arrows pierced his tongue in punishment for past blasphemy.

Padre Alonso del Valle accompanied the army, and in a letter gives a full account of all that was accomplished, although he writes before the expedition was quite completed.[40] From this account, which geographically at least is very confusing, it appears that this expedition, leaving Durango February 25, 1617, was at first directed to the south-west, to Guarizame and La Quebrada, the home of the Humes, and to the Xixime region,[41] subsequently returning to the Papasquiaro region. The natives of the south-west, while not openly allies of the Tepehuanes, seem to have

[39] Ribas speaks of a triumphal entry; but Alegre says the governor went on his second expedition without entering the capital.

[40] *Valle, Carta sobre la Campaña contra Tepehuanes Rebeldes, 1617.* In *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 90–129; also MS. Valle writes from Llanos de Guatimape, May 9, 1618—which should probably be 1617. Alegre calls him P. Alonso de Valencia.

[41] La Quebrada, whose nine Hume villages are named elsewhere, bordered on Cocoritame, a Tepehuane town; and on Humase, Yamoriba, and Zapimi, Xixime towns. Gucayas, Sta Fé, Cacampana, Remedios, Zamoitua, Yamoyoitua, Basis, Vasisy, Guapijuxe, Huahuapa, Teuchius, San Pedro, and Coapa are mentioned apparently as Xixime towns; and other places in the s. w. were Sariana, Texame, and Zamora. The places which seem to be located in

been always ready enough to shelter them. It is not my purpose to follow the different divisions of Alvear's forces in the complicated intricacies of their campaign, in which each day's events were very like those of the day before or the day after. Hundreds of villages and rancherías were visited, though few Tepehuanes were found, and all other tribes had been entirely innocent, or at least they said so, and were willing to make peace. Seventeen was the whole number of rebels killed down to the 9th of May, but the number included the famous Gogojito, whose head Padre del Valle held in his hand while he chanted the te deum laudamus. Rewards for Tepehuane heads were offered to the warriors of other tribes.

At the beginning of 1618 the Tepehuanes were scattered in small bands throughout the intricate barrancas of the Sierra Madre in their own territory or in that of other tribes more or less closely allied to them. They had murdered ten friars, with perhaps two hundred Spaniards of all ages and both sexes. They had devastated the whole district of central Durango, destroying a large amount of mining and agricultural property, and retarding the industrial progress of the country by at least fifty years. Yet after all their outrages they had failed in their plan, and were now in a condition worse than ever. They had been able to make no organized resistance, had been defeated in every encounter, and were but poorly repaid by the expense of 800,000 pesos inflicted upon the royal treasury in addition to the loss of *quintas* and *diezmos*. They had lost a thousand warriors including their best chieftains; many of their women and children were captives; their fields had been ravaged; and most of their plunder had been lost. Above all their god had utterly disappointed them; not one of his predictions

Tepehuane territory proper are: Sierra de Arratia, Sta Catalina, Francosa, Organos, Cruces, Ramos, Fuenterrabía, Yoracapa, Tenerapa, Vasapa, Vaquitame, Otinapa, Xicoripa, Palmitos, Coneto, Moxitome, Jomuleo, Cacaria, Bocas, Pinos, Canatan, and Sauceda, with a great number of orthographical variations.

had come to pass;[42] and in person even he had disappeared from the scene. Truly their last state was worse than the first. Padre Lopez, the only survivor of the Jesuit band, shrewdly suspecting that the rebels were beginning to think upon the evil of their ways, sent out an old woman, with his prayer-book as a talisman, to prepare the way for a new spiritual conquest. The Tepehuane rebellion was at an end.[43]

Peace restored, missionary work went on in a quietly prosperous uneventful way that has left but meagre record. In the mountains of the west the Jesuits labored in the villages of the Acaxees, Xiximes, and allied tribes, meeting no serious obstacles and gradually increasing the culture if not the number of their flocks, but not attempting any extension of the field for more than a decade.[44] Between 1630

[42] Yet Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 192–7, tells us that the demon caused the killed to appear alive and still fighting so that the natives thought he was keeping his promise.

[43] Authorities on the Tepehuane revolt are *Ribas*, 302–3, 508–20, 567–72, 597–627, 631–47, 708–10; *Alegre*, ii. 82–92, repeated in *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 539–43; *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 91–2, 187–200, 244–5; *Nueva Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 90–129, also MS.; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 53–8, 107–9, 150–1; *Dávila, Continuacion*, MS., 223–7; *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 32–7; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 252–3. Ribas, 629, says that he obtained his information from the records of investigations made by order of viceroy and bishop. Many inaccurate reports were sent to Mexico and Spain. Ribas also speaks of a battle at Tenerapa where Capt. Bartolomé Juarez was in command. After the day was far spent and no advantage gained, he remembered Padre Gravina's counsel to 'trust in God.' As he raised his visor to lift his eyes to heaven he saw Gravina in person holding a crucifix and flogging himself. Victory immediately followed, and the captain related the miracle, though the padre begged him not to. Arlegui, 91–2, 198, 200, describes a great battle on the plains of Cacaria, where the governor with a small force attacked 25,000 Indians and killed 15,000 of them in a fight of five hours. The same writer states (p. 197) that the Tepehuanes outraged women before killing them; and he relates several miracles, among them, that an image of the virgin at Cacaria was transferred at the burning of the church to Durango where it was found locked in the sagrario. A short account given in *Noticias de las Expediciones*, MS., and print, also in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 244–5, is full of errors. See also for brief and unimportant mention, *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 261–2; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 31; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 104–6; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 283–6; *Ramirez, Hist. Dur.*, 14; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ép. ii. 335–6; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 139–40; *Beltrami, Mex.*, i. 282–3; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 185–6; *Álvarez, Estudios*, iii. 194–209.

[44] In 1618 Padre Lomas had been transferred to the Tepehuane field in aid of Lopez; P. Juan Álvarez died in 1623; and it is not unlikely that other unrecorded changes were made in the missionary *personnel*. *Alegre*, ii. 113, 141; *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 169.

and 1640, however, the conversion was extended southward over the Humes and Hinas, kindred mountain tribes and probably branches of the Xiximes, living in La Quebrada, about the head-waters of the Rio Humase, called Rio Piastla nearer the sea.[45] We have seen the people of this district friendly and submissive to Governor Alvear and Padre del Valle in 1617; and even earlier Santaren had baptized children there. In 1630 the Humes of Humase and Guarizame voluntarily applied at Guadiana for instructors, and were visited by Padre Estrada.[46] In the same year, perhaps, Padre Cueto entered the Hina lands, baptized many children, and formed a pueblo of Espíritu Santo at Queibos, or Quilitlan. Circumstances prevented him from remaining then, but he came back a year or two later to resume his work, soon founded San Sebastian de Guaimino, was joined by Diego Jimenez, and subsequently formed the pueblo of Santiago at or near Queibos.[47]

The natives were less tractable than formerly. A year of famine added to the padre's difficulties. Apostates there were to urge revolt, and not a few converts ran away. Things looked so dark that the governor was called upon to pacify the country by an armed entrada. After some delay Captain Juarez from San Hipólito undertook the task by order of the governor in the autumn of 1633. The natives made no resistance, but came to Yamoriba in November to render allegiance and exchange gifts. Juarez then passed through the Hina country[48] without incident requir-

[45] The Hume pueblos were Guarizame, Tominstame, Queibos, Yacaboytia, Acuz, Yomocoa, Tomisitua, Zipamoytia, and Mosas; those of the Hinas were Guaimino (San Sebastian), Iztlan (San Francisco Javier), Queibos (Quilitlan or Espíritu Santo, possibly not identical with the Hume Queibos), and Santiago (near the preceding, or, according to Orozco, identical with it). See *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 96; *Ribas*, 550, etc.; *Alegre*, ii. 195, etc.; *Orozco y Berra, Geog.*, 316–17. There is evidently a blunder in Orozco's references.

[46] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 183–4, 199–200.

[47] Alegre calls the second padre's name Pedro instead of Diego. The authorities speak of Santiago as the sixth pueblo formed, by what system of counting is not very apparent.

[48] The places named on the tour were San Pedro del Rio, Santiago, La Concepcion, Santa Apolonia, and San Ignacio, where Juarez remained 37 days.

ing mention; and thus were the people permanently reduced, or at least we hear of no further troubles. Father Gravina took charge of the Hume missions in connection with Santa María Otais in 1633, but died two years later, and was succeeded among the Humes by Jimenez and at Santa María by Francisco Serrano. San Pablo was soon founded with two hundred and fifty natives.[49]

The Tepehuanes were very gradually gathered in from their mountain retreats to the old pueblo life. For a year or two fathers Lopez and Lomas worked alone, and it is not strange that their efforts, persistent as they were, and by no means unsuccessful, have left no definite record, coming as they did immediately after the revolt with its more exciting scenes. In 1620 four new padres were sent to this field. Papasquiaro and Santa Catalina were rebuilt, while both Spaniards and Indians began to settle anew in Guanacevi, Atotonilco, and Sauceda.[50] About 1623 San Ignacio Zape was rebuilt. Here the image of the virgin, whose dedication was to have been the signal for revolt, was found in a well with a cut in the left cheek. It was sent to Mexico by a pious captain, who made a vow to repair it, and on its return was set up at Zape on August 14th, as good as new, save the scar on the cheek which could never be obliterated, no matter what pigments were applied.[51] A minor revolt, leading to no serious results, under two brothers from Zape, Don Felipe and Don Pedro, is recorded in 1638.

[49] *Ribas*, 550–71, including a letter from Padre Jimenez. *Alegre*, ii. 195–201.

[50] San Simon became also a large colony, many Tarahumares being brought from San Pablo Valley to settle there. One Oriarte is named as one of the last rebel chieftains to submit, and he was executed in San Pablo Valley. *Alegre*, ii. 140–4, 153–4. Antoneli, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 337, refers to *Zape, Hist. del Hachazo*, as an authority on the rebuilding of Papasquiaro.

[51] The image was known as Vírgen del Hachazo, Nra Sra del Zape, Nra Sra del Valle, and was still worshipped late in the 18th century. Some say, however, that the original was broken up for relics and a new one made. *Alegre*, ii. 144–6. Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 62–3, attributes the virgin with the hatchet-wound to the Franciscan establishment at Mezquital, where he says the outrages during the revolt had been greatest. He adds that when the Spaniards attempted to lift the image for removal to Durango it refused to be removed

It arose, as the natives claimed, from oppressive acts of Padre Suarez, or as the missionaries state, from a reprimand administered for disorderly conduct to Don Felipe. In the same year ten friars, who had lost their lives in Nueva Vizcaya, were proposed at Rome for the honors of martyrdom. As a rule the reconverted Tepehuanes were the most faithful of neophytes.[52]

Passing northward we find the upper Vizcaya, the modern Chihuahua, divided aboriginally by linguistic lines into three great districts, occupied by the Apaches in the north, the Conchos in the south-east, and the Tarahumares in the south-west, with numerous minor intermixtures of other tribes which require no special notice here, since my purpose is merely to give such a general idea of tribal geography as will contribute to the reader's convenience in following the course of events.[53] The Tarahumares, mountaineers for the most part, were the leading element in Chihuahua, as were the Tepehuanes in Durango; and as the latter had on the west the Acaxee and Xixime districts, so in connection with Tarahumara, but connected historically during this period with Sonora, we find west of the sierra the Chinipas and Guazápares, as well as a district in the south-west about Baborigame that was probably Tepehuane. It is also most convenient for purposes of historical narration to add to the Concho district the north-eastern portion of Durango, the haunt of Tobosos and Cabezas as well as Tepehuanes. Neither the mission districts

until a Franciscan friar took hold of it, when it became as light as a feather. A good account of the Hachazo also in *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 32–7. See *Alegre*, ii. 194, 224–5; *Reyes y Fuentes, Libro del Orígen del Colegio de Durango*, MS., for an account of progress, endowments, etc., of the Jesuit college, 1632–9.

[52] Antoneli, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2da ép., ii. 337, says that the Tepehuanes were not fully subdued until 1690, when the pueblos of Papasquiaro, Sta Catalina, and Atotonilco were *formalizados*, and an extension of lands granted.

[53] See Orozco's map on p. 310 of this volume. For tribal details see *Native Races*.

nor historic periods are more definitely marked in the north than in the south; the geographical confusion in village names is even greater; and the matter is in some cases still further complicated by the presence of two religious orders working side by side.

The work of conversion in Tarahumara Baja, on and about the boundary between the modern Durango and Chihuahua, was begun by Father Juan Fonte in 1607. He repeated his visit in 1611, and succeeded not only in baptizing many children, but in drawing out from the mountains a large number of families, with which he seems to have founded a Tarahumare village in San Pablo Valley, apparently in the region of the modern Balleza. Of the early progress of this pueblo, which for many years could have had no regular padre, we know nothing. We have seen that this nation took no active part in the Tepehuane revolt of 1616. It is said, however, that just before that outbreak a Tepehuane chief attempted to poison the Tarahumare mind against the Jesuits and their work; but after the preacher of sedition had been almost suffocated by an inflammation of the throat sent upon him by the Jesuits' master, he repented and thereafter spoke nothing but good of the missionaries.[54]

There seem to have been no permanent missions or resident padres in Tarahumare territory until 1630, although Padre Lomas and others taught as far north as the region about Parral at an earlier date. At this time a voluntary demand for missionaries was made to Governor Velasco, together with a promise to settle on whatever site he might select. Captain Juan Barraza, with Padre Juan Heredia, made a tour accordingly through the sierra as far

[54] Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 200–1, speaks of a Tarahumare revolt in 1625 which lasted two years, during which time the nation was nearly destroyed by generals Retama and Alday. A particularly destructive battle took place near Bachiniva, where the field in later times was covered with bones. No other author mentions such a war, though it is not unlikely that the Tarahumares committed some outrages on the Franciscan establishments among the Conchos, and were punished by Spanish raids.

north as Nonoava. They obtained four hundred natives, who were brought to the southern verge of their national territory and settled in a new town called San Miguel de las Bocas, just south of the modern Durango line, and near the Rio Florido, or Espíritu Santo Valley. A few months later Gabriel Diaz, a Portuguese Jesuit, took Heredia's place, and soon founded a second pueblo in the same vicinity called San Gabriel, of whose subsequent history nothing is known. A Spanish settlement was made in 1631 at Parral, in the midst of rich mines, but we learn nothing of any padre of that date. It may be supposed that other northern tours were made and more neophytes brought down to San Miguel; but the work of founding regular mission in Tarahumara proper did not begin until 1639–40, as will be related in the next chapter.[55]

The Franciscan annals of Nueva Vizcaya from 1600 to 1640 are almost a blank, notwithstanding the researches of Padre Arlegui, although the hiatus in his work is less noticeable by reason of its lack of chronological arrangement. The most definite record on the subject is that of an investigation in 1622 by the Franciscan authorities of the Zacatecas province. At this time the testimony of half a dozen missionaries was taken, but the result was merely a list of Franciscan establishments, the incidental mention of some friars' names, and a few details of special service and suffering in connection with the various revolts. It was estimated that over thirty Franciscans had lost their lives on the northern frontier, and that over 14,000 natives had been converted. While the friars had rendered valuable service in restoring order after the different revolts against the Jesuits, it was claimed that there had never been any revolt in Franciscan missions. Fourteen convents had been established in

[55] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 44, 58–9, 184–5; *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 200–1; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 225; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 322.

the past twenty years, and twenty-seven were now in existence. Those in Nueva Vizcaya, with perhaps one or two exceptions, were, San Antonio Guadiana, Nombre de Dios, San Francisco Chalchihuites, Santa Bárbara in the valley of San Bartolomé, San Juan del Rio, San Francisco Mezquital, San Estévan Saltillo, San Sebastian del Venado, San Pedro y San Pablo Topia, Concepcion Cuencamé, San Francisco Charcas, Santa María Atotonilco, San Juan Mezquital, Santa María Guazamota, San Francisco Conchos, Tlascalilla, San Diego Canatlan, and San Buenaventura Atotonilco.[56] Subsequently there were founded San Bernardino in 1641, and Santo Domingo de Camotlan, called the thirty-first convent, in 1642.

The Franciscans suffered to some extent during the Tepehuane revolt, one of their friars, Padre Pedro Gutierrez, having been killed as already related; but less than the Jesuits because they had little to do with the rebel tribes, and because their convents were as a rule near the Spanish settlements. That their mission policy, as implied by their writers, was better calculated to prevent trouble than that of the Jesuits, may be questioned. Their troubles came later. They rendered important service, however, in restoring peace after the great rebellion. North-eastern Durango above the Rio Nazas, with eastern Chihuahua, the home of the Conchos, constituted from the first in a certain sense a Franciscan district; though the

[56] *Zacatecas, Informacion de los Conventos, Doctrinas, y Conversiones que se han fundado en la Provincia de Zacatecas, 1622.* MS. In *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, 51 et seq. The friars named in this report, besides those of the south and of earlier times, are: Francisco Oliva, of Conchos; José Narvona, chaplain of the governor's force in 1616; Gregorio Sarmiento, Lorenzo Cantu, Cristóbal Espinosa, Gerónimo Bautista, Domingo Cornejo, Rodrigo Novantes, Francisco Capillas—all of whom toiled in the revolt of 1616; Pedro Gutierrez, killed in that revolt; Francisco Adame and Andrés Heredia, in Topia 1602 and 1616 respectively; Francisco Santos, of Cuencamé in 1622; and Gerónimo Pangor, of Tlascalilla. Padres Gerónimo Zárate and Ignacio Cárdenas are said to have brought Tlascaltec families and settled them at five points on the frontier. Colotlan, Venado, San Miguel Mesquitic, Chalchihuites, and Saltillo. The two newest convents were those of Canotlan and Atotonilco. Their founding, and those of the later establishments, are mentioned in *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 90–5, 116. He adds Milpillas, founded in 1619 and later transferred to Lajas.

establishment at Mapimi seems not to have been continuously maintained; and the order in that region had less influence than the Jesuits at Tizonazo after 1640.

The first definitely recorded expansion seems to have been from the central establishment at San Bartolomé, now Allende, when Padre Alonso Oliva founded in 1604 the twenty-first convent of the Provincia de Zacatecas, at San Francisco de Comayaus, or Conchos.[57] Oliva spent about forty years among the Conchos, and died in Mexico in 1612. He looked no one in the face, deeming himself unworthy, and he wore constantly an iron girdle with sharp prongs rooted in his flesh. He was accompanied to Mexico by several Concho chiefs, and his business was to obtain license for new conversions.[58] Parral, or San José, since Hidalgo, was founded as I have said in 1631–2, and was from that time a kind of presidio, occupied by a small military force for the protection of this frontier.[59] From the annals of a subsequent revolt it appears that before 1645 the pueblos, or missions, tended by Franciscans were San Bartolomé, San Francisco de Conchos, San Pedro,[60] Atotonilco, Mascomahua, and perhaps Mapimi in the south.

The Monclova region of Coahuila, north of the lake district of Parras and Saltillo, is said to have been first visited by the Franciscan friar Antonio Salduendo in 1603. He gathered the natives into several mission towns and remained three years, the field of his labors being called Valle de Estremadura; but his crops were destroyed by the Tobosos and other hostile tribes, and he was forced to retire. The next visit and the beginning of Coahuila annals proper must be dated more than sixty years later.[61]

[57] Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, iii. 345, says that in 1609 Oliva gathered 4,000 Conchos in a settlement, 20 leagues beyond Santa Bárbara.

[58] *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 83–4, 306–14.

[59] *Calle, Mem. Not.*, 97; *Alegre*, ii. 190, 220, 250 vecinos in 1645.

[60] Although Arlegui, *Chrón. Zac.*, 106–7, says that San Pedro was not founded until 1649, meaning, perhaps, re-founded or supplied with a resident padre.

[61] *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 421; série iv. tom. iii. 14; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 301; *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 141.

CHAPTER XIII.

NUEVA VIZCAYAN HISTORY.

1641–1700.

List of Governors and Bishops—Southern Districts—A Tierra de Paz—Topia—Zapata's Visita—Laguna Region—Secularization and Destruction—Tepehuane Missions—Tarahumara—Map—Franciscan Territory—Toboso Raids—Concho Revolt—Murder of Friars—Cerro Gordo—Tarahumare Revolt—Campaigns of Carrion, Barraza, and Fajardo—Villa de Aguilar—New Rebellion—Martyrdom of Godinez and Basilio—Spanish Reverses—Peace—Third Outbreak—Extension of Jesuit Missions—Franciscan Progress—Casas Grandes—Junta de los Rios—El Paso del Norte—Jesuits versus Franciscans—Statistics of 1678—Presidios—Border Warfare—Tarahumare Revolt of 1690—Martyrdom of Padres Foronda and Sanchez.

Francisco Bravo de la Serna was ruler of Nueva Vizcaya in 1640, and the list of his successors as governors and captain-generals down to 1700 was substantially as follows: 1642–8, Luis Valdés;[1] 1648–51, Diego Fajardo, or Guajardo; 1654–61, Enrique Dávila y Pacheco;[2] 1662–5, Francisco de Gorraez Beaumont; 1665–70, Antonio de Oca Sarmiento;[3] 1670, Bartolomé Estrada, ad interim; 1670–3, José

[1] April 30, 1648, cédula arrived at Mexico naming Oidor Gomez de Mora to take the residencia of the late Gov. Valdés. *Guija, Diario*, 6.

[2] Dávila had been governor of Yucatan. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, 731–2. He became corregidor of Mexico in 1661. *Guijo, Diario*, 457.

[3] In 1669 Juan de Gárate y Francia was sent from Mexico to investigate charges against Oca, his predecessor, and others, made by a renegade Jesuit. Gárate removed the governor, and a ruler ad interim was appointed by the viceroy. Mota-Padilla, 400, says, however, that the governor ad interim was appointed by the president and audiencia of Guadalajara, there being a quarrel between those two authorities on the subject. But in 1774 Gárate was fined 12,000 pesos and suspended from office for irregularities in taking the residencia. Robles, *Diario*, 82, 87, 164; iii. 261–2; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 320.

García Salcedo;[4] 1674–6, Martin de Rebollar;[5] 1677, Lope de Sierra;[6] 1682, Bartolomé de Estrada; 1685, Gabriel Nira y Quiroga; 1687, San Miguel de Aguayo; 1690, Juan Isidro de Pardiñas; 1695, Gabriel del Castillo; 1700, Juan Bautista Larrea.[7] Besides the names and dates thus given, with certain campaigns and other acts of the rulers which I shall have occasion to notice in connection with missionary annals, there is nothing to be added respecting the political and military government of the country during this century.[8]

The ecclesiastical government, as we have seen, was in 1640 in the hands of Bishop Diego Evia y Valdés. In 1654 he was transferred to Oajaca, leaving forty thousand pesos for the benefit of his old diocese.[9] His successor was Pedro Barrientos Lomelin, precentor of the metropolitan church of Mexico, vicar-general, chancellor of the university, and comissary of the holy crusade. He took possession of the see the 22d of December 1656, and died October 18, 1658. Juan de Gorospe y Aguirre was appointed, confirmed, and consecrated in Mexico in April, August, and December 1660, taking possession by proxy on Octo-

[4] His appointment by the king reached Mexico Oct. 2, 1670. *Robles, Diario*, 96, 461. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 314, cites a letter of Oca as governor in Jan. 1673. This may indicate that Salcedo did not arrive until 1673 and that Oca, reinstated after his trouble, held the office ad interim. Salcedo died in Spain in 1686.

[5] Appointed Nov. 28, 1674; died at Parral Nov. 19, 1676. *Robles, Diario*, 207, 224.

[6] He was oidor in Mexico, and started for Parral Jan. 23, 1677. *Robles, Diario*, 230. He arrived with Fr. Antonio Valdés on April 21st. *Nueva Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 298–300.

[7] In addition to the references in preceding notes, see for incidental mention of the different rulers: *Alegre*, ii. 236, 367, 389, 447–8, 463; iii. 70; *Nueva Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 236; *Berrotaran, Informe*, 165, 176–7; also MS.; *Morfi, Diario*, 385, 407; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 844–5; *Velarde, Descrip. Hist.*, 375; *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 41.

[8] Viceroy Mancera, *Instruccion*, 489–90, says the supplies furnished to the garrisons from the royal treasury at Durango, 1644–73, amounted to $462,342. Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 223, states that $62,000 per year was paid to the N. Vizcaya garrisons, and yet the troops were destitute, and it was hard to fill the ranks at an annual cost of 450 pesos for each soldier; 1667, hanging of an ex-alcalde, Fernando de Armindes, for robbery. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 48.

[9] Calle, *Mem. Not.*, 95, gives some details of the ecclesiastical organization and revenues in 1645. Ribera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 182, mentions some slight dissensions between political and ecclesiastical authorities.

ber 13, 1662, and in person the next year. He died September 21, 1671, leaving in the episcopal archives a manuscript record of his literary talent and religious zeal. Juan de Ortega Montanés, inquisitor of Mexico, was next appointed, confirmed, and consecrated in 1673–5; but was transferred to the bishopric of Guatemala before coming to Durango. Fray Bartolomé de Escañuela, a Franciscan, was promoted from the bishopric of Puerto Rico to that of Guadiana by bull of November 16, 1676, taking possession by proxy August 11, 1677. He served with much zeal, prepared diocesan regulations approved by the king, and died at his post on November 20, 1684. Fray Manuel de Herrera, court preacher, and a member of the Mínimos de San Francisco de Paula, was appointed May 4, 1686, and died January 31, 1689, at Sombrerete.[10] García de Legaspi Velasco y Altamirano, curate of San Luis Potosí, canónigo, treasurer, and archdeacon of the metropolitan church of Mexico, and honored with other titles, was nominated bishop of Durango in 1691, and took possession December 22, 1692. He ruled until March 5, 1700, when he was promoted to the see of Valladolid.[11]

In the preceding chapter I have brought the missionary annals—and the country has no other—of Nueva Vizcaya proper down to the year 1640. In the present chapter I continue those annals to the end of the century, continuing also in general terms for the reader's convenience and my own the subdivision of the territory into mission districts as al-

[10] The date of his taking possession is not recorded, because the prebendaries had all died in 1687. In April 1688 Bishop Herrera visited Mexico to prevent a transfer of the treasury from Durango to Parral. *Robles, Diario*, ii. 494–6.

[11] On the bishops of 1640–1700 see *Concilios Provinciales, 1555–65*, 370 et seq.; *Ramirez, Hist. Dur.*, 21–4; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro*, i. 250; ii. 92; *Guijo, Diario*, 359, 362, 365–8, 409, 411–12, 441, 445, 451, 503–4; *Robles, Vida del Arzob. Cuevas*, 133; *Vetancvrt, Ciudad de Mex.*, 18–19; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 70; *Dicc. Univ.*, i. 341; ix. 281, 446, 551; *Medina, Chron. S. Diego*, 241–2; *Robles, Diario*, ii. 115, 138, 182–3, 200–1, 231, 236, 461, 485; iii. 9, 38, 111, 116; *Sosa, Episcop. Mex.*, 145, 160; *Juarros, Compend. Guat.*, 284–5.

ready indicated. In the south during this period, as the country approximated to the condition of a tierra de paz in which surviving natives submitted more or less cheerfully to town life, to the restraints of Christianity, to the instruction of the friars, and to the tyranny of Spanish pobladores and miners, the record becomes as is usual in like cases meagre and uneventful; in the north the period is one of excitement, of conquest, of conversion, of revolt, warfare, and of martyrdom. The southern districts may therefore most conveniently be taken up first, and their fragmentary annals of progress down to 1700 finally disposed of, before attention is called to the bloody record of the north.

In the western province, which may still be called by its original name of Topia, it was estimated that fifty thousand souls had been saved before 1644, when eight missionaries were serving there in sixteen churches. In 1662–3 a pestilence is recorded, during which Padre Ignacio de Medina did good service in the Otais district until a novenario to San Francisco Javier abated the scourge. In 1664 Atotonilco was in charge of Estévan Rodriguez, while Diego de Acebedo and Gaspar de Nájera were serving at Tecuchuapa.[12] Juan Ortiz Zapata reports in his visita of 1678 thirty-eight pueblos of converts in the western province, divided among three missions proper which were named Xiximes, San Andrés, and Santa Cruz de Topia, the last of which at this date was reckoned among the missions of Sinaloa. Each was divided into three or four partidos and each partido was in charge of a Jesuit. There were ten padres, about fourteen hundred neophytes, and a scattered population of about five hundred Spaniards, or "what are called Spaniards in this country," as one Jesuit expresses it. I have deemed the statistics of this visita

[12] *Ribas*, 507; *Alegre*, ii. 200, 422-3, 429–32, 437, 448–9. Padre Leonardo Jatino is also named as one of the Acaxee missionaries. P. Cristóbal Robles served at Guarizame in 1661.

worthy of preservation at some length in a note; and between 1678 and 1700 I find no record whatever for the whole region.[13]

Turning again to the eastern district of Parras, where events from 1616 to 1640 left absolutely no

[13] Xixime Mission, a little s. of w. from Durango; population, 19,000 (1,900?); divided into 4 partidos:

(1.) San Pablo Hetasi, 26 l. from Dur., pop. 104; 3 pueblos. S. Pedro Guarizame, (18 l.) w. of S. Pablo, pop. 41; Sta Lucía, a new pueblo E. of S. Pablo, on road from Dur. to Copala, pop. 82. Partido under P. Francisco Medrano, serving 227 persons; no gentiles in the partido.

(2.) Santa Cruz de Yamoriba, 30 l. w. of San Pablo, pop. 48; 2 pueblos. S. Bartolomé Humase, 7 l. w. Guarizame, 5 l. E. Yamoriba, pop. 42. Partido under P. Pedro Cuesta, serving 110 persons.

(3.) Santa Apolonia, 40 l. S. of w. Yamoriba, pop. 75; 3 pueblos. Concepcion, 2 l. E. Sta Ap., pop. 50; Santiago el Nuevo (site recently changed), 4 l. E. Sta Ap., pop. 14. Partido under P. Juan Boltor serving 139 persons.

(4.) San Ignacio, 4 l. Sta Ap., pop. 133; 5 pueblos. S. Gerónimo Adia, or Ahoya, 7 l. N. S. Ign., pop. 200; S. Juan, 4 l. s. S. Ign., pop. 75; S. Francisco Cababayan (Cabazan?), 4 l. s. S. Ign., pop. 34; S. Agustin, w. S. Fran., pop. 36. Partido under P. Diego Jimenez, serving 529 persons, many Spaniards.

San Andrés Mission, N. of San Ignacio, 70 l. w. Durango; 591 persons; 4 partidos:

(1.) San Ignacio Otatitlan on Rio Vegas, 34 l. N. S. Ignacio de Xiximes, pop. 28; 4 pueblos. Piaba, once *cabecera* 5 l. w. Otatitlan, pop. 10; Alaya, 12 l. w. Otatitlan, pop. 40; Quejupa, 11 l. N. Otatitlan, pop. 12. Partido under P. Francisco de la Plaza, serving 160 persons; 7 *estancias* of Spaniards.

(2.) San Ildefonso de los Remedios, 10 l. N. E. Otatitlan, up the river, pop. 65; 2 pueblos. Sta Catalina, 3 l. s. S. Ild., pop. 88. Partido under P. Gerónimo Estrada, serving 198 persons. El Palmar, 3 estancias of Spaniards, 3 l. down river w. from S. Ild.

(3.) San Gregorio, 28 l. E. Otatitlan, pop. 50; 4 pueblos. Soibupa, 7 l. w. S. Greg., pop. 24; S. Pedro, 1 l. N. S. Greg., pop. 24; San Mateo de Tecayas, 1 l. E. S. Greg., pop. 25. Partido under P. Fernando Barrio, rector and visitador, serving 125 persons.

(4.) Santa María Otais, 14 l. S. E. S. Greg., pop. 28; 2 pueblos. Santiago Batzotzi, 10 l. S. Otais, pop. 10. Partido under Padre Barrio, serving 108 persons. Also serves presidio S. Hipólito, 8 l. distant, and Real de Guapijuxe, 11 l.

Santa Cruz de Topia Mission, E. of S. Felipe de Sinaloa; 1,101 persons; 3 partidos:

(1.) San Juan Badariguato, 16 l. E. Mocorito (?), pop. 56; Reyes de Conimeto, 3 l. w. S. Juan, pop. 56; Sta Cruz, 8 l. N. w. S. Juan, pop. 97; S. Fran. Alicamac, 8 l. S. S. Juan, pop. 43. Partido under P. Pedro Robles, rector, serving 368 (386?) persons.

(2.) San Martin Atotonilco, 12 l. E. S. Juan, pop. 60; 6 pueblos. Santiago Merirato, 4 l. s. Atot., on Rio Humaya, pop. 103; S. Ignacio Coriatapa, 5 l. s. Atot., on same river, 16 l. from Culiacan, pop. 76; S. Pedro Guatenipa, 8 l. S. E. Atot., on same river, pop. 104; S. Ignacio Bamupa, 9 l. Guat. on Rio Atotonilco, pop. 59; Soyatlan, 20 l. Atot., 10–12 l. N. Bamupa, 20 l. Nabogame or Saboguame, pop. 124. Partido under P. Nicolás Ferrer (just appointed, P. Andrés del Castillo having recently died), serving 610 persons.

(3.) San Ignacio Tamazula, 40 l. S. E. S. Martin Atotonilco, pop. 81; 4 pueblos. S. Ignacio Atotonilco, 3 l. E. Tamazula, on same Rio de la Que-

trace in written records, we find that in 1645–6 the missions were taken from the Jesuits by the bishop, and put in charge of the clergy. Something of the kind had been unsuccessfully tried in 1641, as appears from certain scraps of correspondence found later in the archives.[14] As to the causes of this secularization, we must accept the Jesuit version in the absence of any other. It seems that since the foundation of the villa the *hacendados* of the vicinity had coveted the water and ditches which irrigated the fields of the neophytes, finally claiming the property as their own. The Jesuits defended the claim of the natives, who appealed the matter to Governor Alvear, and obtained a confirmation of their rights to the *agua grande*. After his term of office had expired, however, Alvear married into the Urdiñola family, and became himself proprietor of the hacienda. He needed the water, and paid no heed to the rights of the natives or to his own former decision. The neophytes now appealed, at the padres' advice, to the audiencia, and once more gained their cause; but the friars had incurred the bitter enmity of Alvear, and of other prominent Spaniards; and the latter had influence enough to oust their foes, especially as the ex-governor and Bishop Evia were personal friends, and the bishop was not a friend of the company.[15]

When given up the missions numbered six, each under a Jesuit, and each having one or more pueblos

brada, pop. 53; S. Joaquin Chapotlan, 5 l. s. Tamazula, pop. 17; S. José Canelas, formerly a partido, 20 l. E. Tamazula, up river, 5 l. from Real de Topia, pop. 40. Partido under P. Cristóbal Bravo, serving 316 persons. *Zapata, Relacion.* Scattered through this report is much unimportant information about the condition of churches and church ornaments, docility of the neophytes, etc.

[14] The authorities on secularization are two reports made in the next century by Jesuits who searched the archives. They are: *Carta de un Padre ex-Jesuita*, written apparently as late as 1786; and *Carta del Padre Francisco Perez*, dated Parras, Dec. 8, 1749, and addressed to the provincial, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, MS., 540–52; printed, iv. 73–88.

[15] Morfi, *Diario*, 390–3, gives a similar account of the water transaction, but he makes the date of secularization Oct. 15, 1666. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 427, 436–7, makes the date 1652, and says the *residencia* of Parras alone remained to the Jesuits.

de visita.[16] There were no gentiles left in the district, and some progress had even been made in the north. Bachiller Mateo Barraza was curate at Parras, and Licenciado Clemente Martinez Rico at San Pedro; and as the two had all the limosnas and perquisites of the six Jesuits, their position was for a time a very comfortable one. Two Jesuits, Gaspar Contreras and Luis Gomez, remained at Parras in charge of the company's property, respecting which there was no little trouble subsequently, since the ex-missionaries were disposed to surrender only the church ornaments and other articles actually furnished by the king. Exactly how much of the mission property they eventually retained, in addition to the lands and cattle, there are no means of determining; but they seem to have kept the mission books, and there are some indications that they also retained their houses.[17]

At the very time of secularization, as will be more fully narrated later in this chapter, the pueblos of the Parras district, and especially Santa Ana, suffered from the raids of the savage Tobosos and rebellious Salineros of the north. After the change no further progress was made in conversion, but even the old pueblos were gradually abandoned, the clergy having neither the numbers, ability, nor apparently the will to attend to them, being accused of the grossest negligence. The neophytes of San Lorenzo openly revolted and refused to resume town life unless under their old missionaries.[18] By the middle of the next century,

[16] The missions were: Santa María de Parras, with el Pozo, La Peña, and Santa Bárbara; San Pedro y San Pablo de la Laguna, with Concepcion; San Lorenzo, with Horno and Sta Ana; San Sebastian, with San Gerónimo; San Ignacio, with San Juan de Casta; and Santiago, with San José de las Abas and Baicuco.

[17] In 1674 the clergy tried to get rid of attending to burials and processions, and also to acquire the Jesuit cemetery. The Jesuits decided to abandon the place, and ordered all movable property to be transferred to Guadiana, leaving a majordomo in charge of lands; but the clergy gave up their pretensions, not being able to get along without the company. By decree of April 26, 1700, the right of administering the sacraments at Parras was taken from the clergy and given to the Jesuits (?) *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 83–9.

[18] Letters of Padre Contreras of May 1, 1653, in *N. Vizaya, Doc.*, iii. 210–16.

and perhaps at its beginning, no trace remained of any mission save Parras, where the Jesuits still remained, and where large accessions of Spanish and Tlascaltec population brought much prosperity. Padre Gomez died in 1652, Padre Arista three years earlier in Guatemala, Padre Castillo was at Santa Ana in 1645, and Padre Muñoz is spoken of as having died while performing the duties of a 'lazy cura.'[19] In 1669 there appeared in the air the form of a man, teaching Christian rites, refusing adoration, and leaving as a token a book so heavy that the whole tribe of natives could not move it. Lieutenant Governor Antonio Joaquin Sarría notified the governor of the vision;[20] and, although some accused the natives of intoxication, yet as certain incredulous natives were blown back to the spot by a sudden gale, there was no doubt felt that San Francisco Javier, lately chosen patron of Nueva Vizcaya, had actually appeared to the people. The vision was at a time when the Tobosos and Cabezas were on the war-path, but it effectually checked hostilities by enabling Sarría to defeat and make peace with the foe. A chapel was dedicated to the saint in December by Governor Oca in honor of the miracle, and the patron in return often did good service for the country in times of war and epidemic. Morfi tells us that the small-pox well-nigh completed the destruction of mission Indians in 1682, so that in 1692 there remained but one hundred and forty-seven native families at Parras, of which eighty-seven were Tlascaltecs, or at least claimed to be such in order to avoid tribute.[21]

In the Tepehuane district there is little to be noted during the rest of the century. A new mission of San José Tizonazo had been founded at a date which cannot be exactly fixed in the frontier region between

[19] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 358–9, in addition to authorities already named. The same writer says (398–9) that Contreras and Gomez worked in Saltillo, where the people offered a considerable hacienda for a Jesuit college.

[20] In a letter of Sept. 3, 1669, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 266–71.

[21] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 451–3; *Morfi, Diario*, 393–4.

Indé and Rio Nazas; but what is known of this mission may be most conveniently recorded in connection with the annals of the north-eastern district, and especially of the rebellion of 1644–6, in which its natives known as Salineros and Cabezas took a prominent part. At the time of the revolt Father Diego Osorio was in charge of Tizonazo. In 1662 Juan Ortiz Zapata, Pedro Suarez, Francisco Mendoza, and Bernabé Soto were in charge at Santa Catalina, Papasquiaro, Zape, and Tizonazo.[22] In 1678 Padre Mendoza still remained, but the rest had been replaced by Francisco Bañuelos, Diego Saenz, and Francisco Vera. At this time, according to the visita of Ortiz already referred to, there were nine villages, with about eight hundred neophytes, and a Spanish and mixed population of about three hundred.[23] At Guadiana may be noted two rich endowments of real estate and money, which put the Jesuit colegio for the first time on a sound financial basis, and the falling of the Jesuit church in 1647, for the rebuilding of which 3,000 pesos were contributed in a single day.[24] The drought and famine of 1667 were followed by a pestilence, especially deadly in the capital, where whole families were swept away and no remedies proved effective. But when the governor and bishop bethought them to choose as patron of the *reino* San Francisco Javier,[25] the plague ceased

[22] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 206–9, 267–8, 428.

[23] The partidos and pueblos of the Tepehuane mission were as follows:

(1.) Santiago Papasquiaro, pop. 73, and 54 Spaniards; 3 pueblos; S. Andrés Atotonilco, 3 l. E. Papasq., at junction of rivers, pop. 76; San Nicolás, 3 l. W. Papasq., pop. 146 Xiximes. Partido under P. Diego Saenz, serving 509 persons. Two Spanish *estancias* and 8 ranchos.

(2.) Santa Catalina, 10 l. N. Papasq., pop. 108; presidio of Tepehuanes, 3 l. S. Partido under P. Francisco Bañuelos, rector, serving 226 persons.

(3.) Nuestra Señora del Zape, formerly S. Ignacio, 12 l. N. W. Sta Catalina, on source of Rio Nazas, pop. 52; San José, once S. Simon, and also called Potrero, 3 l. N. Zape, pop. 113. Partido under P. Francisco Mendoza, serving 171 persons.

(4.) San José Tizonazo, 13 l. from Rio Nazas, and (the same?) from San Juan Indé, pop. 83, from Sin. and Son.; Sta. Cruz, 14 l. N. E. Zape, on Rio Nazas, S. W. Tizonazo, pop. 84. Partido under P. Francisco Vera, serving 199 persons.

[24] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, 194, 224, 369–71.

[25] 'Angel velocísimo de la paz, que con su patrocinio quitase de las manos

its ravages. That there might be no uncertainty of the saint's agency in the matter, the pest was allowed to break out again, to be promptly checked by new rites, after which no one died save a priest who prayed for the fate that might be best for him. After the setting-up of the patron's images and the observance of his day were enforced throughout the country by the decree of December 1668, he took upon himself the care of all Vizcayan interests, and his miraculous interferences and cures were of frequent occurrence, one of the latter being wrought upon the governor himself.

It was in June 1639 that fathers Gerónimo Figueroa and José Pascual were sent to extend the conquest of Tarahumara northward. At Parral they were met by the native caciques, assembled at Governor Serna's request to welcome their missionaries and to be impressed with their holiness by the edifying sight of all the government officials kneeling to kiss the friars' hands. Pascual, just out of his novitiate, stayed at San Miguel to learn the language under the tuition of Padre Diaz; while Figueroa went north-west, and at San Felipe,[26] or San Gerónimo Huexotitlan, for it is not quite clear which was first founded, the first baptism of adults took place the 15th of August. The padre was fortunate in having several early opportunities to control the elements and thus work on the superstition of the natives; he was kind and energetic as well, and his work prospered. In 1642 he was living at Huexotitlan, when Governor Valdés visited the pueblos to appoint native governors and captains, who contributed nothing

de Dios el azote de su justa indignacion.' *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 257–66. See also *Alegre*, ii. 447–8. An epidemic also in 1662. *Id.*, ii. 428–9.

[26] San Felipe was on the Rio Conchos, 17 leagues below San Pablo, that is 17 l. N. of the modern Balleza. *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 319–20, et al. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 220–1, both in relating the foundation, and later in speaking of the revolt, erroneously identifies this pueblo with the later S. Felipe el Real, on the site of the modern Chihuahua. S. Gerónimo was 7 l. a little N. of E. from San Pablo.

to later progress. Except an epidemic in 1647, miraculously checked at San Miguel by a statue of that saint—statue so potent for good that it caused an infant dying on its mother's breast to exclaim 'Sancte

NORTHERN NUEVA VIZCAYA, 1700.

Michael,' resume its suckling, and recover[27]—there is not much to say of the Tarahumare field for some years. Before 1648 there were six pueblos in addition

[27] *N. Vizcaya, Doc.* iii. 179, etc.; *Alegre*, ii. 236, 268–9.

to San Felipe and San Gerónimo, only two of which, San Francisco Borja and Satevo, are named. Two new padres, Cornelio Godinez and Vigilio Maez, with possibly a third, Gabriel Villar, were in charge of the missions. In 1648 hostilities broke out; but prior troubles in the adjoining Concho territory, chiefly affecting the Franciscan missions, but also to some extent those of the Jesuits in Tarahumara and Tepehuana, demand our first attention.

The year 1644 was one of disturbances throughout the east, involving the Franciscan stations at San Francisco, Mezquital, Mapimi, and San Bartolomé, with those of the Jesuits at Tizonazo and San Miguel. Neophytes often ran away to join roving bands; the Tobosos redoubled their petty raids; murders and robberies were frequent at settlements and ranchos and on the roads. Complaints were rife against the padres of both orders; and the bishop was so far convinced that the Jesuits were at fault, or perhaps so hostile to the society, that he temporarily suspended Padre Cepeda at Tizonazo. There was no difficulty in defeating the savages whenever they could be met. Captain Juan Barraza marched from Parral with two hundred and sixty men, and drove the Tobosos with much loss to the Rio del Norte. Meanwhile another hostile band attacked Indé, where they killed some Spaniards, destroyed such property as they could not remove, and fled as fast as their plunder would permit; but chanced to meet Barraza's returning company, lost their booty, and were scattered after considerable loss of life.

Despite reverses the Tobosos were able to form an alliance with the Cabezas, a warlike band of Tizonazo district, whose conversion was interrupted, as is implied, by Cepeda's removal, and to continue their outrages with renewed fury. In small swift bands they ravaged the country for months with the peculiar guerilla warfare, ever the most dreaded in this region, and by far the most difficult to resist. One

party attacked a mule-train, killed a dozen men, and fled to the mountains. If pursued they scattered, and the worst that could befall them was the loss of their plunder and a few men; but during the pursuit half a dozen unprotected ranchos had perhaps been pillaged by other bands. It was the beginning of the typical Apache warfare of later years. The only limit to the damage done was the comparatively small number of scattered inhabitants and ranchos in the country, the detachments of savages as a rule not being large enough, after the first outbreak and alarm, to attack the larger towns with any hope of success. Barraza was an experienced and brave Indian-fighter, but with the means at his command he could afford no adequate protection. Contradictory orders, mingled it seems with personal jealousies, further impaired his effective action, and at the end of the year he was relieved of command in the field in favor of Francisco Montaño de la Cueva with the rank of lieutenant-governor and captain-general, an officer who, to say the least, was no more successful than his predecessor.[28]

The reign of terror continued in 1645, and the savages by their success gained new allies. The Christians, except runaways in small parties, had hitherto remained faithful; but now the Conchos, most docile of all, openly revolted. On March 25th the Franciscans, Tomás Zigarran[29] and Francisco Labado, while celebrating the incarnation at San Francisco de Conchos, were murdered in church. San Pedro was next attacked, but the padres escaped to Satevo. Atotonilco, San Bartolomé, San Luis, and Mascomahua were pillaged and destroyed, all being abandoned by the missionaries, as was Tizonazo further south, before the end of April,[30] although in the mean time

[28] *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 130–5; *Alegre*, ii. 244–57. Many petty details of depredations are given.

[29] So Arlegui calls him; Alegre makes the name Felix Cigaran; and Cepeda writes it N. Ligaran.

[30] P. Nicolás Cepeda narrates these events with much detail in letters to the provincial dated April 28th and Sept. 11th, at S. Miguel. *Cepeda, Rela-*

according to Arlegui thirteen of the rebel leaders had been taken and hanged.

Father Diego Osorio retired from Tizonazo to Indé; while the Jesuits of the northern frontier gathered at San Felipe by order of the superior, who was unable to get from Montaño what he deemed a suitable guard. The mining camp of Indé, the Jesuit mission at San Miguel, perhaps a Franciscan establishment at Mapimi, and the garrisoned settlement at Parral, with a few undestroyed haciendas and mines in the vicinity of each, were now the only points held by the Spaniards. The Conchos and other northern tribes seem to have been content with the expulsion of their missionaries; but the Tobosos kept up their raids, and the Salineros of Tizonazo distinguished themselves by their depredations during the summer and fall of 1645. South-eastward they attacked Mapimi, Ramos, Cuencamé, San Pedro, and Santa Ana. Twenty natives were killed at San Pedro, Castillo being fortunately absent; and eight Spaniards lost their lives at Santa Ana. The raiders were kept from Parras by the reported presence there of a large force. Gerónimo Moranta, named for a former missionary, was leader of the Salineros, who had besides a native bishop empowered to say mass and administer the sacraments. Sixty-two was the whole number of victims during the summer, and a Jesuit writer of the time goes fully into details of thefts, murders, and other outrages.[31] Any attempt on my part to follow here the complicated movements of native warriors and Spanish soldiers during the autumn would have neither practical value nor interest.

Governor Valdés, having divided his force into several companies under captains Montaño, Francisco Treviño, Barraza, Cristóbal Nevares, or Narvaez, and

cion de lo Sucedido en esto reino de la Vizcaya, 1644–5, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 130–72; also MS. Arlegui the Franciscan chronicler, *Chrón. Zac.*, 245–8, describes this revolt much less fully than does the Jesuit historian Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 250–2, who follows Cepeda evidently.

[31] *Cepeda, Relacion*, 148–72, followed by *Alegre*, ii. 252–7.

Bartolomé Acosta, made all possible effort in accordance with the ideas and methods of the time. The nature of the warfare has already been indicated; small bands of savages when overtaken abandoned their plunder and ran away; larger bodies when cornered made peace and subsequently ran away, leaving their hostages to be hanged. Many threatened points, however, received protection; the number of rebels killed in pursuits and skirmishes—for there were no battles—was large in the aggregate, and that of captives and hostages put to death perhaps still larger.[82] Cerro Gordo was a kind of rendezvous for the savages at first, but was subsequently held by the Spaniards as a fortified camp and centre of operations, developing into a permanent presidio. By November, when there was but little left to steal at unprotected points, the fires of war seem to have burned out. From north and south the natives came in and surrendered to the officers from whom they could get the best terms. The villages from Tizonazo to Conchos were reoccupied, and the penitent rebels were distributed where they could best be watched. The reoccupation is much less fully recorded than the war; but it seems that several new rancherías were now reduced for the first time to pueblo life. Many hostile bands remained unsubdued, but were quiet for a few years. Bishop Evia now revived his plans for secularization, and even sent parochial clergy to take charge of Tizonazo, San Miguel, and two Franciscan missions not named; but the governor and his officers protested so earnestly that under new priests the country could not be kept in subjection, that the bishop had to curb his dislike of the religiosos, and for a time give up his scheme.

Padre Cepeda's views respecting the country's condition and the causes of the war are worthy of

[82] Hanging was the usual method of execution; but one old woman for her sorceries was thought to merit poisoning. Her stomach, however, was proof against any available poison, and the rope had to be used.

notice. Secular officials, he says, cared nothing for the natives save so far as they might be utilized as laborers. They would not coöperate with the padres to bring back runaways or to prevent immorality. The Spaniards not only forced or enticed the natives to the mines, but imposed upon them there no restrictions of life and conduct. Five years of drought had left the ground parched and barren, the streams dry, and the mines unproductive or bankrupt. The miners after working for months were refused their pay except on condition of working longer, and were finally paid, if at all, in goods at exorbitant prices. Thus the natives had really to run away or to remain in absolute slavery. The largest villages had not over fifty or sixty inhabitants, and most of them not over twenty. Another cause of disaster was the reverend writer's excessive sinfulness, and his neglect to supplicate with God as fervently as he ought.[33]

The fire of revolt was not extinguished, but only smouldering and creeping by twigs and roots and leaves over the country in search of new fuel, which was found in the Tarahumare nation, and the conflagration broke out hotter than ever. The evil influences leading to the outbreak of 1645 had been at work as we have seen upon this nation and had filled the minds of the Jesuits with grave apprehensions for the future. These influences as described by one of the padres I have just noticed. In another letter Cepeda alludes to another similar cause of trouble in the Spanish settlement at Parral, where were many natives entirely free from any moral or religious restraint; where the Spaniards, secure in the protection of their garrison, cared nothing for the natives, opposed the Jesuits, and even imputed to them unworthy motives.[34] The effect of such a settlement in a mining region upon

[33] *Cepeda, Relacion*, 140–3. Letter of April 28th.

[34] *Cepeda, Relacion*, 144–8. The writer claims that if the Jesuits should cease their work every pueblo in the region would disappear in three months.

missionary work on the frontier may readily be imagined. The Jesuits had attributed the Tepehuane revolt of 1616 to native superstitions; but they believed that of the Tarahumares to be due largely to Spanish oppression. Padre Pascual affirms as a fact, learned from experience, that this people were never traitors nor robbers, but fought for what they deemed their rights or to avenge their wrongs.[35] These characteristics of the nation will account for some notable differences between the warfare to be described and the guerilla tactics of the last revolt.

The retirement of the Jesuits to San Felipe did not last long. In the beginning of 1646, if not earlier, they resumed work in their respective pueblos, eight in number, where they accomplished much, despite adverse influences, and were joined by Padre Cornelio Godinez, who came in 1648 to extend the conversion to more distant rancherías in the north. But the same year four chiefs, Supichochi, Tepox, Ochavarri, and Don Bartolomé—honored in the records with the usual orthographical variations—of unconverted tribes in the interior, planned the destruction of Spaniards and their institutions. They tried to form an alliance with disaffected Tepehuanes through the cacique of San Pablo; but failure in this, when Governor Valdés hanged the chief on whom they relied, did not discourage them. They gained over some apostates from the pueblos and confidently expected larger accessions when open war should begin.

In May or June the padre at San Felipe sent five Spaniards and fifty natives to protect or remove a large amount of grain and live-stock at San Francisco Borja, a visita of San Felipe, reported to be threatened with an attack. The night after their arrival they were surrounded, the house was fired, and the Spaniards with forty neophytes after a brave defence were slain. The loss was much smaller than it would

[35] Letter of June 29, 1652, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 188.

have been had not the assailants spared all converts of pure Tarahumare blood, especially those from San Felipe, wishing to conciliate rather than exasperate the people of that town. The latter were divided in opinion, but the prompt arrival of a small guard from Parral, with the padre's shrewd action in locking up the women and children of both faithful and disaffected, turned the scale to the side of loyalty. Captain Juan Fernandez Carrion started from Parral with a hundred volunteers, and enlisted at Huexotitlan two hundred native allies at the suggestion of Father Pascual, who accompanied the army from that place. The orders were to try gentle means; but all hope of success in this way was destroyed by a disobedient officer's destruction of property belonging to natives with whom he was treating for peace, and in a few skirmishes nothing was effected. Carrion returned to Parral, leaving a guard for the padres at San Felipe.[36]

The governor now sent Barraza with his company of forty regulars from Cerro Gordo. He also appointed two 'persons' as Pascual calls them, evidently priests, to go with Barraza and perform the duties of peace-makers; but they behaved so badly and were so evidently unfit, in Jesuit eyes at least, for the duty, that Pascual by a hurried trip to Durango induced Valdés to annul the objectionable appointments in favor of Father Maez. Then Barraza penetrated late in the autumn to a valley in the north-west about which the foe had gathered in strong positions and showed no disposition to parley.[37] Consequently the company encamped in the valley, sending back for supplies and reënforcements.

A new governor, Diego Fajardo, had just been

[36] According to Pascual the battles took place at a place called Fariagiqui, and on Carrion's return he passed the Franciscan pueblo of Babaroyagua and Satevo, whence Padre Maez accompanied him to San Felipe.

[37] The author of the *Alzamiento* speaks of a fight in which Capt. Castillo killed several natives and took captives who revealed the positions and numbers of the foe. The same writer calls the valley Guarucarichiqui (Carichic?).

appointed, a son of Mars who at once advanced in person by forced marches, and with forty soldiers and three hundred native auxiliaries joined Barraza in January 1649. Without delay he began offensive operations, and after a vigorous campaign of about three months in the mountains forced the foe to sue for peace. The Tarahumares promised entire submission and future good conduct, and as they brought in the heads of the four leaders as gages of good faith their protestations were accepted with the usual undue haste.[33] Then Fajardo selected a site for a new Villa de Aguilar, left a corporal with thirty men and supplies for eight months, and hastened back to his capital and newly married wife, stopping only at Parral to enlist pobladores for his new villa, of whom he obtained only four.

Aguilar was on the Rio Papigochic, called Rio Yaqui across the mountains in Sonora. The country was not only rich in minerals but fertile and attractive, and a mission was founded only a league from the town, with the ideathat the missionary might attend to both settlers and neophytes. It was called La Purísima de Papigochic, and was probably identical in sight with the modern Concepcion. Padre Godinez, called Bendin by Alegre, was sent here by Pascual who was now superior, and there was considerable prosperity for a time, the padre being faithful and converts plentiful. The villa did not flourish, chiefly on account of its distance from military protection. Their isolation, however, had not the slightest effect to inspire prudence in the half-dozen who came to

[38] Pascual represents Fajardo's campaign as an assault on one of the foe's strongest peñoles, which was carried after a brave resistance, whereupon the natives, amazed at the governor's valor, made haste to sue for peace. But the author of the *Alzamiento* gives a much fuller account, showing the campaign to have been a long and complicated one, though not involving much hard fighting. Names of places mentioned are Valle de Cieneguilla, Valle del Aguila, Pachera, Temaichic, Tomachic, and Tesorachic. The foe was pursued across the sierra to the land of the Guazápares, and the governor encamped a month on the Rio Tomachic, whence he sent out detachments against the scattered bands of Tarahumares, killing large numbers. Two of the leaders were not given up until after he had left the country.

dwell at Aguilar, nor in the soldiers of the guard. In all the annals of the north-west hardly an instance can be found where Spanish settlers in time of peace, however precarious their situation, took any pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives. They bravely met danger when it became necessary to fight, but rarely sought either from a sense of justice or policy to avert it. Here they soon treated the neophytes as slaves, laughed at the padre's protests, and became openly violent toward him.

The Tarahumares, finding themselves oppressed and the missionary unable to protect them, decided that Christianity was a delusion, and set to work to right their wrongs by a new rebellion. It was at the end of 1649 that signs of approaching trouble began to be manifest to Diego de Lara in command at Aguilar, and he warned Father Godinez to take refuge with the guard; but the padre refused to believe that his kindness could be forgotten by the natives. Lara arrested a few bad characters, and the danger seemed averted, although preparations for revolt still went on under the chiefs Teporaca, Don Diego, and Don Luis. In May 1650 a mother attributed her daughter's death to the rite of extreme unction, and the eloquent Teporaca used the consequent excitement to alienate the few who still were friendly to their missionary. On June 4th the storm burst on Papigochic; Godinez and his soldier companion were murdered; house, church, and sacred property was destroyed, and the neophytes fled to the sierra.[39]

Comandante Lara sent to Parral for aid and went out to recover the bodies of the slain, finding the soldier mutilated but not the padre. Captain Barraza from Cerro Gordo and Captain Morales from Parral hastened by the governor's order to Aguilar, and marched against the foe, fortified two thousand strong on a

[39] Pascual says that the farms round the villa were also destroyed and that some of the vecinos were killed. Alegre gives details not mentioned by Pascual, having apparently consulted other documents.

lofty peñol. Morales by some seniority of rank claimed the right to lead the first attack, and began the assault with three hundred Spaniards and auxiliaries. He fought from dawn to sunset, had many men wounded, was unable to reach the summit, and retreated to where Barraza, guarding the baggage, had erected some hasty fortifications which, as an old Indian-fighter, he suspected would be needed. It was decided to await reënforcements before renewing the attack; but the enemy were not so patient. They came down to the valley and attacked the camp after giving formal notice and allowing Padre Maez time to say mass. This they repeated every day for a week, fighting well with arrows from morning to night. The Spaniards acted on the defensive, were hard pressed, and would have retreated to Aguilar, but were hemmed in on all sides. On the seventh day, by a feigned retreat, the savages drew Morales out of camp and into an ambush; but Barraza marched out to the rescue and only one Spaniard was lost. The foe had increased it is said to six thousand in number, while both food and ammunition were failing in camp; the only hope of safety lay in escape to the villa, and by the utmost precaution and good luck in the darkness of a rainy night the escape was effected without loss.[40]

Mortified at his captain's failure, Governor Fajardo, who was already residing, temporarily at least, at Parral, resolved to attack the Tarahumares in person, and Padre Pascual went with him to Aguilar. Without delay he assaulted the peñol, the scene of Morales' defeat, and in the first day's fight was himself repulsed with some loss. Next day by dividing his force and attacking at two points he gained some advantage and killed the leader of the foe, but was unable to reach the mesa, losing three soldiers and many native allies, and being himself wounded. The

[40] Meanwhile Pascual says a party from Sonora had been defeated, and much of the live-stock driven from Aguilar.

enemy in their turn fled in the darkness of the night, and the sudden rising of the streams, for it was now the rainy season, prevented any effectual pursuit. The valiant governor returned to Parral; but Captain Barraza remained to ravage the country and harass the fugitive rebels, until finally in the summer of 1651 a new peace was patched up. Papigochic was again inhabited by converts, whom with the vecinos of Aguilar, Padre Jacome Antonio Basilio was sent to care for, in place of the martyred Godinez.

The peace, or truce, lasted until the Tarahumares were ready for a new outbreak in the spring of 1652. Padre Basilio had founded several small pueblos in the vicinity and had no doubt of ultimate success despite sundry warnings from faithful neophytes. On March 2d Teporaca appeared before Aguilar. One part of the force assaulted the town, while another drove off the cattle, ravaged the fields, and cut off every avenue of escape. At midnight the work of destruction was renewed, church and houses were burned, and it does not appear that any Spaniard saved his life. Basilio, not quite dead from arrow wounds and blows of clubs, was hanged at dawn to the arm of the cross; and as he expired a beautiful child was seen to issue from his mouth and mount to heaven. The southern missions of San Felipe, San Gerónimo, and San Pablo took no part in this war, though Teporaca used all his powers of diplomacy to draw them into his ranks. The hope of effecting this was probably what kept him from attacking those missions till it was too late to do so with any chance of success. That God opposed his unholy schemes is the Jesuit way of stating it. At Satevo and San Lorenzo all property was destroyed and the same fate overtook seven or eight Franciscan pueblos,[41] but the padres had retired by superior orders.

At this critical time the governor was obliged to

[41] Santiago, Sta Isabel, San Andrés, San Bernabé, San Gregorio, Yaguna, San Diego Guachinipa, and San Bernardino. *Alegre*, ii. 394.

march against the Tobosos, leaving to General Carrion the defence of the missions which Pascual threatened to abandon altogether if a guard were not left, deeming the Tarahumares more to be dreaded than the eastern savages. The rebels profited by Fajardo's absence to renew their efforts, and two thousand of them assembled at a ranchería near San Felipe to await the arrival of Teporaca from the north. Fortunately Fajardo gained a speedy and decisive victory over the Tobosos, and returned before a junction of the rebel forces could be effected. The ensuing campaign is not very fully recorded, but it was evidently the most hotly contested one of the war. The Tarahumares were kept from attacking the pueblos, forced to act for the most part on the defensive, and slowly retired; nevertheless, by their bravery, knowledge of the country, and strength of positions, they had the best of nearly every encounter, inflicting much loss upon the Spaniards.[42]

Once at Tomochic the Spaniards, attempting a surprise, were themselves surprised and attacked in a narrow pass, whence they with great difficulty escaped. For two days they retreated fighting; and on the third the foe drew near to engage in a hand-to-hand fight, which was contrary to their usual tactics, but would have been fatal to the soldiers, whose ammunition was nearly gone. A soldier now stepped out without orders, and had the good luck to kill the leader of the foe at the first shot, and the comparatively harmless warfare with arrows was resumed. Again, assaulting the peñol of Pisachic, Fajardo was repulsed, with forty-two men wounded. A proposed renewal of the assault next day would, it is claimed, have been still more disastrous; but Don Diego, a friend of the governor and a reluctant rebel, persuaded the enemy by argument in council to abandon the peñol in the night.

[42] Alegre states that Gov. F. first attacked Teporaca without success, and then transfered his attention to the force near San Felipe, where for a long time he was equally unfortunate. The original makes no clear distinction between the two rebel forces.

At last the fortune of war was changed on the arrival of reënforcements, and particularly by the accession of friendly Tarahumares, who, as the rebels retired from the pueblos, deemed it safe to espouse the Spanish cause. Their knowledge of the country did much to equalize the combatants, and Captain Narvaez was able after a series of minor successes to defeat the main body of the foe. After this defeat, as was usual in north-western warfare, the natives were ready for peace and pardon, and the only condition required was the giving-up of Teporaca. This leader fought desperately, but was captured and hanged, scornfully rejecting baptism and denouncing his countrymen as cowards. The Christian natives, as seems to have been their usage, barbarously riddled with arrows the body of the impenitent chief.

Peace being thus restored both padres and neophytes resumed their labors, the former full of confidence as usual that the Tarahumares would give them no further trouble. Five missionaries, José Pascual, Gerónimo Figueroa, Gabriel Villar, Vigilio Maëz, and Rodrigo del Castillo, took their stations at San Felipe, San Pablo, Huexotitlan, Satevo, and San Miguel, respectively. A pestilence devastated the villages for two months, Toboso incursions were never ending, six years of drought had well nigh ruined agricultural industries; yet for these very reasons perhaps spiritual prospects seemed flattering, and the padres had nothing to fear but hard work and a somewhat annoying tendency to drunkenness on the part of their otherwise faithful converts. This was the state of affairs in June 1652.[43] At or about the cessation of hostilities, Bishop Evia renewed his efforts

[43] *Pascual, Noticias de las misiones sacadas de la Anua del Padre José Pascual, año de* 1651, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 179–209. MS. copy also in my Library. This narrative is dated San Felipe, June 29 (1652), and is the leading authority on the Tarahumara war. The other original authority is *Alzamiento de los Indios Tarahmares y su Asiento año de* 1646 (9), in *Id.*, 172–8; which though very brief narrates certain parts of the subject more fully than Pascual's report. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 365–74, 382–3, 389–98, 405, follows these documents very closely, though there are occasional indications

toward secularization, and again sent clergymen to replace Jesuits at San Miguel and Tizonazo. The society was compelled to yield temporarily, but the superior appealed to the audiencia of Guadalajara, obtained a stay of proceedings, and finally a royal order that the Jesuits were not to be disturbed, since the country was not yet prepared for any such change.

Missionary annals of Tarahumara for the next twenty years and more may be passed over briefly. The padres were obliged to be content for the most part with holding their own in the old pueblos; and the obstacles encountered, though doubtless real and serious enough to them at the time, are commonplace and monotonous in the record. There were seasons of famine and pestilence as in 1662 and 1666; yet even such afflictions were not unmixed evils, as for example at Satevo, where a person died without confession, and the strange actions of a horse over his grave frightened the masses into penitence. Intoxication and communion with the devil were the native weaknesses, resulting occasionally in desertion of the towns, to which end the system of personal service in the mines also contributed. The doctrina was taught in the native languages and in Mexican, but not apparently in Spanish. Figueroa seems to have succeeded Pascual as superior, and his reports are the chief authority for the history of this period.[44] Padre Juan Sarmiento went to San Francisco Javier Satevo in 1665, where his presence quelled threatened disturbance. Pedro Escalante about San Felipe worked wonders with a relic, extracting with it an aching tooth that had resisted all secular instruments. Bernabé de Soto served at Tizonazo in 1662.

In 1668, by Figueroa's report, there were five partidos, each with its padre, the new pueblos named being

that he saw other papers, which, like these, he does not name. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 34–5, barely mentions this war. See also *Guijo, Diario*, 219; *Alvarez; Estudios Hist.*, iii. 244–54; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 203–6.

[44] *Figueroa, Puntos de Anua*, 1652–68, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 217–30. See also *Alegre*, ii. 427, 436, 441, 444–8.

Natividad, San Mateo, and San Ignacio. Spiritually all went swimmingly; souls were sent to heaven, the friars consoled, and God glorified; even the native appetite for strong drink being held in check by want of corn for distillation. In material wealth and industries these five missions were the most flourishing in the country. But politically all went amiss; officials were careless or corrupt, irregularities went unpunished, thefts and even murders were but too common. As a nation the Tarahumares were quiet, but a few local troubles occurred, and the Tobosos continued their raids for plunder. Three such incursions into Tarahumara territory are noted between 1652 and 1662; and in 1667 Padre Rodrigo del Castillo on the road from Indé to his mission of San Miguel was stopped by a hostile band. Five Spaniards and ten natives with him were killed; but his own life was spared, apparently from fear that he could in some mysterious way send disaster upon the murderers, as they said the Franciscans had done. Yet notwithstanding this fear the padre had to bring about the peaceful surrender by the guard of a band of cattle. He died the next year from grief at this event, after completing a new church in honor of Saint Michael.[45]

The first extension of the field was in 1673. During the long interval since Father Basilio's murder nothing had been done in the north-west about Papigochic and Aguilar; but now, under the miraculous protection of San Francisco Javier, the patronage of Governor Salcedo, and the valor of Lieutenant-governor Sarría, it was deemed possible to reopen this field of labor. After a grand preliminary assemblage of political functionaries, military officials, native caciques, and Jesuit padres at Huexotitlan on Sep-

[45] Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 51, says that the Tarahumares after fighting 20 years were defeated in 1671 by 600 men under Capt. Nicolás Barraza! In 1670, according to *Apostólicos Afanes*, 227, they were persuaded to be converted and many missions rose! Rivera, *Gob. Mex.*, i. 237, also puts the end of the revolt in 1670.

tember 30th, fathers Francisco Barrionuevo and Juan Manuel Gamboa started the 1st of November attended by a few Spaniards and a party of natives under the friendly cacique San Pablo. Early in 1674 Barrionuevo was replaced by José Tarda, and the mission of San Bernabé was soon founded with its three villages of Cuitzochic, Curiguarichic, and Corachic.[46]

A line from Durango in the south to Tutuaca in the northern sierra just above the big bend of the Yaqui—passing through San Juan del Rio, Tizonazo, San Miguel, Parral, Satevo, Concepcion, and Yepomera—would form in a general way a boundary between the Jesuit and Franciscan districts of Nueva Vizcaya down to the end of the century. The seraphic order occupied with their scattered convents the broad regions of the east and north; but the records of their work are even more fragmentary than the work itself. This was always a tierra de guerra, scourged by Tobosos, Apaches, and other savage tribes, having as a rule no other Spanish settlements than presidio garrisons. Within this field the Franciscans, after the revolt of 1645–6, founded ten or twelve missions, several of which were destroyed before 1700. Of their progress in the south, that is in eastern Durango, nothing is known, save that the establishments at Mapimi and Cuencamé were probably kept up, and that the order had a doctrina at San Juan del Rio, where Padre Estévan Benitez with a party of soldiers was murdered by the Indians in 1686. In the central region about San Bartolomé San Pablo is said to have been reoccupied in 1649, San Francisco de Conchos in 1667—which would imply a previous abandonment not definitely recorded—and Atotonilco at a date not given but after 1663, while Julimes was founded in 1691. In 1656 a kind

[46] *Alegre*, ii. 463–70. I have added a 'c' to the names, but there is no dependence to be placed on the orthography and no apparent possibility of fixing the exact localities.

of branch convent was formed at Parral, causing in later years some slight misunderstanding with the Jesuits, who claimed exclusive control of Tarahumara.[47]

Respecting the time when the Franciscans began to extend their field toward the north-west we have Arlegui's statement that San Antonio de Casas Grandes was founded in 1640, which is doubtless an error. He also notes the foundation of Santa María de la Natividad in 1660, San Pedro Namiquipa in 1663, Santiago Babonoyaba in 1665, Santa Isabel Tarcimares in 1668, and San Andrés in 1694.[48] From an *expediente* in the archives, the documents of which are dated from 1667 to 1669,[49] it appears that in the second year of Governor Beaumont's rule, probably in 1663, he heard that the people called Sumas of Casas Grandes, Torreon, and Carretas, desired padres and that the country was in every way adapted to the requirements of a mission and settlement. He therefore commanded Captain Andrés García to pass over from the Rio del Norte and settle there, and obtained for the mission a missionary, Padre Andrés Baez, Paez, or Perez, by paying the expense out of his own pocket. Two years later, in 1665, when Antonio Valdés became provincial, Pedro Aparicio and Nicolás Hidalgo were sent to replace Baez, Beaumont still paying their salary of three hundred pesos each, since the new governor would not assume the responsibility. Aparicio soon died, and in 1667 ex-Governor Beaumont and Governor Oca petitioned the viceroy to regularly establish or assume the expense of the three doctrinas, claiming that such a course would not only promote the spread of Christianity, but was essential to the protection of the country and of com-

[47] *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 97–8, 103–9, 250–1. P. Antonio Valdés, writing April 29, 1667, *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 298, speaks of preparations being made to resettle San Francisco with 200 Indians and an escort of 20 soldiers from Sinaloa.

[48] *Chrón. Zac.*, 103–9.

[49] *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 231–56. The expediente contains 25 documents, only a few of which contain any information.

merce with the coast provinces and New Mexico. The district also contained a valuable salina.[50] The money and padres were probably supplied at an early date as asked for; but we know nothing of subsequent events in the north-west, except that Santa Ana del Torreon with four pueblos and Santa María de las Carretas with three were destroyed by Apaches before 1700.[51]

In 1697 Padre Gerónimo Martinez, while making a general visita of the Franciscan missions in company with Padre Alonso Briones, found a large body of natives favorably disposed for salvation, founded with them a new pueblo, and left Briones in charge. The new mission was called Nombre de Dios, and was distant about a league from the site of the modern city of Chihuahua, founded early in the next century as a real de minas under the name of San Felipe.[52] In the north-east the settlement of El Paso del Norte was founded in connection with the New Mexican establishments before the great revolt of 1680.[53] In 1684, or more likely a few years earlier, three Francis-

[50] Oca's report of Sept. 22d, and Beaumont's of Oct. 23d, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 232–6. Padre Rua, commissary-general, certifies to the desirability of the three doctrinas and makes a formal demand for 900 pesos to pay three padres. Oct. 11th, Valdés, the provincial, corroborates Beaumont's statements. Aug. 16th, Capt. García (or Gracia) certifies to having just made a trip to Casas Grandes, to its prosperity and zeal for conversion, and says P. Juan Balboa has promised to go there. The same persons repeat these statements in substance in other communications. The rest of the documents are routine 'red tape' references of the matter to various officials, each of whom reports that he knows nothing of the subject, but that Mr So-and-So knows all about it.

[51] *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 103. Padre Valdes writes in April 1667 that he has three padres and is about to start for new conversions. In June he had established four and selected sites for eight more. Thousands of souls were perishing between Parral and Sinaloa. It is not likely that he refers in these letters to the Casas Grandes missions. *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 295–300

[52] *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 314–15; *Arlegui, Chrón. Zac.*, 107–8. I have already noticed Alegre's error in confounding the southern San Felipe with San Felipe de Chihuahua.

[53] Capt. García was forming a settlement on the Rio del Norte when ordered to Casas Grandes in 1663, and it is not unlikely that this settlement was that of El Paso. *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 234. Davis, *El Gringo*, 380, says the name was derived from the fact that the river here passes the mountains. Pike, *Explor. Trav.*, 345, says it was because the Spaniards passed hither at the revolt. Not from its being the passage of the river, which is fordable anywhere. *Bartlett's Nar.*, i. 184. Of course all this is con-

cans were sent down the river from El Paso by Governor Jironza; and as at Junta de los Rios, or the junction of the Conchos and Rio del Norte, the natives, Conchos, Julimes, and Chocolomes, seemed docile and convertible into Christians; Padre Antonio Acebedo remained there to teach, while the others, with the escort of soldiers, made a tour in Texas. On their return Padre Zavaleta remained with Acebedo, retaining also a few northern Indians; but very soon the natives revolted, destroyed everything, killed the New Mexicans, and turned out the friars without food and almost naked, to reach El Paso after much suffering.[54] A mission of Sumas was established in 1683, eight leagues below El Paso, and named Guadalupe; but the natives revolted next year, destroyed the mission and joined the Janos natives who killed Father Beltran at Soledad.[55] Thus incomplete and unsatisfactory do we find the seventeenth-century annals of northern Chihuahua.

Returning to the Jesuit field, south and west of the line already indicated, we find that at San Bernabé Padre Gamboa was replaced in 1675 by Tomás de Guadalajara, who with Father Tarda traversed before the end of the year the whole region to Yepomera and Tutuaca, the northern limit of Jesuit work during the century as it was the limit of Tarahumara proper. The details of their wanderings are given with considerable minuteness in a report signed by both padres,[56] but do not demand extended notice here.

jecture, and the most probable origin of the name is certainly from the fording of the river at this point on some particular occasion. Still probabilities in such cases are often farthest from truth, and there is no direct evidence on the point.

[54] *Escalante, Carta,* in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 121–2. Paredes, *Noticias* in *Id.*, 213, speaks of an expedition of Mendoza and Padre Lopez down to the Junta in 1684. Villa-Señor, *Theatro,* ii. 424–5, says the Junta missions were founded in 1660, and were broken up by a revolt two years later. The padres, half-dead from exposure, were rescued by the governor at Parral and sent back to New Mexico. Some of the converts came to S. Bartolomé to live until 1714.

[55] *Escalante, Carta,* 121–2.

[56] *Guadalajara* and *Tarda, Testimonio de Carta escrita por los padres...*

The narrative is composed for the most part of commonplace adventures, of puerile stories respecting miraculous cures and conversions, and of the devil's plots against the society of Jesus. The writers conclude at the date of writing that el demonio is now overcome, and that with the aid of additional missionaries a grand Jesuit triumph may be secured. During the tour and in the spring of 1676 the work of baptism was begun, native teachers were left, and even churches begun at Carichic, Papigochic, and Tutuaca; and these with many other villages only awaited the coming of resident padres to start out in earnest on their career of Christianity.

Of the coming of these padres and of their acts in the north for two years we know nothing, except that in 1677 there was a slight misunderstanding between the rival orders respecting boundaries. Father Alonso Mesa objected to the act of the Jesuits in including the Yepomera district within their field. The Jesuits claimed it as a part of Tarahumara, and the Franciscans apparently because there were some Conchos mixed with the population. The latter alleged an old agreement by which the Rio Papigochic, or Yaqui, was made the boundary; but no such document could be found when the matter was submitted to superior authority. The Franciscan protest was perhaps a mere formality; at least it seems to have had no practical effect and caused no serious ill-feeling.[57] The demands of the two pioneers for help must have received prompt attention, for as early as 1678 we find in this new northern field—christened mission of San

al Rev. P. Francisco Jimenez Provincial, etc., in *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iii. 272–94; also MS. The letter is dated Feb. 2, 1676, and there are annexed many other papers of a 'red tape' order, and of no value. The villages named as having been visited are as follows: Guerucarichic (or Jesus Carichic), S. José Temaichic, Papigochic, S. Rafael Matachic, Sta Cruz (Mulatos), Triunfo de Los Angeles, Yepomera, S. Gabriel, Napabechic, Tutuaca, Paquibeta, Tairachic, Tosoborcachic, S. José Pachera, Tejareri, Arisiachic, Toscrachic, Sacachic, and Tomochic. Many of these cannot be exactly located, but some will be found on the map. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, ii. 471–6, iii. 10–11, follows this report very closely.

[57] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 16–18.

Joaquin y Santa Ana and embracing thirty-two pueblos in nine partidos—seven missionaries serving about five thousand natives with perhaps one hundred Spaniards. The new padres were Francisco Celada, Francisco Arteaga, Diego Contreras, Antonio Oreña, and Nicolás Ferrer. In the south, or Tarahumara Baja—thirteen pueblos in five partidos constituting the mission of Natividad—five padres were serving over three thousand natives and possibly three hundred Spaniards. The padres not already named were Francisco Valdés, Martin Prado, and Manuel Gutierrez Arteaga. These facts are gathered from Zapata's visita already referred to for regions farther south and west, and the statistics of which I reproduce in a note, since this report, while not altogether accurate, is the only existing source of information respecting many of the pueblos.[58]

[58] Mission of Natividad, or of Tarahumares antiguos, 5 partidos, 3,818 persons:

(1.) San Miguel de las Bocas, 14 leagues N. W. of Tizonazo, near Rio Florido, pop. 236. Under P. Pedro de Escalante, serving 386 persons. Ten estancias of Spaniards tended by the padre, but really belonging to the curates of Indé, S. Bartolomé, and El Oro.

(2.) San Felipe, 24 l. N. S. Miguel, 12 l. from Parral, on Rio Conchos, pop. 312; Sta Cruz, 6 l. W. S. Felipe, up river, pop. 455; S. José, 7 l. N. W. (S. Felipe?), called also Salto del Agua, pop. 101. Under P. Francisco Valdés, serving 1,010. Seven estancias and ranchos of Spaniards, who have no curate.

(3.) San Pablo, 17 l. S. S. Felipe, up river, pop. 380; San Juan Atotonilco, 2 l. up river from S. Pablo, pop. 113; S. Mateo, down river (from S. Pablo?), pop. 120. Under P. Martin del Prado, serving 633 persons, mostly Tepehuanes.

(4.) San Gerónimo Huexotitlan, 7 l. N. E. S. Pablo, 6 l. S. Rio Conchos, 15 l. from Parral, pop. 320; S. Ignacio, 5 l. N. S. Gerónimo, on Rio Conchos; S. Javier, 1 l. N. S. Ignacio, on Rio Conchos, pop. of the two, 434. Under PP. Manuel Gutierrez Arteaga and Gabriel del Villar, serving 754 persons. One estancia of Spaniards.

(5.) San Francisco Javier Satevo, 30 l. N. Huexotitlan, 16 l. N. S. Felipe, pop. 516; Cuevas and ranchería of S. Antonio, 1 l. E. S. Francisco, near Rio S. Pedro, pop. 242; S. Lorenzo, 12 l. W. San Francisco, pop. 286. Under P. Juan Sarmiento, serving 1,134 persons. A few small Spanish estancias.

Mission of San Joaquin y Santa Ana, 8 partidos:

(1.) San Francisco de Borja, or S. Joaquin y Sta Ana, 14 l. N. W. Satevo, pop. 376; Sta Ana Yeguiachic, 3 l. E. Borja, pop. 504; Guadalupe Saguarichic, 3 l. W. Borja, pop. 286; S. Francisco Javier Parnaguichic, 4 l. S. W. Borja, pop. 150. Under P. Francisco de Celada, serving 1,316 persons.

(2.) Nra Sra de Monserrate Nonoava, 12 l. S. W. (?) Borja, on Rio Umarisac, pop. 209; Nra Sra de Copucabaña Paguarichic, 5 l. N. Nonoava, on

For the rest of the century, twenty years and more, our knowledge of Chihuahua history, in addition to what has already been said of the Franciscan establishments, is confined to a few imperfectly recorded facts respecting the hostilities of different Indian tribes. The savages of the eastern and northern frontiers continued almost without cessation their raids on pueblos, haciendas, mining camps, and travellers. Their system of warfare has been sufficiently described, and about these later raids no particulars have been preserved. In 1685 the king ordered the establishment of three new presidios at Pasaje, Gallo, and Conchos, each with a garrison of fifty men in addition to the force already stationed at Parral and the presidio of Cerro Gordo. A little later there were added in the north the presidios of Janos and

same river, pop. 113. Under P. Francisco de Arteaga, serving 352 persons. Several rancherías of gentiles named.

(3.) Jesus Carichic, or Guanicarichic, 16 l. N. Nonoava, with Paquibcta, Tamiña, and Santiago 2 l. down river, pop. 558; San Luis Gonzaga Tagirachic, 4 l. W. Carichic, pop. 41; Concepcion de Papigochic, 3 l. S. Carichic, pop. 77; S. Casimiro Bocarinachic, 4 l. S (Concepcion?), pop. 33. Under P. Diego de Contreras, serving 706 persons. Several rancherías of gentiles named.

(4.) María Santísima Sisoguichic, 14 l. S. W. Carichic, in sierra, pop. 179; Asuncion Echoguita, 4 l. N. W. Sisoguichic, pop. 9. Under P. Antonio Oreña, serving 182 persons. Two days' journey W. is Cuteco, bordering on the Guazápares.

(5.) San José Temaichic, 14 l. N. E. Sisoguichic, pop. 150; San Marcos Pichachi, 5 l. W. S. José, pop. 11; Sta Rosa de Sta María Pachera, 3 l. S. José, pop. 0; S. Juan Toraboreachic, 8 l. E. S. José, on road to S. Bernabé, pop. 92. Under P. José de Guevara (non-resident), serving 203 persons.

(6.) San Bernabé Cuziguariachic, 11 l. S. E. S. José, pop. 327; San Ignacio Coyachic, N. E. Cuzig., pop. 466; S. Miguel Napabechic, 9 l. N. Cuzig., pop. 92. Under P. José Tarda (rector), serving 912 persons. Includes the mining camp of S. Francisco Saguarichic, 4 l. from S. Miguel.

(7.) Purísima de Papigochic, 15 l. N. Cuzig., on Rio Yaqui, pop. 224; S. Cornelio Paguirachic, 1½ l. S. Pap., pop. 33; Sto Tomás de Villanueva, 4 l. N. Pap., pop. 60; S. Pablo Basuchi, 5 l. E. Pap., pop. 100. Under P. Nicolás Ferrer, serving 450 persons.

(8.) Triunfo de Los Angeles Matachic, or San Rafael, 18 l. N. Pap., pop., 335; S. Miguel Temeschic, 2 l. N. Mat., down river, pop. 64; S. Gabriel Yepomera, 1½ l. N. S. Mig., 5 l. N. Mat., pop. 118; S. Pablo Ocomorachic, 6 l. W. Mat., 5 l. from river, pop. 91. Under P. Tomás de Guadalajara, serving 748 persons.

(9.) Jesus del Monte Tutuaca, 22 l. N. W. Matachic, pop. 30 fam.; S. Evangelista Tosonachic, 8 l. E. Tutuaca, pop. 35; Santiago Yepachi, 10 l. W. (Tutanca?), pop. 40; San Juan Bautista Maquina, 4 l. (Yepachi?), pop. 30. Under P. Guadalajara, serving 226 persons. Two hundred and thirty Ovas were also baptized in Sonora. *Zapata, Relacion*, iii. 316–43.

Casas Grandes, with Fronteras, or Corodeguachi, across the line in Sonora. Forces from these presidios were constantly on the move against the raiders, striving to protect Spanish life and property as well as the mission pueblos, pursuing hostile bands, recovering plunder chiefly in the form of live-stock, occasionally killing considerable numbers of the foe, or more frequently capturing women and children, who were for the most part distributed among the soldiers as servants or slaves. Captain Juan Fernandez Retana particularly distinguished himself in this border warfare, and the Spaniards were nearly always aided by large bands of native allies.

The Jesuit missions of Alta Tarahumara, though somewhat less exposed than the Franciscan establishments to outrages of the savages, were nevertheless in frequent danger, because the mountains were still infested by unconverted Tarahumares who were hardly less to be dreaded than the Tobosos of the east or the Apaches of the north; in fact it is not unlikely that they committed many of the depredations attributed to those tribes. There were also one or two attempts at general revolt among the Tarahumares and their western neighbors in Sonora, which are vaguely alluded to rather than described. The most serious culminated in 1690, after having been threatened and prepared since 1685. The trouble is said to have originated in some dissatisfaction of the Tubares across the mountains, of whom I shall have more to say in another chapter, but soon spread to the Tarahumares and Conchos, and there assumed formidable proportions. The meetings of the rebels, whose reputed leader was Corosía, were held in the Casas Grandes region, whence emissaries were sent to all the missions on both sides of the sierra. Warnings came to the ears of the missionaries, by whom they were sent to the military authorities; but these warnings were of so general a nature and the points where danger was to be apprehended were so vaguely de-

fined, and rumors of this kind were so common, that no extraordinary or effectual precautions were taken.

The revolt broke out in April 1690. Alegre tells us it was on April 2d when "the barbarians fell upon haciendas, reales de minas, and missions without resistance, destroying crops, burning buildings, and stealing all that came within their reach, as far as the jurisdiction of Ostimuri, and even to the northern frontier of Nueva Galicia." On April 11th Padre Juan Ortiz Foronda, at Yepomera, and Padre Manuel Sanchez, with Captain Manuel Clavero, on their way to Tutuaca, were murdered by the rebels. Villagutierre speaks of a revolt in which the Indians flayed Spaniards alive, and used their skulls for drinking-cups, having to be twice subdued by Governor Pardiñas. Berrotaran says that the Tarahumares revolted, killing some padres, burning their churches, and running away to the mountains, two years being required to restore quiet. Cavo calls it a general uprising of Tarahumares and Tepehuanes in 1689, who killed the Franciscans, three Jesuits, and all the Spaniards they could find, the causes of the revolt being the oppression of miners and the exhortations of native sorcerers. It would seem that Alegre's statement must be greatly exaggerated, for it would hardly be possible for so extensive a rebellion to leave so slight a record; and this is shown even by the same author's remark that only a few Tarahumares were concerned, the war being waged mainly by Janos, Jocomes, Chinarras, Sumas, and other savage bands. The Pimas of Kino's missions in Sonora were also, and very absurdly, accused by many of being involved in the matter. I find no evidence that the Tepehuanes were concerned in the revolt, or that any Franciscans were killed.

Captain Salazar from Casas Grandes, Captain Fuente from Janos, Captain Retana from Conchos, with forces from Gallo and Cerro Gordo, under Captain Cigalde, and with other companies under captains

Medina, Salaises, and Mendivil, were ordered at once to the scene of the outbreak, and Governor Pardiñas marched in person from Parral to Papigochic, and thence to Yepomera, where his head-quarters were fixed. We know nothing of the campaigns by which this grand combination of Vizcayan forces proceeded to restore peace to the country; but we are told that Father Salvatierra, coming up from the old Guazápare field, where he had kept the western Indians for the most part quiet, did more than all the military force to bring back the fugitives to their villages. There were subsequent disturbances on the Sonora frontier in which the Tarahumares, like the savage tribes of Chihuahua, were more or less directly implicated, but we have no definite information on the subject.[59]

[59] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 53–4, 70–3; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 210–11; *Berrotaran, Informe acerca de los Presidios de N. Viz.*, 164–71; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 74–5, 91. The last writer cites *Apéndice al Cristiano Feliz del Nuratori, relacion de Sinaloa*, and *Dugé, Hist. Manuscrita*. See also *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 266–7; *Alvarez, Estudios Hist.*, iii. 295–301; and *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 451–2, all following Cavo or Alegre; also *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 6.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW MEXICO, COAHUILA, AND TEXAS.

1600–1700.

ANNALS OF NEW MEXICO—PROSPERITY, REVOLT, AND RECONQUEST—COAHUILA—ENTRIES OF SALDUENDO AND LARIOS—THE EARLIEST MISSIONS—FOUNDING OF MONCLOVA—RULERS—FRANCISCANS FROM QUERÉTARO AND JALISCO—MISSION CHANGES—TEXAS—RÉSUMÉ FOR SIXTEENTH CENTURY—EXPEDITIONS FROM NEW MEXICO—OÑATE IN QUIVIRA—THE JUMANAS—RIO NUECES—CAPTAIN VACA—MARTIN AND CASTILLO—COUNTRY OF THE TEJAS—PEÑALOSA'S PRETENDED ENTRADA—EFFORTS OF LOPEZ AND MENDOZA—FATHER PAREDES' REPORT—NORTH-EASTERN GEOGRAPHY—THE NAME TEXAS—FRENCH PROJECTS—PEÑALOSA AGAIN—LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION—FORT ST LOUIS—DISASTROUS FATE OF THE COLONY—PESTILENCE AND MURDER—SPANISH EFFORTS—BARROTO'S VOYAGES—LEON'S EXPEDITION—SECOND ENTRADA—FATHER MASANET AND HIS FRIARS—MISSIONS FOUNDED—EXPEDITION OF GOVERNOR TERAN DE LOS RIOS—NUEVA MONTAÑA DE SANTANDER Y SANTILLANA—ABANDONMENT OF TEXAS.

IN New Mexico, the history of which province is merely outlined here to be fully recorded in a later volume, prosperity ceased for a time after the conquest of 1599. Friars and colonists were content; but the captain-general, Oñate, viewing the new province merely as a stepping-stone to grander conquests, shaped his policy without reference to the interests of Franciscans, settlers, or natives. A quarrel ensued; drought and improvidence brought famine; and Oñate returned from the north-eastern plains in 1601 to find the country deserted, the colony having retired to Chihuahua. A war on paper in Mexico and Spain resulted in the sending-back of the friars to reoccupy the missions, in modifying Oñate's ambitious schemes, and in the furnishing of reënforcements by the aid of which

the governor in 1604–5 made an exploration westward and down the Colorado to its mouth. Subsequently and before 1630 Santa Fé was founded, to be the capital instead of San Juan. In 1608 nine padres were at work; in 1626 there were forty-three churches, and baptisms numbered thirty-four thousand. Thirty new friars came in 1629; and the next year fifty missionaries were serving sixty thousand converts in ninety pueblos. In these years was New Mexico's greatest prosperity, though the decline was not very marked for half a century, a period the annals of which are made up of changes in political and military and missionary officials, of a few expeditions of defence or exploration into the adjoining regions, of two or three vaguely recorded and promptly suppressed attempts at revolt by the Pueblo converts, and of the usual petty items of local mission progress.

Then came upon the province the greatest disaster that ever befell Spain on the northern frontier, if not indeed in any part of America. In August 1680, during the rule of Governor Otermin, in a general and skilfully planned revolt of the neophytes, four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-one Franciscan friars, were killed, and the survivors were driven out of the province, which for more than a decade was left in possession of its aboriginal owners. The Spaniards established themselves at El Paso in the south, in which region they did some missionary work as already related in this volume, while the New Mexicans, after a little, fought among themselves, and thus threw away their chances for continued independence. Otermin and his successors made several reconnoissances and unsuccessful attempts to reoccupy the pueblo towns. In 1692 Governor Vargas retook Santa Fé without bloodshed, and received the submission of many other towns, but left no garrisons. The next year he returned with a large colony and occupied Santa Fé after a hard-fought battle. The reconquest was completed after much fighting in 1694;

the friars resumed their labors; new missions and even villas were established. In 1696, however, five missionaries and twenty other Spaniards lost their lives in a new revolt, and many towns were abandoned; but all submitted and were pardoned before the end of the year, which may be regarded as the date of New Mexico's permanent submission to Spanish rule. The feeble remnants of once powerful nations made no further organized resistance. The western pueblos were yet independent; but with the exception of Moqui they renewed their allegiance before the end of the century.

Coahuila in the seventeenth century was the region north of latitude 26°, between the Bolson de Mapimi on the west and the Rio Grande del Norte on the east and north. It did not include the southern region of Parras and Saltillo until late in the next century. The northern country was visited as we have seen in 1603 by Padre Antonio Salduendo, who toiled there for two or three years until forced to abandon the field by raids of the wild Tobosos. The next visit was by Padre Juan Larios, of the Jaliscan college of Franciscans, about the year 1670.[1] Three or four years later other friars of the same province came, and the mission of San Miguel de Aguayo was founded about 1675, the exact date being unknown, the founding of Nadadores a few leagues distant being a year or two later.[2]

[1] *Morfi, Diario*, 421; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 301; *Frejes, Hist. Breve*, 221–31. Frejes gives many particulars about Larios' operations, but of doubtful authenticity. He says the padre was stopped on the road in Durango and forced by strange natives to accompany them. Their first cry was 'Coahuila'—hence the name. He was miraculously preserved from Toboso attacks; and three years after his entry was joined by padres Estévan Martinez, Manuel de la Cruz, and Juan Barrero. The first missions were then founded with the 500 natives subdued by Larios. Also mention in *Mexico, Informe de la Com. Pesq., 1874*, 62.

[2] Arze y Porteria, *Informe de las Misiones de Coahuila, 1787*, 295, says there is no record of the date either in mission or government archives. In *Revilla Gigedo, Carta de 27 Dic. 1793*, 25–8, the date of founding S. Miguel is 1675 or 1676. The mission of Nadadores is called Nra Sra de Victoria and Sta Rosa. Orozco y Berra, *Carta Etnog.*, 302, says that Santa Rosa de Nada-

It was about 1676 that Bishop Santa Cruz of Guadalajara extended his diocesan visit to this country, and established four new pueblos, distributing grain and live-stock, and perhaps sending some Tlascaltec families to serve as models to the natives.[3] In 1682 came Bishop Leon Garavito, who founded a *cofradía* at San Miguel and gave some live-stock and blankets for a hospital.[4]

Rumors of French encroachments, of which I shall have more to say in this chapter, impelled the viceroy in 1687 to establish the villa and presidio of Santiago de Monclova, named for himself, and often called Villa de Coahuila. The site was half a league from San Miguel, and the colony sent consisted of one hundred and fifty families, including two hundred and seventy armed men.[5] The comandante was probably Captain Andrés de Leon, who at least was governor of the province a year or two later. Leon made two entradas to Texas, to be noted later; and was succeeded by Domingo Teran de los Rios, who in 1691 was made governor of Coahuila and Texas, but retired to Mexico in 1692. Whether he returned to Coahuila is not clear; but Francisco Cuervo y Valdés and Pedro Rábago de Teran are mentioned as governors about the end of the century and beginning of the next.[6]

dores was first founded in 1677, 40 leagues N. W. of Coahuila, moved to near the river Nadadores on account of Toboso raids, and finally in 1693 with the addition of eight Tlascaltec families on the site 7 l. N. W. of Coahuila. The same author names San Francisco de Coahuila ¼ l. N. of Monclova, no date; and San Buenaventura de las Cuatro Ciénegas, founded by P. Manuel de la Cruz in 1673 (?) 20 l. W. of Coahuila, moved 6 l. nearer to Contotortes, abandoned, and reëstablished in 1693, 1.5 l. from Nadadores, where it remained until 1747.

[3] *Iglesias y Conv., Rel.*, 293; *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 376; *Arze y Portería, Informe*, 295–8. According to the latter the natives soon abandoned Nadadores to the Tlascaltecs.

[4] *García, Informe acerca de las Misiones del Rio Grande*, 21–2; *Arze y Portería, Inf.*, 296–7. See also mere mention of the Coahuila missions in 1674 and 1678, in *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 244, 249.

[5] *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 262; *Id., Hist. Jalapa*, i. 101; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 446; *Larenaudière, Mex. Guat.*, 227; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 217; *Espinosa, Crónica*, 409, 467; *Doc. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 58.

[6] *García, Informe*, 37–8; *Espinosa, Crón.*, 408, 463–4; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 73; *Guerra entre Mex. y Est. Un.*, 8; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, p. iii.

After the founding of Monclova the Jaliscan friars continued their labors; and the Querétaro Franciscans also entered this field. Padre Damian Masanet of the latter had established a mission as early as 1688; and in the same year fathers Francisco Hidalgo, Francisco Estevez, and Escaray came to Monclova. Not

COAHUILA.

being encouraged by either ecclesiastical or secular authorities, they went eastward and founded Dolores at the place called Boca de Leones in Nuevo Leon. After two years they had to give up this mission to a curate; and Hidalgo went to serve at Masanet's establishment. About the name, identity, and fate

of this mission there is much uncertainty. Masanet calls it San Salvador in Santiago Valley, and states that it was given up to a curate in 1691, when he with Hidalgo went to Texas;[7] but Espinosa and Arricivita, the standard chroniclers of the Querétaro province, call the mission Santiago in Candela Valley, and say that it was given up to the Jaliscan friars.[8] Meanwhile it was in 1688 that Padre Francisco Peñasco of the Jaliscans founded Nombre de Jesus Peyotes, some forty or fifty leagues northward from Monclova at a place called San Ildefonso. This mission was broken up after two years by hostile natives; but subsequently had a new lease of life in the same place for four years under Father Agustin Carrera.[9] In 1690 the mission of San Bernardino de Candela was established with the aid of some Tlascaltecs. Fourteen of these Tlascaltec families were also added to San Miguel at Monclova; and in 1694 ten more families were brought from Saltillo for San Bernardino. At this time Nueva Tlascala seems to have come into existence; and before the end of the century the Tlascaltecs with a few Spanish settlers were the leading element in all the establishments about Monclova, such as San Miguel, San Bernardino, and Nadadores, only a small number of native converts remaining under Franciscan care.[10] In 1692 San Buenaventura was reëstablished near Nadadores.[11]

A mission of San Antonio Galindo Montezuma was established in 1698 by the Jaliscans at Las Adjuntas near the junction of the rivers; but on account of

[7] *Masanet, Diario*, MS., 125. Orozco y Berra, *Carta Etnog.*, 302, calls it Santiago de Valladares, in Candela Valley, formed with natives from Boca de Leones, and suppressed in 1747.

[8] *Espinosa, Crónica*, 90–2, 412; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 210–13, 590–1. Arricivita also writes Santiago de Calera, and says it was joined to Caldera, and both given up to the Jaliscans.

[9] *García, Informe*, 30; *Arze y Portería, Informe*, 301; *Morfi, Diario*, 433–4; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 302–3.

[10] *Arze y Portería, Informe*, 292; *García, Informe*, 54; *Revilla Gigedo, Carta*, 445. The latter makes S. Francisco Tlascala founded in 1690, identical with the older Nadadores of 1677. See also *Órdenes de la Corona*, MS., ii. 60; *Mexico, Inf. Cron. Pesq. 1876*, 62.

[11] *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 302.

Toboso raids and the irregular conduct of white settlers, it had to be abandoned. The same year fathers Bartolomé Adame and Manuel Borrego refounded Nombre de Jesus in a new site near that of the later villa of Gigedo, where it remained permanently.[12] It was also in 1698 that the Querétaro friars, Hidalgo and Diego de Salazar, established the mission of Dolores at La Punta, or Lampazos, in Nuevo Leon. The next year Salazar crossed the Rio Sabinas, and founded San Juan Bautista, of which Hidalgo presently took charge. Troubles with the Indians soon caused the abandonment of San Juan; but Hidalgo was joined by padres Antonio Olivares and Marcos Guereña, with whose aid in January 1700 President Salazar rebuilt the mission on a site farther east near the Rio Grande, whence Olivares made an entrada to the Rio Frio in Texas. Bishop Galindo came to this region in December, and at a Christmas junta of bishop, governor, friars, and officers at Dolores, great things were planned for the future. Olivares was sent to Mexico for aid; and the result will appear in annals of the next century.[13]

It is my purpose, as elsewhere explained, to include in these volumes on a certain scale, the history of Texas, down to the time when that country ceased to be a Spanish or Mexican province. Obviously the record could not be omitted from a *History of the North Mexican States*, however slight may seem to some the connection between the gulf coast province and the Pacific States. The peculiarity of territorial relations, however, justifies, as my limits of space necessitate, a more general treatment than is accorded to other parts of the country. Minor details must be for the most part omitted; as also, except in a

[12] *Morfi, Diario*, 424–5, 433–4; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 302–3. Revilla Gigedo, *Carta*, 445; MS., 26–8, regards this as the original founding. Peyotes was the name of a plant growing in the region of the original site.

[13] *Espinosa, Crónica*, 460–4, 528; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 215–16, 237–42; *Morfi, Diario*, 440–1; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 303.

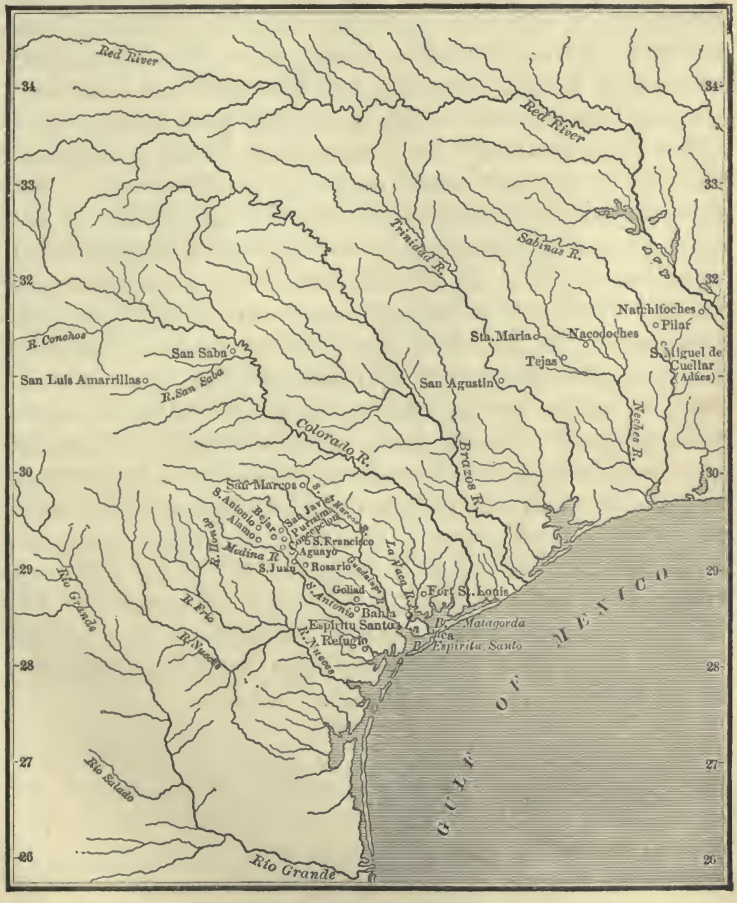
very general sense, the investigation of those broad and fascinating questions of geographical and historical development by which a history of Texas may be so plausibly extended over all the gulf states, the Mississippi Valley, and even Canada—all of the Spanish and French north-east. Yet, notwithstanding these necessary limitations, I shall endeavor to present a satisfactory sketch of the country's annals, and even to throw new light on more than one phase of the subject.

All that belongs to the earliest period of Texan history, that preceding the year 1600, I have occasion to record in other parts of this work; and brief mention will suffice here. At this period all the north-eastern continent above Pánuco, well nigh a tierra incógnita, was covered in a general way by the name Florida. That portion since called Texas had no name, boundaries, or attention; yet it was several times visited during the sixteenth century. The voyages of Ponce de Leon and others to the Florida peninsula need not be recapitulated. In 1519 Alonso Álvarez Pineda, in the service of Garay, coasted the gulf and discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called the Espíritu Santo.[14] Pánfilo de Narvaez, appointed to rule the unknown province of the western gulf coast, started in 1528 with a large company of Spaniards to follow the shore from Florida. They may be regarded as the first Europeans to visit Texas. Indeed all perished in that country, except such as died on the way before reaching it, and except also Cabeza de Vaca who with three companions crossed Texas from the mouth of the San Antonio, regarded by this party as identical with the Espíritu Santo, to the Rio Grande del Norte in 1535 on his way to the Pacific. It is not possible to fix exactly the route followed, which was, however, much farther south than has generally been supposed,[15] probably not

[14] *Navarrete, Col. Viages*, iii. 64, 148, and map. Several other rivers farther west and south are noted on the map without names.

[15] For full details see p. 60 et seq. of this volume.

above latitude 32° at any point. Next, between 1540 and 1543, Texan territory was revisited by two parties of Spaniards from the east and west. Francisco Vazquez de Coronado from the Rio Grande



MAP OF TEXAS.

Valley of the later New Mexico went far out into the plains eastward and north-eastward to Quivira, doubtless crossing northern Texas.[16] The other party was that of Hernando de Soto, who not only navigated

[16] See p. 82 et seq. of this volume; and for full details *Hist. N. Mex. and Ariz.*, this series.

the Mississippi, called by him the Rio Grande de Florida, from about latitude 34° to its mouth, but made, as did his successor Moscoso, a tour far to the westward. There is little doubt that one of these tours led the wanderers into Texas.[17] The routes of Soto and Coronado were far to the north of that followed by Cabeza de Vaca; like the latter they cannot be exactly traced; and it is possible that they crossed each other. In 1549–59 two unsuccessful attempts were made by Cancer and Luna y Arellano to occupy the gulf coast east of the Mississippi; and it is vaguely recorded that about the middle of the century a few survivors from a Spanish treasure-ship wrecked in Florida found their way to Pánuco by land. Without alluding even en résumé to the successive efforts of Spain, France, and England on the Atlantic shores of Florida and the Carolinas, it may be noted here that the Spaniards were in actual possession of Florida from 1565, when St Augustine was founded. Finally we have seen that in the expeditions to New Mexico from 1581 to 1598 the Spaniards repeatedly trod the soil of western Texas along the eastern bank of the Rio Grande; while two parties, those of Espejo and Sosa, followed the course of the Rio Pecos still farther east; and one party at least, under Humaña, penetrated the buffalo plains for some distance north-eastward.

Seventeenth-century annals may be presented in three periods, or topics. The first, one that has received no attention in current histories of Texas, covers more than eighty years and relates wholly to what was learned and conjectured about the country by Spaniards from the interior. On the coast nothing was done or attempted. Governor Oñate of New Mexico marched with eighty men in search of Quivira in 1601, accompanied by padres Velasco and Vergara. After crossing the buffalo plains—home of

[17] See *Hist. North-west Coast*, i. 15, this series.

the roaming vaquero bands—he was joined by a large force of Escanjaques, who when the friars tried to prevent their outrages on the Quiviras, turned against the Spaniards and lost a thousand of their number in battle. Oñate reached the borders of Quivira, and the people after the slaughter of the Escanjaques became friendly, desired an alliance, and proposed a raid into the territory of the Aijaos, not far away, where gold was said to be abundant; but the governor deemed his force too small for further advance. His route is represented as having been in a winding course north-eastward for over two hundred leagues, to a latitude of 39° or 40°, corresponding in a general way with that of Coronado. There is, however, no agreement in details, and no possibility of determining even approximately where he went. I have no doubt that the northern trend and latitude are exaggerated.[18]

In 1606 the Quiviras are said to have come to New Mexico to ask Oñate for aid against the Aijaos; and in 1611 the governor made another expedition to the east, discovering a river called the Colorado.[19] In

[18] *Nuevo Mexico, Memorial, 1602*, 198–9, 209–25; *Id., Discurso y Prop.*, 53–8; *Salmeron, Relaciones*, 26–30; *Niel, Apunt.*, 91–4; *Paredes, Noticias*, 216–17; *Torquemada*, i. 671–3; *Ludovicus Tribaldus*, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1565–6; *Davis' Span. Conq.*, 273–5; *Shea's Exped. Peñalosa*, 91–2. The date is given by most as 1599; several say Oñate started from Sta Fé, not yet founded; Paredes makes the year 1606, substitutes the Aijaos (written also Aijados, Ahijados, Aixaos, and Aixas) for the Escanjaques, and makes the route nearly 300 leagues eastward. He perhaps partially confounds this with a later occurrence. Salmeron says the Aijaos have and work much gold, which they call *tejas*. Two of the tribe were taken and sent to Mexico and Spain, where their knowledge of gold caused much wonder. Niel says the Escanjaques lived 100 leagues N. E. of New Mexico. The Quiviras, according to Salmeron, said that the shortest route to their country was to the north *via* Taos.

[19] On the visit of the Quiviras, Shea, *Exped. Peñalosa*, 92, cites a *Relacion imbiada del Nuevo Mexico*, testimony taken by the governor in 1629. Of the eastern expedition it is said that Oñate (probably his successor) discovered the Canibaros lakes of unknown identity, and also a Rio Colorado, which seems to be that of the Cadaudachos, or the Palizada. *Barreiro, Ojeada*, 7; *Pino, Noticias*, 5. The report is not of much importance, the original authority being unknown. Davis, *El Gringo*, 73–4; *Span. Conq.*, 276–7, changes the Canibaros to 'Cannibals,' and thinks the stream was the Canadian. Shea, p. 93, says the river, identified by some with the Palizada, or Mississippi, was apparently the Red River. He mentions also without date or authority an entrada of PP. Ortega and Yanés, who went 100 l. into the Apache country, then 50 l. east and 50 l. north to a large river of San Francisco.

later years Father Juan de Salas visited the Jumanas about one hundred and twelve leagues eastward of Santa Fé, gaining their good will, so that when the new friars came in 1629 fathers Estévan Perea and Dídaco Lopez were able to accomplish much toward their conversion, besides entering into friendly negotiations with the Aijaos and Quiviras some thirty or forty leagues farther east. But the friars did not remain long in their new field.[20] In 1632 the friars Juan de Salas and Diego Ortega with a small guard again visited the Jumanas, and named the river on which they lived Rio de Nueces from the nuts growing there. The natives were still friendly and Ortega remained with them for six months. Again in 1634, the date being possibly a misprint, Captain Alonso Vaca and party went out some three hundred leagues eastward to the great river across which was Quivira. In 1650 captains Hernan Martin and Diego del Castillo went two hundred leagues to the Jumanas on the Rio Nueces. They remained in the country six months, and went down the river south-eastward for fifty leagues through the countries of the Cuitoas, Escanjaques, and Aijaos, until they reached the home of the Tejas. This party found some pearls which were sent to the viceroy. In 1654, by the viceroy's order, the governor sent Diego de Guadalajara with thirty soldiers and two hundred allies to the Jumanas

[20] *Benavides, Reqveste Remonst.*, 92–103. The author was custodian of the New Mexican missions. The padres were preceded and aided by a lady preacher, whom Benavides at first supposed to be Sor María de la Ascension, an old nun of Carrion, Spain; but whom he later identified with María de Jesus of the Agreda convent, who had often since 1620 been carried by the heavenly hosts to preach in New Mexico. She mentioned the Chillescas, Cambujos, and Titlas east of Quivira. She could speak all their dialects on the ground, but not in Spain. *Benavides*, in *Palou, Vida de Serra*, 331–41. The friar mentions the Japies and Xabatoas in the Quivira region. Shea cites the Spanish original of Benavides' *Memorial*, and another tract, *Tanto que se sacó, 1631*, but omits the distance and direction of the Jumanas from Santa Fé. He notes that on De l'Isle's map of 1700 the Jumanas and Japies are put north of the Missouri, with the Xabotaos between them and the Quiviras. According to *Barcia, Ensayo Cron.*, 266, P. Nicolás Lopez, perhaps the friar mentioned by Benavides, tried later to get permission to undertake the conversion of the eastern tribes, visiting Mexico and sending a memorial to Spain.

on the Nueces. It was learned that the Cuitoas, Escanjaques, and Aijaos were at war. Andrés Lopez was sent to investigate, and after advancing thirty leagues eastward defeated the Cuitoas in a battle that lasted all day, took some prisoners and some hides, and returned to the Nueces; after which the whole company returned to Santa Fé.[21] As will be seen the river thus visited and named Nueces was not the one which bore that name later, but one much farther north.

It is not unlikely that there were other expeditions to the eastern plains, but none such are recorded until 1662. Early in March of that year, if we may credit the narrative, Governor Diego de Peñalosa of New Mexico marched from Santa Fé "to discover the lands of the east," in command of eighty soldiers and a thousand native allies, accompanied by padres Miguel de Guevara and Nicolás de Freitas, the latter of whom wrote the record. The route until early in June was to the east for two hundred leagues, over the most fertile and delightful plains. Then they came to a great river called the Mischipi, where were found the Escanjaques three thousand strong on their way to attack their foes, the Quiviras. With these new allies, turning northward, the Spaniards followed the river for a few days until they saw a great sierra in the north-east and the great city of Quivira on another fine river at or near its junction with the one that had been followed. The Quiviras were friendly, but ran away when their city was attacked by the Escanjaques, who could not be controlled. Peñalosa entered the city and extinguished the flames kindled by his allies but could find no people; and he started to return on June 11th, being presently attacked by seven thousand ungrateful Escanjaques and having to

[21] *Paredes, Noticias*, 214–18. According to *Escalante, Carta*, 125, about this time some families of backsliders from Taos went out into the buffalo plains, fortified a place called Cuartalejo, and remained until the governor sent a force under Archuleta to bring them back. They had some copper implements from the Quivira tribes.

kill one thousand of them in battle. Four months after his return, a Quivira cacique with seven hundred followers came to Santa Fé with gifts to render thanks for the punishment of their foes, and give new information about the great cities of the interior.[22]

The events just noted fill but a small part of the narrative, which is chiefly made up of the most extravagant praises of the fertility and natural resources of this north-eastern paradise; of falsehoods about the city of Quivira, the streets of which, lined with buildings of three or four stories, extended for leagues in every direction, farther than the Spaniards had time to explore, though they counted thousands of houses; with reports from the Quiviras of still greater wonders beyond, notably in the land of the Aijaos, called also Teguayo, beyond the sierra, where were rich gold mines known also to the English in Virginia and the French in Canada; and with various interpolated expressions of geographic theory or opinion respecting the interests of Spain. It is not necessary to present these vagaries in detail; for I am convinced that the whole narrative is a mere fabrication by Peñalosa, and that no such expedition was made by him. The story was founded on Oñate's expedition of 1601, supplemented by rumors current in New Mexico, eked out with a fertile imagination; though the governor may possibly have made some slight explorations in the east. The close resemblance of this entrada in several leading features to that of Oñate must have been

[22] *Freytas, Relacion del Descubrimiento del Pais y Ciudad de Quivira, echo por D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, etc. Escrita por el Padre Fr. Nicolás de Freytas, etc.* Printed with an English translation, and notes on Peñalosa, Quivira, and La Salle's expedition, in *Shea's Expedition of Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, from Santa Fé to the River Mischipi and Quivira in 1662.* New York, 1882. 8vo, 100 p. This is a most interesting and important contribution to the earliest history of Texas, though I cannot agree with the editor's views respecting Peñalosa's expedition. A copy of Freitas' relation—copied by Navarrete for the Spanish archives in 1791 and this by Buckingham Smith in 1856—was given by Peñalosa in 1684 to Seignelai, French minister of the navy. The original is said by Peñalosa to have been sent to the king of Spain in 1663, with a printed memorial by Don Diego himself, not known to be extant. There is no question of the genuineness of the document as published by Shea.

noted by the reader. Peñalosa was a reckless adventurer from South America, whose name it will be remembered was connected with Admiral Fonte's famous and fictitious voyage to the north-west coast in 1640. There are many petty items of circumstancial evidence bearing on this subject, for which I have no space; but especially is it to be noted that Father Paredes, custodian of New Mexico during Peñalosa's term of office, in a special report on eastern exploration drawn out by Peñalosa's own projects, does not mention any expedition whatever by that officer. This is to me conclusive. The governor desired to engage in north-eastern conquest, and doubtless exaggerated the rumored wealth of those regions in memorials to viceroy and king; but that he sent the fictitious narrative in question to Spanish authorities may be doubted. It is more probable that he wrote it later for use in France, in connection with projects of which I shall have more to say presently; and that he falsely stated it to be a copy of Freitas' relation previously sent to Spain.

We hear no more of matters on the eastern plains until 1683, after the Spaniards had been driven from New Mexico and were at El Paso in the south awaiting an opportunity for a new conquest of the north. A native of the Jumana tribe came to El Paso with a request for friars to convert his people, bringing also a report about the province of the Tejas, represented as one of the most fertile and rich in America. Padre Nicolás Lopez, the vice-custodian, resolved to visit the country in 1684, with padres Juan de Zavaleta and Antonio Acebedo. Governor Jironza organized a volunteer guard under Juan Domingo de Mendoza. The party went down the Rio del Norte to the Conchos junction, where Acebedo remained, and thence out into the plains across the Rio Pecos, called the Salado, and after many days reached a ranchería of mixed Jumanas and Hediodondos. Then they returned to the Junta de los

Rios, and on the way occurred trouble between Mendoza and the volunteers, causing scandal among the gentiles and mortification to the friars. Padre Lopez subsequently visited Mexico and sent memorials to Spain, with a view to undertake the conversion of the eastern tribes; and Mendoza also became enthusiastic in the project, averring that he had visited Quivira in 1684 and penetrated within twenty leagues of the Tejas.[23]

Meanwhile Peñalosa had left New Mexico in 1664, and had made earnest efforts to interest the government in his projects of north-eastern conquest. But he became involved in a quarrel with the inquisition, by which body he was accused of talking against the church and the santo officio, and of saying things bordering on blasphemy. He was sentenced in February to march through the streets bareheaded, carrying a green candle in his hand. This he did, attracting much attention by his handsome person, proud bearing, and fashionable attire.[24] It is also said that his property had been confiscated and that he had been left nearly three years in prison. However this may have been, he sailed in 1669, went to the Canaries, visited London, and finally turned up in Paris, as we shall see.[25] In the mean time his proposition to conquer the rich realms of Quivira and Teguayo had attracted some attention at court, and by a royal cédula of December 1678 an investigation was ordered with no recorded results. In 1685 the order was repeated in connection with rumors of French projects. Viceroy Laguna called on Padre Alonso Paredes, for many years a missionary in New Mexico, for a report, which was rendered apparently in 1686, and which is the best statement extant respecting

[23] *Escalante, Carta de 1778*, 121–2; *Barcia, Ensayo Cronológico para a Historia Gen. de la Florida*, 266.

[24] *Robles, Diario*, 56–7; *Alaman, Disertaciones*, iii. app., 35–6; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 412–13.

[25] Biographical sketch of Peñalosa quoted from Margry, in *Shea's Exped.*, 8–12.

the current ideas of north-eastern geography among intelligent men not personally interested in any adventurous scheme of conquest.[26]

Paredes gives a chronologic account, utilized in the preceding pages, of the successive expeditions to the east. He pronounced the current reports of eastern wealth, magnificence, and civilization to have no foundation in actual discoveries. But he admitted the existence of tribes living by agriculture and far superior to the roaming savages. His idea was that these savages occupied a strip along the gulf coast about fifty leagues in width; that the roaming Apache bands inhabited the territory in the west adjoining New Mexico to the extent of one hundred leagues and more; and that between the two were the superior tribes whose country was also about one hundred leagues wide. These tribes were the Tejas in the south extending a hundred leagues from the Rio del Norte to the Nueces; and the Quiviras from the Nueces northward to an unknown distance. There are indications, however, in his own narrative, that his Rio Nueces was not the stream now bearing that name, but the Colorado or even Brazos, farther north; and that such was the case is shown by the fact that the Tejas were found in later years between the Colorado and Trinidad; though the Jumanas were found as far south as the Guadalupe. In the matter of rivers, however, there is hopeless confusion, as is natural enough in describing a slightly explored country where the streams are so numerous. The author gives an accurate idea of the Rio del Norte, Pecos, or Salado, and of the Colorado of the west; but he describes the Nueces as rising north-east of the pueblo of Pecos, flowing east and south, and becoming equal to the Rio del Norte in size; and he

[26] *Paredes, Utiles y Curiosas Noticias del Nuevo-Mexico, Cibola, y otras naciones confinantes... Copia de un informe hecho á S. M. sobre las tierras del Nuevo Mexico (1686).* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 211–25. The author at the time of writing was definidor and procurador-general of the Franciscans in Mexico.

describes only one other river, a very large one flowing through the middle of Quivira, probably into Espíritu Santo Bay, and formed of two branches from the east and north. I have deemed it best to present some details in a note. It is probable that the confusion is increased by typographical defects.[27]

[27] Sta Fé is in 37.° Farther N. in 38° or 39° are sierras from which on one side rivers run to the western ocean, as the Rio Grande (Colorado of the West), and on the other to the east. The Rio del Norte rises in these Mts and flows S., and later somewhat E., entering the sea in 26°. The Salado (Pecos) rises in the same Mts, flowing S. to join the Norte. The Rio Nueces rises in the same region, N. E. of Pecos, flows between E. and S., and after 200 l. is equal to the Norte and 80 l. distant from it at the Conchos junction. (This distance would point to the Colorado, and the source to the Canadian.) On this river lived the Jumanas, Cuitoas, Escanjaques, and Aijaos, before reaching the Tejas. The Tejas live in 28°, 250 l. from Sta Fé; their country extending 100 l. from the Norte to the Nueces (the lat. favors the modern Nueces, the extent from the Norte points to the Brazos), and adjoining the Quiviras in the N. The Aijados join the Quiviras in the N., and the Tejas in the E.

North of Sta Fé and perhaps 30 or 40 l. N. of the Mts already mentioned is the lofty Sierra Blanca; and in the same direction in 54° are very high and inaccessible sierras, covered with snow, extending far N. and E. Beyond these Mts is the Strait of Anian. From the eastern slopes of these Sierras Nevadas run the rivers that water the country N. E. of Florida, where the foreigners are, such as the Pohuatan, Chuare, S. Lorenzo, and Jordan from 38° to 34.° From the S. E. slopes run rivers to Florida; from the southern slopes to Quivira. From the Sierra Blanca a river runs E.; joins another coming S. from the Sierra Nevada; the two form the Rio Grande which flows 250 l. a little S. of E.; then turns S. for 30 l.; then makes a new turn to the right, flows through the middle of Quivira, and is apparently the river that enters the bay of Espíritu Santo. (It is evident that several rivers are in some way united in one to form the extraordinary course here described; which they are I do not venture to decide. That portion running through Quivira would seem to be the Trinidad, Red, or Arkansas. It is elsewhere stated that this stream is 100 l. above the Nueces, the boundary between the Tejas and Quiviras. Shea, p. 21, cites a map of Minet, La Salle's engineer, in which the Mississippi flows S. E., then W., then S. E. to the gulf, the Arkansas having three mouths, and Quivira being S. of its head-waters.) Vaca is said to have reached this Rio Grande by going nearly 300 l. E. from Sta Fé. Quivira extends about 50 l. (?) N. from this river, widening much toward S. (west?) and bounded (on east?) by the great river from the Sierras Nevadas.

The Apache territory extends 400 l. (?) E. and W., and over 200 l. from N. to S., bounded on the E. by Quivira and Tejas, and having the plains of Cíbola in the centre. The Aijados, Cuitoas, Escanjaques, and Jumanas are driven S. from their river of Nueces toward the Norte. North-eastward from Sta Fé, across the Rio Grande (Colorado) is the country of the Yutas; and beyond them is Teguayo, or Copala, only known by report. In the far north Teguayo may widen eastward and Quivira westward so as to join, or nearly so.

From Sta Fé as a centre, S. E. ¼ S. 200 l. is Junta de los Rios; S. E. 200 l., country of the Aijaos on the Nueces, and 70 l. farther through the Tejas, the bay of the Rio Bravo in 25° 30′; S. E. ¼ E. 280 l., over the plains of Cíbola, is Quivira, and 150 l. farther on the coast, the bay of Espíritu Santo in 29° 30′; E. S. E. 200 l., end of the buffalo plains, and 300 l. farther, S. Agustin, Florida; E. ¼ S. E. 150 l., the Rio Grande from the Sierra Nevada and Quivira, and 490 l. farther, the Ensenada de Todos Santos in the middle of New France in 34°;

From what has been thus presented it will be evident I think to the reader, that while it is impossible to so separate fact from theory in the records as to definitely locate routes, streams, and tribes mentioned, it is to the east and south-east of Santa Fé, to the Indian Territory and Texas of modern maps, that we must look for the scene of Spanish explorations in this century; and that there is no need of placing Quivira in the far north-east or beyond the Missouri as many writers are fond of doing.

We have seen that Tejas was the name of one of the tribes in the south, as the Spaniards understood it from their neighbors rather than from the people themselves. This word, or another of similar sound, was probably not the aboriginal name of the tribe, or group of tribes, but a descriptive term in their language or that of their neighbors. Indeed, there is some evidence that the word meant 'friends.' The name was retained by the Spaniards and applied to the province. It was sometimes written in old-style Spanish, Texas, and this form has been adopted in English with a corresponding change in pronunciation.[23]

The second period of Texan annals includes events connected with attempts of France to occupy the country from 1682 to 1687. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, being commissioned by Louis XIV. in

E. 100 l. and a little more, Quivira, and 200 l. farther, the country of the Capuchies, and 400 l. farther, the Rio Pohuatan (Powhattan), or Rio Nevado, and bay of Espíritu Santo in 37°; N. E. ¼ E. ... the Sierras Nevadas in 53°. 'Querer decir ó referir todos los rios y arroyos que hay por una parte y otra, era proceder in infinito.'

[23] Tejas and Texas are pronounced in Spanish, *tay-hass*. The Spanish word *tejas* means 'tiles.' It will be remembered that Salmeron says the Aijaos called their gold *tejas*. On the origin of the word as applied to the tribe, see *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Texas*, MS., 1; *Solis, Diario*, MS., 346; *Filisola, Mem. Hist. Guerra*, i. 29–30; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 279; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 78; *Kennedy's Texas*, i. 217; *Smith's Remin.*, 26, etc. The common version is that Leon in 1688 applied the term *texia*, or 'friends,' which clung to the tribe as a name; but the name, as we have seen, originated earlier. There were several different tribal names used in the vicinity later. The Cenis of the French and the Asinais were the same or kindred people. Teran, *Diario*, MS., 74, writes in 1691 of 'the kingdom of the Texas, or Teisa, which nation is called by the natives Asinay, or Teixa, which in their language means friend.'

1678 to discover the "western part of New France," "through which it is probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico," descended the Mississippi, called Colbert in honor of the French minister, and in April 1682 took formal possession at the mouths of the great river, naming the country Louisiane in honor of his king.[29] The explorer then went to France to fit out an expedition by sea with a view to the permanent occupation of the regions explored, and the extension of French rule from Canada to the gulf. In his memorials to the crown he dwelt with enthusiasm on the value of his own services, on the wealth and extent of the countries discovered, on the danger of encroachments from other nations if action were delayed; and he also declared that the occupation of Louisiane being accomplished, "we can effect there for the glory of our king very important conquests, both by sea and land; or, if peace should oblige us to delay the execution of them, we might, without giving any cause of complaint, make preparations to render us certain of success whenever it shall please the king to command it." The provinces to be seized were represented as rich in silver mines; their defenders as few, effeminate, and indolent. Thus is outlined the proposed encroachment on the Spanish territory of Nueva Vizcaya; but there is much more to be noted on that phase of the subject.

Don Diego de Peñalosa, disappointed in his hopes of obtaining redress for alleged wrongs at the hands of the Spanish government, was now in France seeking to repair his fortunes and avenge his wrongs by foreign aid. It was under these circumstances doubtless that he fabricated the narrative of his own exploration of 1662 as already noted. Several of his memorials to the French government are extant.[30]

[29] The documents connected with La Salle's expeditions have been published in many different forms, which I do not propose to catalogue or index. One of the best sources of original information on the subject is *French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida.*

[30] These are given in extracts in *Shea's Exped. of Peñalosa,* 12–23, being cited for the most part from Margry.

His project was not in 1682 as formerly one of exploration and aboriginal conquest in the regions northeast of New Mexico; but it was to settle at the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte a colony of French *flibustiers* from Santo Domingo, and from that point, in the first war with Spain, or whenever Louis might permit it, to effect the conquest of Nueva Vizcaya with its rich mines from Sombrerete to Parral. The great value of the prize to be seized and the ease with which it could be secured under the leadership of a man so well acquainted with the country were set forth in much detail. After the arrival of La Salle in 1683, full of enthusiasm for a similar project, except that the centre of operations was to be a fort at the mouth of the lately explored Mississippi, Peñalosa modified his scheme somewhat, and urged that it and that of La Salle would serve to support each other, gaining for France not only Nueva Vizcaya but the broad tract between that province and the Mississippi. He now proposed to land with a filibuster army a thousand strong, under the command of himself and the buccaneer chief Grammont, at Pánuco as a base of operations instead of the mouth of the Rio del Norte.

No documentary evidence so far as I know has been produced to show that Peñalosa's scheme was approved by the government or acted upon. Nothing more is known of Don Diego except that he died at Paris in 1687. There is proof that he and La Salle met and were acquainted with each other's projects; and there are indications in the statements of La Salle's associate, Beaujeu, that Peñalosa's forces were expected to follow and coöperate with the colony. Mr Shea concludes that a double expedition was formally planned by the government; that La Salle was despatched with the understanding that the filibusters were to follow the next year; but that, for some not very clearly defined reason, the whole enterprise was abandoned after his departure; also that it was on

account of Peñalosa's expected coöperation that La Salle went to Texas rather than to the mouth of the Mississippi. I think, however, there is room for doubt respecting all these conclusions, especially the last. However this may have been, La Salle was authorized by letters patent of April 14, 1684, to rule over "the country which will be subject anew to our dominion in North America, from Fort St Louis on the Illinois River unto New Biscay."

The expedition sailed from Rochelle in August 1684 in two frigates, the *Joli* to return and the *Belle* presented by the king for the use of the colony, with two store-ships, the *Aimable* and *St François*. Including the crews there were nearly three hundred persons on the fleet. One hundred men, the scum of the French towns, were recruited as soldiers; thirty were volunteers, for the most part gentlemen by birth; there were besides artisans, laborers, and servants; many families of colonists; a number of girls seeking husbands; four Recollet Franciscans, and three priests, one of whom, Cavelier, was La Salle's brother.[31] The fleet was under the command of Captain Beaujeu, of the navy, who quarrelled seriously with La Salle before leaving France and throughout the voyage, throwing every possible obstacle in his way. Indeed the leader, by his haughty reserve and harsh enforcement of unquestioning obedience to his orders, made many enemies and few friends. Late in September the fleet reached Santo Domingo, the *St François* laden with munitions and tools for the colony having been captured by the Spaniards. For two months La Salle at Petit Goive was confined to his bed by fever, while his vagabond followers, free from all control, gave themselves up to every kind of dissipation and vice. Finally the three

[31] The Franciscans were Zenobe Membré, Anastase Douay, and Maxime Le Clercq. Two of the priests were Cavelier, a brother of La Salle, and Chedeville. Cavelier and Moranget were nephews of the leader. Other members whose names are prominently mentioned are: Joutel, Sablonnière, Le Gros, Duhaut, Liotot, Barbier, Hiens (or James, a German buccaneer), Marle, and Teissier.

vessels sailed again late in November, the leader on the store-ship *Aimable.*

From the time the fleet entered the gulf waters, entirely unknown to all on board, we have no definite account of Beaujeu's course in the *Joli* and *Belle;* though there is some evidence that he reached and recognized the mouth of the Mississippi.[32] La Salle was disposed to believe that he was off the mouth of his river Colbert the 6th of January 1685, but his pilot thought otherwise; nothing was known of the longitude of the point sought, and it was decided to go on westward. When he had reached a point below the present Matagorda Bay and was sure he had gone too far, he was joined by the other vessels. Here there was trouble with Beaujeu respecting a continuation of the search; but the difficulty was soon removed to a certain extent as they advanced northward by land and water until they came to a stream that La Salle thought to be one of the outlets of the Mississippi. The *Belle* entered Matagorda Bay, but the *Aimable* was wrecked in crossing the bar on February 20th, a large portion of her cargo being lost. Captain Beaujeu was willing to accept La Salle's theory that they had reached their destination, whatever may have been his own opinion; and the leader was willing to be rid of his unmanageable captain. Accordingly the latter sailed for France in the *Joli* early in March, taking with him some of the colonists who were discouraged by the hostile attitude of the natives, and refusing to deliver some stores claimed to have been intended for the colony.[33]

[32] This evidence is in a map in the French archives cited by Parkman, *Discov. of the Great West*, 330. The author thinks that Beaujeu visited the Mississippi after he left La Salle in Texas; but Shea, *Exped.*, 21, tells us that Mr Parkman has changed his mind, now believing the visit to have been before the arrival in Texas, and that probably Galveston Bay was mistaken for the river's mouth.

[33] Beaujeu is charged with premeditated treachery; and it was believed even that the store-ship was wrecked intentionally. My space does not permit a discussion of the complicated details; but I find little evidence of such villainy. The jealousy and controversy between the two leaders from the start has been alluded to. Beaujeu's position throughout seems to have been

About one hundred and eighty persons were thus left on the south-western shore of Matagorda Bay, called by the Frenchmen St Louis and by the Spaniards later San Bernardo and Espíritu Santo, where a rude fort was built. Exploration soon showed that the inlet was not connected with the Mississippi, a discovery which changed entirely the aspect of affairs. The fort, named like the bay, St Louis, was moved to a better site a short distance up the river, named La Vache and still so called under the Spanish form Lavaca.[34] Carpenters and other mechanics knew nothing of their pretended trades; slight attempts at agriculture were not successful; but game and fish were plentiful. The vagabond soldiers and settlers had no idea of discipline; many of them

in spirit: 'This man is not fit to command such an expedition; his scheme is a mad one; his course must end in disaster; but he admits no counsel or protest; opposes every measure suggested; let him go on; I have but to carry him to the mouth of his famous river and leave him there.' This was not a commendable spirit, but it was one hard to avoid under such a leader; and there seems to be no proof of anything more criminal on the part of the naval officer.

Nor can I agree with Mr Shea's opinion that La Salle went intentionally past the mouth of the Mississippi as part of the proposed operations against New Biscay, intending to wait there for Peñalosa. It is true he intended ultimately to invade the Spanish provinces, and hoped for reënforcements from France; but it is very doubtful that there was any definite arrangement to meet Peñalosa at a fixed latitude in the south; and on any other hypothesis his action would have been inexplicable, since the Mississippi was much the better base of operations. Moreover there was no motive for the suppression of the real motive attributed by Shea to the French government, since the landing on the Texan coast was in no sense an invasion of Spanish territory; that is, he had as good a right to land there as anywhere on the coast. Better founded is Shea's criticism that 'La Salle aided the destruction of his party by his utter unfitness for colonization. It is not easy to conceive how intelligent writers have exalted a man of such utter incapacity into a hero. Neither in Illinois nor in Texas did he attempt to clear ground and plant Indian corn or wheat, to supply food or give means for trade; in neither did he attempt to purchase a stock of furs or other merchandise to send back and purchase supplies for further trade; in Texas his last vessel lay idle till it was wrecked. He made no attempt to obtain a cargo to send by her to the West Indies, to obtain relief, and show what the country would produce. He did not even march with his whole party to the friendly Cénis' (Asinais, or Tejas), 'and form a settlement near Tonty's post on the Arkansas. He loitered idly around, waiting apparently for Peñalosa.' *Shea's Exped.*, 22–3.

[34] It is stated that about 40 miles from the fort were found the remains of a temporary fortification, bearing the arms of Spain and the date 1588 on a copper plate. There is no other evidence that the Spaniards had been in that region at such a date.

were suffering from deadly and loathsome diseases contracted in Santo Domingo; and the leading men were divided into hostile cliques, several minor conspiracies being revealed. The leader showed unlimited courage, but became more haughty and unjust as difficulties multiplied, and was hated by many in his company. Under these circumstances it took all summer to provide for the shelter and defense of the colony. Meanwhile a few men were killed by the natives, who were shy and hostile; a few deserted to lead a savage life; a few lost their lives by drowning; one was hanged, another killed by a rattlesnake; and more than thirty died of disease.

Meanwhile there was apparently no thought of the south; and very little of a permanent settlement at St Louis. The *Belle* was not sent down the coast in search of a French expedition, nor in any direction to carry reports or bring supplies. Attention was turned exclusively to the Mississippi. In November La Salle started with thirty men to find the great river, returning in March 1686 unsuccessful. In the mean time the *Belle,* not far from the bay, had lost one boat's crew killed by the savages, another by drowning, and had finally been wrecked, only eight men surviving. After a serious illness La Salle resolved to go by the Mississippi and Illinois to Canada for succor; and he started with twenty men in April, leaving Joutel in command at St Louis. He returned with only eight men in October, the rest having deserted or perished. He had been hospitably received by the Cénis of the Trinity River,[35] and had spent two months ill of fever on the Neches or Sabine river farther on. Of one hundred and eighty persons left by Beaujeu at St Louis less than fifty now survived. Canada seemed still the only source of possible relief;

[35] Where he had seen many articles of Spanish origin, obtained by trade from roving tribes who had visited New Mexico. The natives of this region are said to have been willing to join the Frenchmen in an attack on the Spaniards. Horses were obtained from the Cénis.

and early in January 1687 La Salle started again for the north with twenty companions.

In March, when the travellers had reached the Trinity River, Duhaut and Liotot, men who had sworn vengeance for wrongs real and fancied, gained half a dozen adherents and murdered La Salle, with his nephew Moranget and two followers. The conspirators soon quarrelled among themselves, and the two leaders were killed. About half of the survivors remained among the natives, and most of them were never heard of again; the other half under Joutel went on to the Arkansas, where they met some Frenchmen, left there by Tonty, who from Canada had visited the mouth of the Mississippi in an unsuccessful attempt to succor La Salle's party. The next year Tonty made another visit to the region where Jontel's companions had been left, but could find no trace of them alive, and was unable to continue his march to the colony at St Louis.

This colony of about twenty persons, left on the Texan coast at the beginning of 1687, was under the command of Barbier. The little that is known of their fate was learned by the Spaniards on their arrival to be noted later. These unfortunates could do nothing but wait. Small-pox was added to other sources of suffering; and finally about the end of 1688 the survivors were attacked by the savages and killed, except four or five who were made captives, and were subsequently given up to the Spaniards. There were at this time perhaps twenty or more Frenchmen living among the natives, having left La Salle's company at different times. Of these, two or three, besides the captives, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; a few were known to have been killed; but of most nothing was ever known. Much has been written and printed about La Salle and his enterprise;[36] and the subject, thus outlined for my purpose, has received most satis-

[36] *Parkman's Discov. of the great West.*, 302–402. This writer made a study not only of printed material but of many original manuscripts from the French

factory treatment at the hands of Parkman, the historian of French colonization in America.

The third and final topic of seventeenth-century annals is that relating to what was done by the Spaniards in consequence of the French operations just recorded. Information of La Salle's projects was obtained in 1684, probably from the crew of the captured *St François*, though she is mentioned as a French corsair taken on the coast of Yucatan. Not much alarm was felt, if we may judge from the fact that nothing was done, except with the pen, for two years. I have already noted the report obtained from Father Paredes. In 1686–7, however, two or three expeditions were sent under Juan Enrique Barroto and Andrés Perez to search for Frenchmen on the gulf coasts. They found at last the wreck of the *Belle* or *Aimable*, but nothing more. The colonists are said to have once seen a sail in the distance and to have been in great fear; but, whether fortunately or unfortunately it is hard to say, the vessel passed on.[37] Meanwhile a Frenchman known as Juan Enrique, an early deserter from the colony knowing nothing of La Salle's fate or that of those left at St Louis, found his way to Coahuila, told his story, and was sent to Mexico.

The viceroy now ordered Governor Alonso de Leon of Coahuila to march with a force to Espíritu Santo

archives, and from private sources. In matters of detail, far beyond the scope of my treatment, there are many topics affording ground for discussion. I also refer the reader to *Joutel, Journal Historique; Le Clercq, Hist. Colonies Françaises; Prévost, Hist. Gen. Voy.; Bossu, Nouveaux Voyages; Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS.; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i.; *Fournel, Coup d'Œil*, 7–22; *Falconer's Discov. Miss.*, 16 et seq.; *Monette's Discov. Miss.*, i. 148–53; *Kennedy's Texas*, i. 212 et seq.; *Smith's Address; Amer. Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, i. 93 et seq.; *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xiii. 225; *Domenech's Jour.*, 20–1; *Voyages, World Displayed*, v. 96; *Onis, Memoria*, 49–57; *Annals of Congress, 1819*, ii. app.; *Mexico in 1842*, 153–4, etc., also many of the Spanish authorities cited in later notes of this chapter.

[37] *Robles, Diario*, 439, 463, 466–7, 475, 480, 484; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 66, 85–7; *Texas, Dictámen Fiscal*, 1716, MS.; *Bonilla, Breve Comp.*, MS.; *Barcia, Ensayo Cron.*, 249–87; *Parkman's Discov.*, 331. Morfi says Barroto went to Spain for instructions, and implies that nothing was done

Bay; and accordingly with over one hundred men, guided by the Frenchman and accompanied by Padre Damian Masanet as chaplain, Leon started from Monclova on March 23, 1689. Crossing the Rio del Norte above the Salado junction, he crossed and named on his way north-eastward the rivers Nueces, Hondo, Medina, and Guadalupe, still so called;[38] and on April 22d arrived at the site of the French fort. He had learned from natives a little before the fate of the colony; and he had visited a ranchería on the Guadalupe, where four of the captives had lived, but they had recently departed for the country of the Tejas[39] in the north. At the fort were found broken muskets, dismounted cannon, many volumes of French works scattered and torn, and the remains of three colonists, which were buried with religious services. Many relics were also found among the natives, and traces of the wrecks on the bay shores. The Spaniards also went farther north to a great river, which they named San Marcos, since called the Colorado, which they followed nearly to its mouth. A letter had been sent to the Frenchmen and an answer was received from L'Archevêque, who with Grollet soon made his appearance.[40] Both were subsequently sent to Spain and imprisoned. Leon returned by the same route he had come, and dated his diary, or report, the 13th of May.[41]

before the land expedition was despatched. There are several differences between the authorities, on details of little importance. Robles states that the expedition of 1687 rescued a Spanish boy, one of the crew of Castro's ship wrecked at Espíritu Santo, the others having been killed by the natives. Nothing more is known of this wreck.

[38] The Nueces was not, however, the stream vaguely known by that name before. The San Antonio was called Leon.

[39] It is noticeable that Leon did not at first, as many writers state, visit a tribe which he named Tejas from their word for 'friends;' but that he heard of the Tejas as a people said to live several days' journey beyond the Guadalupe. Later, however, he says he met the Frenchmen in a Tejas ranchería on or near the Rio Colorado.

[40] These were not of the captives, who were, however, given up to the Spaniards later. L'Archevêque was one of the party that murdered La Salle, and Grollet had deserted and gone to live with the Tejas or Cenis still earlier. These men claimed to have buried 14 of the victims after the massacre.

[41] *Leon, Derrotero de la Jornada que hizo el General Alonso de Leon para*

Leon had brought very favorable reports about the country; Padre Masanet went to Mexico with rose-colored tales of friendly and superior natives ready for conversion; and some additional rumors were received respecting new attempts by the French. Therefore, besides sending Admiral Pez with the two Frenchmen to agitate the matter at court, Viceroy Galve resolved to send Leon on a second expedition and to make a beginning of missionary occupation. Masanet obtained from the Santa Cruz college of Querétaro three Franciscans: Miguel Foncubierta, Francisco Casañas de Jesus María, and Antonio Bordoy.

The company of about one hundred men left Monclova late in March 1690, followed the former route, and arrived without difficulty at the region of Espíritu Santo Bay. In May the chief of the Tejas came to greet the strangers, and guided them to his town on or near the river later known as Trinidad. The settlement was called by the Spaniards San Francisco de los Tejas. Mass was said in a newly erected wooden chapel on the 25th of May; and the mission of San Francisco seems to have been formally founded the 1st of June. Padre Foncuberta was left by Masanet as president; a few soldiers remained to protect the mission, though no daňger was apprehended; and Leon's company returned to Coahuila. They had left breeding cattle and horses at different points; and had rescued five French captives, one of them a

el Descubrimiento de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo y Poblacion de Franceses, Año de 1689, MS.; *Leon, Carta en que se da noticia de un viaje hecho á la Bahía de Espíritu Santo*. In *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 25. A letter of May 18th, not signed, but evidently written by Leon. Parkman, *Discov.*, 399–400, cites a MS., map showing the route, in Margry's collection. See also *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 87–91. June 7th, six men of the party have arrived with the news. *Robles, Diario*, iii. 15. See also on this expedition, with mention of La Salle's enterprise as revealed by it, *Espinosa, Crón.*, 407–9; *Caro, Tres Siglos*, ii. 72–3; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 261–7; *Bonilla, Breve Comp.*, MS.; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 331–3; *Peña, Diario*, MS.; *Texas, Dict. Fiscal, 1716*, MS., 229–30; *Mexico, Inf. Com. Pesq., 1874*, 110; *Alvarez, Estud. Hist.*, iii. 201–4; *Lacunza, Discursos* (xxxv. 505); *Tornel, Tejas*, 17–19; *Robertson's Hist. Amer.*, ii. 1019; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 440–51; *Barcia, Ensayo Cron.*, 294; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist.*, 259–90.

woman, hearing of several other companions of La Salle still living among the natives.[42]

The viceroy's acts were confirmed by the king; and it was ordered in September 1690 that more extensive operations should be undertaken by land and sea. Galve then appointed Domingo Teran de los Rios governor of Coahuila and Texas, to undertake the enterprise with fifty soldiers, forty men being sent by sea to aid in the work. Governor Teran's instructions were dated January 23, 1691. They required a thorough exploration of the country, a reduction of the natives by kindness without the use of force, and the establishment of eight missions.[43] Nine Franciscans chiefly brought from Mexico for this purpose accompanied Father Masanet on this expedition.[44] Teran left Monclova May 16th and joined the friars on the Sabinas five days later. Of the march to the Rio San Marcos, or Colorado, where they arrived on June 26th, there is nothing to be said except that both the commander and the padres applied new names to most of the streams crossed, and that some rancherías of the Jumanas were visited on the Rio Guadalupe.[45]

From the camp on the Colorado, Captain Francisco Martinez was sent with twenty men to Espíritu Bay on July 3d to meet the sea expedition. He returned

[42] *Tejas, Dict. Fiscal*, MS., 230–4; *Espinosa, Crón.*, 409–10; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 91–4; *Bonilla, Breve Comp.*, MS. Aug. 15, 1690, news received at Mexico. *Robles, Diario*, iii. 44. May 25th considered as the date of Spanish acquisition of Texas. *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 43.

[43] *Teran de los Rios, Instrucciones dadas por el Superior Gobierno para que se observen en la entrada de la provincia de Tejas.* In *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 57 et seq.

[44] Francisco Hidalgo, Nicolás Prevo, Miguel Estela, Pedro Fortuni, Pedro García, Ildefonso Monge, José Saldaña, Antonio Miranda, Juan de Garaicoechea, three 'donados,' and a boy. *Masanet, Diario*, MS., 125.

[45] *Teran de los Rios, Descripcion y Diaria Demarcacion executada por el General, 1691–2.* MS. In *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 64 et seq. Extends from May 16, 1691, to April 15, 1692. *Masanet, Diario que hicieron los Padres Misioneros, 1691.* MS. In *Id.*, 124 et seq.; ends August 2d. The Nueces was called San Norberto and San Diego; the Rio Frio, S. Feliciano; Rio Hondo, S. Bartolomé and S. Pedro; Medina, S. Basilio and S. Luis Beltran; San Antonio, so called by Teran and Masanet; Guadalupe, S. Agustin and Sta Rosa, with a branch called by both S. Juan; S. Marcos (Colorado of the French), S. Pedro y San Pablo and Rosario; Trinidad, Encarnacion; (Brazos), Espíritu Santo and S. Francisco Solano (perhaps also on return S. Cárlos and Colorado). The diaries contain a large amount of detail.

on the 17th, having found no trace of the vessel, but bringing two French captives whom he had ransomed.[46] Four days later the company moved on, crossed the Rio Trinidad on the 31st, and on August 4th arrived at the mission of San Francisco de los Tejas. Here there had been much sickness among the natives since Leon's departure, and Padre Foncubierta had died; but Casañas and Bordoy were still at work at San Francisco and another mission near by called Jesus María y José. Teran named the province "el nuevo reino de la Nueva Montaña de Santander y Santillana." Late in August the governor returned to the old French fort of St Louis, and on September 8th met the sea expedition under Captain Gregorio Salinas Varona, who had come from Vera Cruz in a schooner and had landed the 2d of July, though Martinez had not been able to find him. On account of floods the united expeditions did not reach the missions on their return till the 26th of October.

From November 6th to the end of December Teran was engaged in an exploration northward, hindered much by snow and high water, to the province of the Cadodachos on a deep river, which was explored to a slight extent in a canoe, presumably the Red River. From the starting-point of Santa María mission, in the country of the Asinais, on the Rio San Miguel—perhaps the Neches—the distance traversed was about fifty leagues; and two intermediate rivers are named, the San Diego and Rio Grande de Santa Cecilia. The Cadodachos were found to be friendly and willing to receive missionaries.[47] Early in January 1692—though it had originally been intended that a large part of the force should remain as citi-

[46] *Martinez, Diario del Viaje, 1691.* MS. In *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 149 et seq. Meanwhile reports came to camp from the Cadodachos that 10 Frenchmen had come among them. The natives also spoke of a vessel that had been wrecked in the bay five months before. It seems, *Texas, Dict. Fiscal*, that a vessel had been sent to explore the bay in 1690, sailing from Vera Cruz in October.

[47] *Teran, Derrota y Tanteo en la tierra que hice al nuevo descubrimiento de la Nacion de los Cadodachos*, etc., MS., in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 87, etc. A subdivision of the general diary.

zens and settlers—the army again left the missions for the south, leaving ten or fifteen men as a guard, but accompanied by six of the friars, who were unwilling to remain, reaching the camp of Santa Margarita on the Rio Colorado, where a few men had remained since September, on March 5th. All sailed on the schooner *Santo Cristo* March 24th from Espíritu Santo Bay, arriving at Vera Cruz a month later.[48]

Father Masanet's diary ending on the arrival in August 1691, we have no continuous narrative of later events from a missionary point of view. It does not clearly appear that any new missions were founded in addition to San Francisco and Santa María,[49] which were between the Trinidad and Neches, perhaps on branches of those streams, in the country of the Tejas and Asinais, or Cenis. There had been, as I have said, much sickness before the new padres arrived. There were slight troubles with the natives during Teran's presence, including depredations by wild tribes from a distance, and the mysterious disappearance on many occasions of live-stock belonging to the Spaniards; and there were disagreements between the friars and the governor on several points not fully recorded. Six of the friars became discouraged and returned with Teran, while others are said to have remained unwillingly.[50]

After the governor's departure, leaving five or six friars and a small guard, missionary work was continued, but in the face of great obstacles. Two harvests were lost by drought and flood, resulting in famine and pestilence. The natives lost something of their Christian ardor under these circumstances, being persuaded that their misfortunes resulted from

[48] At the end of Teran's diary, p. 111–16, is *Bruno, Derrotero que hizo el Alférez... piloto de la fragata 'Santo Cristo,' 1692*, MS., and this is followed by some statements of different officers and friars in councils held on divers occasions, chiefly respecting routine matters, p. 116–24.

[49] Also called Jesus María y José, and Santísimo Nombre de María.

[50] Sworn statement of Adjutant Gen. Rivera made at Sta Margarita on March 18th, just before sailing. *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 116, et seq.

baptism, and refusing to live in communities. Livestock was for the most part lost, stolen, or drowned. The soldiers were not altogether manageable, committing many excesses. Captain Salinas came up from Coahuila with supplies in June 1693, but some of the friars returned with him, and Padre Masanet sent a letter describing the situation and proposing reforms necessary to prevent an abandonment of the missions. The friars had now come to their senses, and declared that a strong military guard was needed, and that the natives must be reduced to regular pueblos. On receipt of this letter the government decided on August 21st that the Texas establishments must be given up until the natives should show a better disposition, and instructed the friars to retire. Meanwhile the Indians became more and more hostile and the soldiers more insubordinate. In the night of October 25th the friars left the missions, burying the bells and such other property as could not be transported, and went to Coahuila.[51]

There was a slight controversy about the causes which had led to the failure of this enterprise between the missionary and military authorities, each throwing the blame on the other. Particulars are not important, and there was no credit due to either party. As planned the expedition was a very weak expedient for the Spanish occupation of Texas; and Teran seems to have proved himself an incompetent leader. The Franciscans made some further efforts; but the viceroy and his council formally decided March 11, 1694, in favor of delay.[52] For twenty years and more neither

[51] *Texas, Dictámen Fiscal, 1716*, MS., 239–41, including letters from Padre Masanet. He says that four soldiers turned back to live among the natives, digging up and distributing the buried property. In addition to the original diaries already cited, see on Teran's expedition: *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 95–9; *Texas, Dictámen Fiscal*, MS., 252; *Espinosa, Crónica*, 280, 411–15; *Villa-Señor, y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 332–3; *Bonilla, Breve Compendio*, MS.; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 455–6; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 213–14; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 76–8; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 269; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 43–4.

[52] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Texas*, MS., 112; *Sigüenza y Góngora, Carta al Almirante*, MS., 9–10; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 180–1. It appears that Padre Estevez went to Spain in 1694 with a view to promote the measure. Espinosa,

Spain nor France attempted the conquest of Texas; but the former was now in possession of Pensacola; and in 1698 the French under Iberville settled Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi. Nothing had been done before 1700 to determine the national ownership of Texas.

Crónica, 463, says that Padre Olivares in 1700 went to the Rio Frio and promised missionaries at an early date.

CHAPTER XV.

ANNALS OF LOWER CALIFORNIA.

1701–1717.

Salvatierra's Return—Coming of Ugarte—Change of Captains—Progress at San Javier—Hard Times at Loreto—Piccolo's Efforts in Mexico—Padres Basaldua and Minutili—Minor Explorations—Revolt—Basaldua in Mexico—Royal Promises—No Results—Pedro Ugarte—Living on Roots—Salvatierra Called to Mexico—And Made Provincial—No Government Aid—Troubles with the Garrison—The Provincial in California—Jaime Bravo—Founding of San Juan Bautista de Liguí—Santa Rosalía de Mulegé—Explorations—A Miracle—Salvatierra Returns—A Lady at Loreto—Padre Mayorga—Founding of San José de Comondú—Padre Peralta—Ravages of Small-pox—Maritime Disasters—Drowning of Padre Guisi—Arrival of Padre Guillen—Favors from the New Viceroy—Piccolo's Tour—Padre Tamaral—Salvatierra Summoned to Mexico—His Death at Guadalajara—The Jesuit Mission System—The Pious Fund.

Father Salvatierra's experience on the mainland is narrated elsewhere in this volume.[1] Starting in January 1701 for the north, with a view of obtaining alms on the way, and of approaching Guaymas from the interior, he became interested in the mysteries of the far north, and joining Kino made an exploring tour up the gulf coast, where in March the two padres, as Kino had done before, convinced themselves that California was a peninsula joined to the main not far above their standpoint. A letter was sent by land to Piccolo, but never reached its destination. An overland trip from California in October was talked of; and then Salvatierra returned to Guay-

[1] See chap. xvii., giving also Kino's map, which shows California as well as Sonora.

mas, where he found the *San José*, "rather by a miracle of the Madonna Señora than naturally, since she had no keel." The padre seems to have forgotten for the most part his commission to report on the Guaymas region, but mentions incidentally that a beginning of mission work had been made there. He sailed May 9th and crossed the gulf in one day, landing live-stock at San Bruno, and arriving on the 23d at Loreto.[2] Besides the material supplies brought from the main it cannot be doubted that Father Juan María had derived much comfort and strength from his intercourse with Kino. Each of the two had poured his tale of triumphs and troubles into a sympathizing ear, and exhorted his brother to unflinching perseverance. And they looked forward in joyful expectation to the time—never to come for them—when they should unite their forces at the head of the gulf and press on to northern conquests.

Best of all, on his return to Loreto Salvatierra found Father Juan de Ugarte[3] hard at work with Piccolo. The indefatigable procurador, hearing of the critical condition of the California missions, and seeing no prospect of aid from the government, had promptly resigned his comfortable rectorship and started in person for the field in December 1700.[4] Leaving Alejandro Romano as procurador in Mexico, interviewing Osio and Miranda at Querétaro and Guadalajara en route, making hasty arrangements in Sinaloa for later sup-

[2] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 124–56, being the letter of May to the provincial. Venegas, as we have seen, makes this merely a trip in search of aid; and in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 290–5, it is implied that Salvatierra crossed the gulf expressly to engage in northern exploration.

[3] Juan de Ugarte was born in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, about 1660, of well-to-do parents. After studying for some time in Guatemala, he began his novitiate in 1679 at Tepozotlan, taking the vows of his order in 1679. His zeal and abilities rapidly advanced him to positions of trust and importance in Mexico; and at the time of entering the missionary field he was rector of the college of San Gregorio. He was a man noted for his energy, administrative ability, and tenacity of purpose. Again and again, as we shall see, California would have been abandoned but for him. Added to his mental advantages he had the physique of a gladiator; and the old writers never tire of narrating his deeds of prowess.

[4] According to *Villavicencio, Vida de Ugarte*, 51–8, his baggage consisted of a pair of sheets, a coverlet, and a few reals.

plies, and finding at Yaqui the old lancha patched up and sent over by the garrison in their great need, he embarked on the worn-out old cockle-shell with what stores he could find and arrived at Loreto in March.[5] He found the mission in great distress, no supplies or news having arrived since Salvatierra's departure; but the *San Javier* soon came with a small cargo, and Salvatierra arrived early in May, as we have seen.

Immediate wants being thus supplied, it was resolved to send Piccolo to Mexico to make a final effort to place the support of the missions on a permanent footing; but in several attempts to cross he was baffled by bad weather, and returned to San Javier to await a more favorable season. Meanwhile Captain Mendoza became more and more fractious and unendurable. Salvatierra had power to remove him, but deemed it imprudent to irritate the soldiers at such a critical period. At length, however, Mendoza tendered his resignation, which was gladly accepted, and Isidro de Figueroa was put in command. About this time the natives of Biaundó plotted the murder of Piccolo, almost without a guard since the reduction of the presidial force. The padre was warned and escaped to Loreto, leaving the rebels to wreak their vengeance on the mission buildings. Figueroa started to punish the offenders, but failed to pursue when they retreated, causing much dissatisfaction among the soldiers, who deposed their half-hearted leader, and elected Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo in his place.[6]

Ugarte now took charge of San Javier, which could not have fallen into better hands. By a fearless and kind demeanor he soon persuaded the natives to return, though not until he had sent his few soldiers back to Loreto. But the old routine of catechism and pozole did not satisfy this missionary's ideas of prog-

[5] March 23d, according to *Salvatierra, Rel.*, 155; March 18th, *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 105.

[6] *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 109–10. Clavigero, 213–14, makes Rodriguez succeed Mendoza; while in *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 105, 156–7, not only Figueroa's but Mendoza's name is ignored.

ress. He aimed to make the establishment self-sustaining, and hoped its fertile fields might one day produce enough for Loreto as well; but there were great obstacles to overcome. The savages did not take kindly to labor as an element of mission life, preferring to earn their porridge by prayer and doctrina. The language also presented difficulties; and Ugarte's blunders so amused the adults that they purposely misled him, and the padre had to rely on the children, as Salvatierra had done. The native priests caused him more trouble than anything else. These conservative worthies exerted all their power to undo what the padre had done, and enticed the people away, so that Ugarte was sometimes almost alone for weeks.

Thus isolated, destitute, surrounded by beings more brute than human, jeered at, threatened, or deserted by those for whose benefit he had made such sacrifices—who shall imagine the struggles and emotions of this man? But his will was indomitable, and by degrees his patient meekness overcame the malice of his enemies. They grew more regular in attendance, less scornful of labor, more respectful in demeanor; building was begun in earnest, grain was planted, flocks and herds under native shepherds fattened upon the fertile pastures, and San Javier entered upon the era of prosperity that was to distinguish it from other peninsula establishments. The change was not of course effected suddenly, and Ugarte had need of all the address and skill in the management of men and affairs for which he was so famous. His grown-up pupils not only misunderstood his teachings[7] and laughed at his blunders, but they jested at the most solemn ceremonies. Sometimes Ugarte lost his temper, and being a giant in strength he handled the

[7] Once, according to *Venegas*, *Noticia*, ii. 117, after eloquently discoursing on the terrors of the infernal regions, the padre was dismayed at his hearers reaching the conclusion that hell must be a very desirable place, with no lack of fire to keep them warm!

savages rather roughly on several occasions, as the chroniclers are fond of relating.[8]

At Loreto affairs were not prosperous. Provisions were running short; contributions from pious benefactors were few and far between, and it was not known that Felipe V. was now giving some attention to California. Salvatierra himself became discouraged. Calling his followers about him, the brave old man, with tears, declared that the field must be abandoned. But Ugarte was present at the council, and he declared his unalterable purpose never to quit the country until ordered to do so by his superiors, and proceeding to the church he sealed his declaration with a solemn vow. The others yielded to his enthusiasm, and announced their intention to stay until the end.[9] Piccolo at last started on his mission at the end of December 1701. How he succeeded will be told on his return.

For some weeks starvation brooded over the little garrison. Late in January 1702, the lancha brought a small supply of food; but it was soon exhausted—the sooner because Salvatierra could never resist the temptation to give a share to his hungry-looking Indian friends—and both padres and soldiers for several months were obliged to dig for roots and live like the savages. As if this were not enough, a revolt broke out. A soldier set out in search of his native wife who had left him to attend some festivities of the pitahaya season; he killed an Indian who attempted to interfere with his plans, and was in turn killed by friends of the murdered man. This led to a general rising. The padres were at Londó, and escaped to Loreto; but Ugarte's grainfields were devastated,

[8] The story of his swinging a burly joker by the hair in church has been repeated so often that a bare reference suffices here. On another occasion he seized by the hair two natives who were fighting, lifted them one in each hand, and dashed them to the ground. He is said to have killed a 'lion' with a stone, and many other deeds of prowess are attributed to him.

[9] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 127–8; *Villavicencio, Vida de Ugarte*, 51–8.

and some of his goats were carried off. Several natives were killed in skirmishes with the soldiers, but they became bolder every day and even threatened to attack the presidio.[10]

This state of things lasted till July 22d, when the lancha very opportunely arrived with a cargo of provisions and eight new soldiers. Fear of the latter and a desire to share in the former soon brought the savages to terms. Piccolo's return now became the subject of current anxiety; for the very existence of the missions seemed to depend on his success.[11] On the 28th of October a sail was descried. Slowly the frail craft made her way through the turbulent billows that threatened to engulf her at every plunge. Earnest were the prayers offered for her safety, for was she not to decide the destinies of the country? At last the vessel anchored in the bay, a boat put off containing three men who by their dress were evidently priests. Soon the familiar form of Father Piccolo was recognized; but who were his companions? Salvatierra was not long we may be sure in making his appearance, and what he learned in the ensuing interview was briefly as follows:

At Guadalajara in January Piccolo had heard the good news that the young King Felipe V. had interested himself in the California enterprise, to which his attention had been called rather by a private letter than by official documents, and that he had already issued orders for government encouragement, for a detailed report on the subject, and best of all for an annual payment of six thousand pesos in support of the missions.[12] Full of gratitude to his

[10] *Salvatierra, Rel.*, 157–8; *Venegas*, ii. 120–4; *Clavigero*, 225–6; *Alegre*, iii. 133.

[11] Sept. 15, 1702, Salvatierra writes to Miranda that if Piccolo is not successful, all the soldiers will be discharged, and the padres will remain alone. *Relaciones*, 158.

[12] Three cédulas of July 17, 1701, addressed to viceroy, bishop of Guadalajara, and the audiencia. Two missions founded in Sinaloa by Torre were if possible to be transferred to the peninsula. A confirmatory cédula of the queen regent was dated Dec. 11, 1702. *Venegas*, ii. 62–4; *Alegre*, iii. 133.

Catholic Majesty for these unexpected benefits, Piccolo gladly undertook the task of making out a full report on California with the conditions and needs of the missions in response to a request from the audiencia.[13] In this report the writer briefly sketches the early efforts of Salvatierra and himself, rather strangely not implying that his associate had preceded him in the work. Still more strangely he mentions a third mission of Dolores, about which there is no other information, and which certainly had not been founded,[14] and it must be confessed that the reverend advocate went far beyond the limits of truth in praise of California as a most fertile land, well wooded and watered, offering every inducement for settlement. That the government should establish a line of vessels making at least two trips each year, assume the expense of a military establishment, controlling it also in harmony with the padres, and encourage gentlemen and officers to settle with their families in California were the measures chiefly recommended.

This duty performed Piccolo hastened to Mexico in March. The procurador had not yet been able to obtain anything from the government notwithstanding the king's orders; but Piccolo begged with such persistency that after many rebuffs he obtained the six thousand dollars late in April. The granting of the ship and soldiers asked for was postponed; but he at last obtained permission to take back with him two missionaries. The men assigned to this service were

[13] *Piccolo, Memoria tocante al estado de las Misiones nuevamente establecidas en la California por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus, etc., 10 de Febrero, 1702.* A French translation is the form in which I have consulted this document, *Piccolo, Mémoire touchant l'état des mission, etc.*, in *Lettres Edifiantes*, v. 29–44. Versions from the French more or less abridged are found in *Mémoires Géographiques*, Paris, 1767, ii. 283 et seq.; *Voiages au Nord, Recueil*, iii. 278–87; *Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits*, i. 395–408, and by Bishop Kip in *Overland Monthly*, x. 152–60.

[14] 'La troisième, celle de Yodivineggé ou de Notre Dame des Douleurs;' and the 4th, which is not yet founded nor quite so well established as the three others, is that of S. Juan Londó. The mission of Dolores includes Unublé, Niumqui or St Joseph, and Yodivineggé, or Our Lady; it was founded by the congregation of St Peter and St Paul in Mexico. Doubtless Piccolo purposely confounds plans with achievements.

Juan Manuel Basaldua and Gerónimo Minutili. Perhaps the king's example stimulated the liberality of the pious; at all events they showed themselves much more generous than had been their custom of late. The marquis of Villapuente gave an estate of thirty thousand pesos for the support of three missions. Nicolás de Ortega and his wife Josefa Vallejo gave ten thousand for another;[15] and other friends of the cause gave considerable sums, with which Piccolo bought a vessel named the *Rosario* at Acapulco, whither he went from Mexico. The king's money was invested in supplies, laden with which and bearing one of the padres the vessel was sent to Matanchel, while Piccolo and the other padre went up by land. Here all embarked, and after a stormy passage reached Loreto the 28th of October.

Father Minutili remained at Loreto as an associate of Salvatierra, Basaldua went with Piccolo to San Javier, and Ugarte went to the main in search of cattle and horses. It seemed well to the padres at this time of financial prosperity to secure their future by efforts to promote agriculture and stock-raising. Having made some excellent bargains, Ugarte returned in January 1703, and the horses he brought enabled the padres to make several explorations during the year. Salvatierra in the early spring crossed northwestward to the Pacific and for a short distance north and south along the coast without finding a port; neither did he find well-watered lands or many natives in that direction. Then Piccolo penetrated northward along the gulf to Concepcion Bay, finding there many natives, but unable to reach a reported river beyond.[16] In July a revolt broke out at San Javier, and several

[15] The missions were to be S. José Comondu, Purísima, Guadalupe, and Santa Rosalía Mulegé.

[16] The entradas were in January and March according to *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 159, letter of April 3d, in which the writer is in high spirits at general prospects. Venegas, *Noticia*, ii. 128–30, dates the expeditions in March and May respectively.

faithful converts were killed by their pagan brethren; but a force from the presidio soon restored order, flogging some of the ringleaders, and putting one chief to death after his baptism. About the same time a gale wrecked two pearl-fishing craft, and the padres showed their charity for a class of men who were regarded as most harmful to their cause by caring for the shipwrecked crew and sending them over to the main.

PENINSULA MISSIONS.

Padres Piccolo and Basaldua set out in August in the lancha, and this time they found the stream two leagues north of Concepcion Bay, called by the natives Mulegé. A league up the stream a favorable mission site was found; but as the country beyond was too rugged to be penetrated without animals, all sailed for Yaqui where horses were obtained. Piccolo remained for a time in Sonora collecting alms, and Ba-

saldua returned to Mulegé; but he tried in vain to find a road to Loreto by land, and proceeded by water to Concepcion Bay, whence the lancha was sent to Guaymas, and the padre returned to San Juan Londó, now a regular *pueblo de visita* of Loreto. At the end of the year Father Minutili was compelled by the state of his health to seek a new field of labor, going to Tubutama in Pimería Alta.

In February 1704 Salvatierra sent Basaldua in the *Rosario* to the main. He was to leave the vessel for repairs and proceed to Mexico, there to collect the king's annual subsidy and what alms he could obtain.[17] On reaching the capital the envoy found that good fortune still followed the cause, for the king had been induced by favorable memorials to make some very important additions to his benevolent orders concerning California.[18] It was now provided that missionaries in California should receive as elsewhere a stipend from the treasury, besides being provided with the usual church paraphernalia; that a seminary should be established in California, a presidial force of thirty men stationed on the Pacific shore to protect the galleon, a vessel furnished for the mission service, and seven thousand pesos per year paid in addition to the former allowance. Pearl-fishing was to be encouraged, without detriment to the missions; and likewise the immigration of families.

Father Basaldua was naturally in high spirits; but he soon learned the difference between an order and its fulfilment. Between treasurer and viceroy there was a difference of opinion; and what little money the

[17] Feb. 8th, Salvatierra, *Relaciones*, 161, writes to Miranda that he had intended to come himself, but is kept at home by reports of hostile ships in these waters.

[18] The reports by which the king was influenced were made by Bernardo Rolándegui and Nicolás de Vera, agents for Mexico in Madrid and Rome. There were four or five cédulas on the subject issued in 1703, and reaching Mexico in April 1704. *California, Estab. y Prog.*, 162–3; *Venegas, Not.*, ii. 138–43; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 138; *Clavigero, Storia*, i. 232–3; *Baegart, Nachrichten*, 207–8.

treasury contained was needed for the wars in Spain. With all his pleading the padre could not obtain even the original six thousand pesos; and he obtained little from private benefactors. So, taking with him Father Pedro Ugarte, a brother of Padre Juan, he set out for the port where he had left the *Rosario*, and, investing in provisions the small surplus after paying for her repairs, he sailed for Loreto, arriving in the middle of June.

Great was the disappointment at this unfortunate turn of affairs. The people of Loreto were on the verge of starvation, a condition apparently reached by them with marvellous facility, if we consider the natural advantages of the country as lately pictured by Piccolo. The garrison, now about sixty strong, including sailors and Indians, had expected Basaldua to bring their pay, and could not conceal their discontent. The future again looked dark. Salvatierra, feeling that the complaints were well founded, assembled them all, and after announcing his own determination to remain, proposed to send them to the main to await a fulfilment of the king's orders. Then spoke Ugarte in opposition to this scheme: "Let those who would leave us take their discharge, and certificates for their pay. We want no faint hearts here. We have lived upon pitahayas and wild berries before; will they not sustain us now?" The pride of the soldiers was touched, and they declared one and all their purpose to perish rather than flee from perils which priests were not afraid to face alone. Ugarte was as good as his word, going about the woods and fields with a small but increasing band of companions in search of fruits and roots. Thus for a time the wolf was kept from the door.

Nothing could divert Salvatierra from his schemes of conversion; and even in these hard times he made a tour to Liguí,[19] or Malibat, a few leagues south of

[19] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 139, says this trip was to the Pacific shores.

Loreto, in search of a mission site, since as yet Mulegé was not accessible by land. Pedro Ugarte and one soldier were his companions, besides two interpreters. They were attacked the 12th of July by a party of Indians, who rushed out of an ambush and let fly a volley of arrows. The reader will imagine the father's desired martyrdom now at hand; but he will reckon without the solitary trooper who is a host in himself. He fired his arquebuse in the air, and brandished his sword with ludicrous but satisfactory effect. The savages cast themselves upon the ground, and sitting bolt upright stolidly awaited their fate. Salvatierra then distributed some presents, baptized some children, and having found the spot favorable took his departure with a promise to return. During his absence Piccolo had gone to the main for alms, and in August he returned with plenty of food and a promise of more.

Salvatierra's appointment and instructions as visitador of Sinaloa and Sonora came about this time, perhaps brought over by Piccolo; but his departure was delayed, and the 8th of September he dedicated the Loreto church, which as will be remembered had been begun in 1699, baptizing in connection with the ceremonies a large number of adult converts. Then he received imperative orders summoning him to Mexico. With all possible haste he obeyed, and having left Ugarte in charge of the missions he sailed the 1st of October on a pearl-fishing craft for Matanchel, accompanied by Lorenzo who had resigned the military command and had been replaced temporarily by Alférez Isidro Grumeque, until Alférez Juan Bautista Escalante should arrive from Sonora. After repeated conferences with the audiencia and with his old friend Miranda at Guadalajara, the padre went on to Mexico.

At the national capital Salvatierra learned with dismay that with the latest despatches from Rome had come his promotion to the post of provincial. It

was a most flattering honor, one that would have been gladly accepted—of course with routine expressions of humility and unworthiness—by most Jesuits; but to Father Juan María it meant simply separation from his beloved California. In vain he tried to excuse himself from assuming the office; his brethren pointed out to him that he could do much more for California as provincial than as missionary; and at length he entered upon his new duties, writing to the general of his order a request to be relieved as soon as possible.

The provincial at once applied to the viceroy for the moneys granted. The king had been told that payment was merely deferred until Salvatierra should arrive. This flimsy excuse could serve no longer, but there were no funds in the treasury. However the viceroy, duke of Alburquerque, put a good face on the matter, promised everything, and did nothing. Salvatierra's duties called him away into the provinces, and he did not return until the spring of 1705. A junta was to be held for a consideration of Californian affairs, and the provincial prepared a detailed report, or review, of the royal cédulas of 1703, which were to form the basis of the junta's action. He could not, however, be content to let well-enough alone, and to urge merely the fulfilment of the king's promises, as his experience should have taught him to do. One ship, he said, could not adequately perform the service required, nor was the liberal allowance of 13,000 pesos sufficient to make ends meet. He did not wish pearl-fishing to be encouraged, as it led to trouble with the natives. Nor did the Jesuits desire the presence of Spanish settlers to breed dissensions. As to a presidio on the western coast, it would be an unnecessary expense, as the missions would soon be extended there. The suggestion that the garrison officers should be appointed by the government was very ill-advised, since only by this power of appointment could the padres restrain the natives and soldiers.[20] Some strong

[20] *Salvatierra, Informe sobre puntos de las Cédulas Reales, 25 de Mayo, 1705.*

reasons were adduced in support of these views; but the writer was a better missionary than diplomatist, and in this report were marks of that jealousy of all secular interference which, whether justified by circumstances or not, has brought odium on the Jesuits wherever they have acquired power. But the provincial went much further in his claims, demanding payment of all arrears due to members of the society in New Spain. The viceroy was annoyed and alarmed at the padre's persistence and boldness; and though the matter was referred to the fiscal, it soon became doubtful if the junta would meet at all.[21]

About this time Salvatierra received from Ugarte despatches informing him that affairs were not running smoothly in California. As usual there was sore need of provisions despite Piccolo's efforts as visitador in Sinaloa and Sonora; but the chief trouble arose from the new captain, Escalante, who by his overbearing disposition had brought himself into disfavor with his troops as well as with the padres, to whose authority he refused to submit. The management of the military branch at this time presented many difficulties. The missionaries attached much value to their supreme authority, and were inclined at times to treat the soldiers more like neophytes than was pleasing to the troops, who chafed under restraint. That they were not allowed to engage in pearl-fishing, were sometimes burdened with menial offices such as cooking and gathering wood, were often prevented

In *Venegas*, ii. 153–66; *Clavigero*, i. 241–4. The expense of the conquest is represented as $225,000, besides $58,000 contributed for six missions, of which the government has paid only $18,000. Allusion is also made to the large amounts expended in earlier times in unsuccessful attempts at occupation before the Jesuits undertook the task. It will be noted that in several points Salvatierra's ideas did not agree with those formerly expressed by Piccolo.

[21] Nor should we too hastily blame the viceregal government. It was easy for the pious king to issue orders for the payment of large sums of money for distant missions, but it was another matter to obey, with the treasury depleted by exactions of the Spanish court. His Majesty must have money, and California must go without. The viceroy and his councillors were often at their wits' ends to raise funds for more urgent demands. The king's orders could not be disobeyed; there was nothing for it but to postpone their fulfilment on every possible excuse.

from what they regarded as fair retaliation for offenses committed by the natives, were all grievances tending to discord. The leaders were not men skilled in the art of management, the soldiers felt that the lives of the padres and the possession of the country depended on them, and it is not to be wondered at that padres, captains, soldiers, and natives could not live in entire harmony.

Salvatierra now resolved to revisit California in person; and he induced the ex-captain, Lorenzo, to return with him and resume the command. He started in June, and on the 27th of that month, the long deferred junta was held, and it was resolved that as the father provincial was absent nothing could be done![22] At Guadalajara Salvatierra was detained till August, then embarking at Matanchel he landed once more at Loreto on the 30th, being received by all with a joy that can be better imagined than described. The change of captains was effected with such tact that, as we are told, Escalante was content to serve in the ranks until recalled to Sonora.

Nothing had been done toward extending the missions. Ugarte, though acting as rector, or superior, had remained at San Javier, leaving his brother Pedro in charge at Loreto, while Basaldua served mainly at Londó, and Piccolo was absent as visitador on the main. Salvatierra insisted on the founding of two new establishments at Mulegé and Liguí. The lack of padres was a serious obstacle; but Jaime Bravo, a lay brother who had come with the provincial from Mexico, announced his purpose to remain, and it was resolved to put him in charge of temporal affairs at Loreto.[23] The provincial remained two months and then went back to Mexico. Ugarte was left to act

[22] In *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 79–80, is the king's cédula of Aug. 13, 1705, approving what had been done, but ordering prompt payment of the $13,000.

[23] Bravo, according to *Clavigero*, ii. 124, was a native of Aragon. After 14 years of efficient service at Loreto he became a priest, and he died at San Javier in 1744.

as he thought best, but with general instructions to found the two missions as soon as possible, besides searching for new sites and a port for the galleon.

Pedro Ugarte went immediately down to Liguí, or Malibat, as the Laimones called it, and founded the mission of San Juan Bautista.[24] The natives there, not more fickle and treacherous than elsewhere, were induced to aid in building a house and church, the nucleus about which every establishment of the kind grew up. The padre's life, it is true, was once plotted against, but the man of peace brandished a rusty firelock which filled the conspirators with timely terror. With this exception life at San Juan was monotonously uneventful.

Basaldua meanwhile succeeded with great labor and difficulty in opening a road northward to Mulegé where a site had already been selected; and no time was lost in erecting the necessary buildings. The mission was named Santa Rosalía, by the desire of Ortega and wife, who had given ten thousand pesos for its maintenance. The land was covered with mezquites and had little water. It furnished good pasturage, but was not tilled for many years.[25]

It seemed a somewhat superfluous labor to search for new mission sites when there was not one padre for each of the old establishments; yet in the beginning of 1706 Bravo with the captain and ten soldiers followed the shore for a day and a half's journey southward from San Juan Bautista, until obliged to return by the death of two men and illness of others, caused by eating the poisonous liver of a fish called the *botate*.[26] While the others were thus engaged

[24] So named for Juan B. Lopez, who gave 10,000 pesos for its endowment. He failed in business and the money was not forthcoming; but the mission was not abandoned. Ugarte served here till 1709, Francisco Peralta until 1713, and later Father Guillen until the mission was reduced to a pueblo.

[25] Basaldua served here until 1709; Piccolo until 1718; and then Sebastian de Sistiaga administered its affairs with great success for many years.

[26] For events in these years all that is known is found in *Cal., Estab. y Prog.* and *Venegas, Noticia.*

Padre Ugarte devoted his attention mainly to affairs at San Javier, where the results of his efforts and of natural advantages began to be apparent. The natives were submissive, and their industry was shown in good roads, well tilled grainfields, and the increased number of mission buildings.[27] Besides being self-supporting San Javier could now spare a small surplus of food for Loreto.

Towards the end of 1706 Ugarte undertook a new exploration to the west coast in search of the much desired port and in obedience to the provincial's instructions. He left Loreto the 26th of November, with Brother Bravo, Captain Lorenzo, twelve soldiers, and forty Yaquis who had come over expressly for this expedition. Passing San Javier and its *visita* of Santa Rosalía, the explorers found a stream of San Andrés and numerous friendly Indians. As they approached the sea they were threatened but not attacked by two hundred warlike Guaicuris. For several days they explored the coast northward, finding several rancherías, but a scarcity of water. On December 7th, encamped on the dry bed of a stream, they were in danger of perishing by thirst; but praying fervently night and morning, they found an abundant supply of pure cold water where none had been at first. An advance party found a large bay,[28] but no supply of water; and with vessels filled from the miraculous spring the explorers turned back to Loreto.

Meanwhile Salvatierra was relieved of his office in September, and was again free to devote his whole attention to California. Though without funds from the government, he proceeded to Matanchel, whence supplies were to be forwarded by Father Julian Mayorga, a new arrival from Spain just appointed to

[27] Besides the church and padre's house, there were now storehouses, a hospital, and a schoolhouse for girls who were kept separate under care of a matron.

[28] Perhaps at the present San Juanico just above 26°.

California. Then he went by land up to Ahome, collecting certain promised limosnas by the way; and took ship the 30th of January 1707 for Loreto, with five Californian natives whom he had taken with him to Mexico. The second night out a terrible storm arose; one of the natives died; the crew gave themselves up for lost, and Salvatierra afterward described the night as the most awful he had ever passed. They were driven to San José Island, but finally anchored at San Dionisio the 3d of February.[29]

The year 1707 was a bad one all over New Spain; and of course it was a little worse in poor, barren, neglected California than anywhere else. Now Ugarte's foresight and industry bore fruit; for had it not been for the produce of fields and gardens of Biaundó, the country must have been abandoned. Despite the dryness of the season Ugarte managed to spare enough for all to keep body and soul together. Padre Mayorga came to join the band a few months after Salvatierra's return; and with him came Captain Lorenzo, who had gone to the main for a wife. She was a lady of distinction and beauty; and we may imagine how her presence must have brightened life at the presidio, and what must have been the gallant captain's fascinations to make her content with such a life.[30] Mayorga was not fitted physically for missionary toil, and his health soon became impaired, but he insisted on remaining, against Salvatierra's advice, and soon regained his health.

In 1708 Mayorga founded a new mission at Comondú, some twenty leagues north-west of Loreto, and midway between gulf and ocean, named San José. He was accompanied to his new home by Salvatierra and Ugarte, who aided him to build a church

[29] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 171–2. Letter of March 2, 1707, to Miranda; *Venegas*, ii. 199–202; *Alegre*, iii. 148. Clavigero, *Storia*, i. 256–7, makes the date of arrival Dec. 3.

[30] The lady was Doña María de la Rea. A daughter of this couple was married at Loreto in 1724. *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.

and dwelling. There was a small stream with several rancherías of well disposed natives; and in a few years San José became quite a flourishing colony with two pueblos de visita, San Juan and San Ignacio.[31]

During the first months of 1709 there was great suffering from want of food. In March Piccolo arrived with a cargo of provisions, but they were badly damaged by a long detention at Tepic. A little later the crew of a pearl vessel from Colima were killed by the natives, though as in two years on the coast they had not once come to ask a blessing of Our Lady their miserable fate did not surprise the pious Salvatierra.[32] The *San Javier* on a trip to Yaqui for supplies in August was stranded on the coast above Guaymas. The crew, having buried on the beach three thousand pesos with which provisions were to have been purchased, escaped in a boat. On learning this disaster Salvatierra at once started in the *Rosario*. He found the savage Seris engaged in pulling the vessel to pieces for the nails; but he succeeded in pacifying them, in recovering the money which they had dug up, and even in repairing the craft. It took two months to complete the repairs, and Father Juan María spent a part of the time in exploring the coast and making friends of the natives. About the Guaymas mission and its connection with the peninsula establishment in these times there are no records. While the *Rosario* went back to Loreto direct, Salvatierra on the rescued *San Javier* crossed over to Concepcion Bay and paid a visit to Mulegé where Piccolo had succeeded Basaldua, the latter's ill health forcing him to retire.[33]

[31] Mayorga served here till his death in 1736, and his successor, Francisco Javier Wagner, till 1744. This was one of the missions endowed by Villapuente. Palou, *Noticias*, ii. 150, says the site was changed some years after the foundation. See also *Venegas*, ii. 203–4; *Clavigero*, i. 257–8; *Alegre*, iii. 153; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 172.

[32] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 173. Letter of 1709 to Miranda.

[33] It seems that the stranding of the *San Javier* saved the *Rosario*, for an order came from the viceroy to send the latter on a cruise to warn the galleon

The loss of Basaldua was followed by that of Pedro Ugarte, whose health broke down under incessant labor. He was relieved at San Juan by Francisco Peralta, and went to Mexico. He returned a little later only to fall ill again; and finally retired to the Yaqui, where he still served his beloved California as a supply agent. Toward the end of this unhappy year, a foe more to be dreaded than any that had yet assailed the missionaries made its appearance in the form of the small-pox, that terrible destroyer of the native races in the New World. In spite of all that could be done by the padres, the natives were carried off by hundreds; and as the neophytes were the first to be affected, the native priests declared that their gods were avenging themselves. But their triumph was brief, for the pestilence was no respecter of creeds, and soon the heathen were attacked in all directions. In their efforts to impart medical aid or religious consolation the padres not only exposed themselves to great hardships, but to the contagion, which—several times, if we may credit the chroniclers—brought Piccolo, Salvatierra, and Ugarte to the very gates of death. During the three years of the plague, down to 1712, mission progress was paralyzed in most directions. Nevertheless the padres found time to make several exploring tours, converting many rancherías into pueblos de visitacion. Ugarte explored the country south of San Javier, and Piccolo that north of Santa Rosalía, and southward to the site of the later Purísima.

This period is remarkable for the bad fortune attending the mission vessels. In November 1711 the *Rosario* was sent to Matanchel for repairs under the supervision of Padre Peralta; but after an expense of several thousands of pesos the craft was in no better condition than before; and when she put to sea, the

of danger from *pichilingues*, or buccaneers. The government did not hesitate thus to employ the one poor little rickety craft which the fathers had; but in her absence the order could not be obeyed.

crew, tired of risking their lives, permitted her to run ashore and go to pieces. A new ship must be built, and foolishly the same builders were intrusted with the work. They must have been accomplished swindlers. They were eighteen months in putting the vessel together, at a cost of 22,000 pesos, and after all produced late in 1713 a craft which Venegas compares to a floating coffin. Yet there were two impatient Jesuits and a cargo of spoiling provisions awaiting transportation, and they embarked on the vessel, which leaked badly, refused to obey her helm, and was driven first to Cape San Lúcas and then to the Mazatlan Islands near Matanchel, where some were wise enough to land. The rest sighted the Loreto coast, but were driven across to the main, and were wrecked at an estuary called Barva-Chivato, six persons being drowned, including one of the padres, Benito Guisi. The survivors after much suffering were relieved by natives and guided to Sinaloa, whence the other padre, Clemente Guillen, found his way to Yaqui.[34]

Father Guillen embarked again in January 1714 on the *San Javier*, and though he narrowly escaped with his life, the vessel coming to grief at the moment of arrival, he at last reached Loreto. He was put in charge of San Juan Bautista, Peralta having been obliged to retire to the main for change of air.[35] I have before me an autograph letter of Father Piccolo, dated at Santa Rosalía on January 28th of this year. It treats of minor routine details only, and has on the back half a page of Salvatierra's almost illegible scribbling.[36]

The little *San Javier* was not yet quite useless;

[34] *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 174–5; *Venegas*, ii. 216–21. Venegas says the rascally builders were punished slightly by the audiencia. In *Cal., Hist. Chrétienne*, we read that the new vessel lasted a year and was then wrecked at Cape San Lúcas—not the only instance of inaccuracy in that work.

[35] Clemente Guillen was born at Zacatecas about 1682. His name appears in the *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS., occasionally from March 1716 to May 1718. He served at San Juan until that mission became a visita and then founded Dolores. He died at Loreto April 8, 1748.

[36] *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 32. Piccolo's signature appears often in *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS., from 1718 to 1728.

but California had now a friend in the person of the new viceroy, the duque de Linares. A predilection for the Jesuits is said to have been hereditary in his family; and though as viceroy he could do little or nothing for the missions, in his private capacity he did much before his final legacy of 5,000 pesos. He now ordered a condemned Peruvian prize to be sold to the missions for 4,000 pesos, on condition that she should be used to seek a port on the west coast. True the *Guadalupe* proved to be worthless, and after costly repairs was lost on her second trip; but the padres did not apparently suspect that the government had known the worthlessness of the craft. The list of wrecks is not yet complete, however, for the *San José*, a bad bargain from the first, had been lost shortly before at Acapulco, and another Peruvian vessel bought to fill her place was lost almost as soon as the purchase money had been paid. The old *San Javier* still hung together, perhaps because she was more absolutely worthless than any of the others; but this crazy little craft could bring but a small portion of necessary supplies, and the surplus had to be transported on private pearl-vessels at an extortionate rate of freightage; another heavy burden being thus imposed on the missions.

A result of these maritime disasters was the impossibility of navigating the gulf to its northern limit, a project in which Salvatierra had always been interested. As in the earlier part of this season of distress, however, exploration of the interior was not wholly neglected. Indeed in 1716, while the *Guadalupe* was yet afloat, Salvatierra made in her a trip to La Paz for the purpose of pacifying the Guaicuris, who were ill-disposed toward the Christians owing largely to Otondo's former operations and to outrages committed by the pearl-fishers. His attempt was a failure, for he could not restrain his escort of Loreto Indians from maletreating the Guaicuri women and

children.[37] In November of the same year Piccolo with three soldiers and six mules made a tour from Mulegé to the north-west, visiting the valley of the Kadá-kaaman, or Reedgrass Stream, named San Vicente Ferrer, where the mission of San Ignacio was afterward established. He was hospitably received by the natives, at whose request he had come; and he remained among them eleven days, baptizing many children and instructing adults.[38]

In March 1717 Father Nicolás Tamaral came to join the missionary band, having been appointed to the projected mission of Purísima.[39] He brought letters from Provincial Rodero to Salvatierra, informing him that the new viceroy, duque de Valero, wished to see him without delay, having arrived from Spain with definite instructions concerning California. Although suffering from a painful disorder of the bladder, as well as from the infirmity of old age, Father Juan María put everything under the care of Ugarte, and accompanied by Brother Bravo set out for Mexico at the end of March. A voyage of nine days carried them to Matanchel, whence they proceeded to Tepic. The fatigues of the journey had so aggravated the superior's complaint that he was unable to proceed farther by the ordinary modes of travel; but his zeal was stronger than his prudence, and he insisted on being carried on a litter to Guadalajara. It was thus that the apostle of California made his last earthly journey. For two long months he tossed upon his death-bed, suffering

[37] *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 175. It was after his return from this trip that he sent the *Guadalupe* to Matanchel, and she was lost with her cargo and crew of nine men.

[38] *Piccolo, Carta de 10 de Enero 1717, dirigida al Padre Procurador Juan Manuel de Basaldua*, MS. In *Baja California, Cédulas*, 89–98. See also *Venegas*, ii. 224–5; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 175. In the mission registers of San Ignacio, which was not founded until 1728, these early baptisms by Piccolo are mentioned, 26 on one occasion and 38 on another, at Kahanagala, or Kadaa, in San Vicente Ferrer Valley. Father Sistiaga subsequently visited the place several times. *San Ignacio, Libros de Mision, 1716–41*, MS.

[39] Nicolás Tamaral was born at Seville in 1687, coming to Mexico in 1712. *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 93. He baptized a child at Loreto on Nov. 27, 1717. *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS. He founded San José del Cabo in 1730, and was murdered there in 1734.

extreme agony. Then, feeling that his end was near, he summoned the faithful Bravo to his side, confided to him the particulars of mission affairs, and empowered him to represent California at the capital. On the 17th of July he died, as he had lived, full of hope and courage. The whole city assembled at his funeral, and his remains were deposited amidst ceremonies rarely seen at the burial of a Jesuit missionary, in the chapel which in former years he had erected to the Lady of Loreto. Salvatierra's memory needs no panegyric; his deeds speak for themselves; and in the light of these the bitterest enemies of his religion, or of his order, cannot deny the beauty of his character and the disinterestedness of his devotion to California.

Before his death Salvatierra had succeeded in reducing the government of the missions to a regular system, which was maintained without material change during the entire Jesuit era. This system was so similar to that subsequently adopted by the Franciscans in Alta California, described in another volume, that a brief account of it will suffice here.

The chief authority on the peninsula was, as we have seen, the father superior, to whom priests, soldiers, and natives were subject. At first Salvatierra was the only superior, or rector, but subsequently when the missions had spread over a great part of the country they were divided into three districts, each of which had its rector to whom the other padres of the district were subordinate, and who was himself responsible to a visitador appointed by the provincial every three years from among the missionaries. The visitador had his *consulta* of old and experienced priests, and was expected to visit all the missions during his term of office. To him the rectors made their reports, while he himself had to render an account of everything to the visitador-general, who visited the missions every third year. Thus the Jesuit mission hierarchy consisted of missionary, rector, visitador, visitador-general, provincial, and general. The soldiers, in like manner, were subject to their captain, who, under the visitador, was supreme in all civil, judicial, and military matters. In later years he was also commander of the mission flotilla, and had control of all marine matters on the California coast. Pearl-fishers had to show their license to him and he collected from them the royal dues. Most of the soldiers were kept at the presidio, where the discipline and routine common to all such establishments in New Spain were preserved. Each mission had one soldier, who, in his own sphere, exercised to some extent the privileges of the captain at Loreto. Under the direction or with the consent of the padre he punished minor offences with the lash or imprisonment, but sentences of banishment or death were not carried out until the captain's decision was known. It frequently happened that the padre's duties

called him away from the mission for a time, and during his absence the solitary guard distributed the daily rations and otherwise acted as the father's substitute in all matters not strictly ecclesiastical. For such services he received pay from the padre, in addition to the regular sum paid to him by the king. For the soldiers in California were allowed the same privileges as those in the royal army, and their service was reckoned as campaign service. Their pay was about the same as in Nueva Vizcaya, being 450 pesos for those serving in the northern missions and a few pesos less for those serving in the south. This at first sight appears liberal pay, but it must be remembered that it always came to the soldiers, if it came at all, in the shape of goods worth much less than their reputed value.

The plan upon which each mission was formed and conducted, though it differed in a few particulars, according to the resources, prosperity, and other circumstances of the establishment, was generally as follows: When a new mission was to be founded care was taken that it should not be isolated or cut off from communication with its nearest neighbor by an impassable country or by intervening hostile tribes; the people of the chosen district were, indeed, generally visited, propitiated, and prepared for conversion beforehand. The father who was to make the foundation was usually accompanied to his new field by several soldiers and a number of neophytes belonging to another mission, who, with the assistance of the people of the vicinity, soon put up the few rough buildings necessary, and then left the padre and his solitary guard to their own devices. Meanwhile the missionary drew his new converts together, and these were instructed and maintained till the establishment was in good working order. A nucleus being thus formed the padre turned his attention to the neighboring rancherías, and as fast as he brought these to a proper state of subjection incorporated them into *pueblos de visita* of a manageable size and at a convenient distance from the mission proper, which thus became the capital of a little community of Christian villages. Each pueblo had its Indian governor, appointed by the padre, whose duty it was to maintain order and report to the father and the soldier disturbances which he could not remedy. There was also a native *maestro de la doctrina* in each pueblo who superintended the simple religious observances which were expected of his people, such as the repetition of prayers, litany, and catechism. The inhabitants of the pueblos came in to the mission at regular intervals and in stated numbers to hear mass, receive instruction, and celebrate feasts, and were in turn frequently visited by the missionary; but these arrangements, as well as the amount of food and clothing they obtained from the padre, varied according to the condition and resources of the mission to which they were attached. In most cases they were expected to find their own subsistence, which they did after the primitive fashion of their fathers in the plains and mountains, though at regular hours and under the supervision of an elder. The exact status of the pueblo Indians of Lower California is, in fact, not very clear. Though required to observe a certain degree of order and discipline, they did not enjoy all the advantages of their brethren at the mission, but we must suppose that comparative liberty of action and exemption from labor compensated for this distinction. It appears, besides, that in some instances the mission had no permanent Indian

population, but was occupied in routine by the people of one or two pueblos, who after partaking of the padre's bounty and instruction for a week or so returned to their village and made room for an equal number of their brethren. It was sometimes the custom, too, for the padre to personally instruct and maintain all new converts until they were fit to join a pueblo community, in which cases the mission was little more than a religious nursery, so to speak, and could have afforded room for but very few stationary neophytes.

It is certain that in the mission itself the daily routine was much more elaborate and regular, and the discipline more strict than in the dependent villages. Early every morning, mass, at which all the neophytes assisted, was celebrated by the padre; the doctrina was recited, and a song of praise was chanted by all present. Then a breakfast of maize gruel, or porridge, was distributed, and as soon as this simple meal was concluded the Indians went into the field to work. The labor, however, was light, for there was little to do and there were many to do it. At noon all returned to the mission for dinner, which consisted of maize porridge, with meat and vegetables when such luxuries could be afforded. After a long rest the field work was resumed until a little before sunset, when the church bell tolled for more religious services, after which came a supper of *pozole*, an hour or two of recreation, and bedtime. Every Sunday the padre preached, and every feast-day was a holiday. The boys and girls were kept apart in separate houses, the former under the eye of an experienced male superintendent, the latter under a native matron. These young people did not labor, but were instructed by the padre in person in religious matters and in various little arts, particularly those of shearing, preparing, and weaving wool. Father Ugarte even went so far as to send to Nueva Galicia for an experienced weaver named Antonio Moran, who was engaged at a yearly salary of 500 pesos, and who lived for many years in California instructing the natives in his trade. With the coarse stuff thus woven at home, and various kinds of very indifferent cloth imported from Mexico, the neophytes were clothed. These particulars of the mission system are gathered chiefly from *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 242–66; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, ii. 186–202; *Baegert, Nachrichten*, 223–7; *Arrillaga, Testimonio de Diligencias, 1789*, MS.; *Taraval, Carta dirigida al Visitador General sobre Misiones de la California 1730*, in *Cal., Estab. y Prog. de las Misiones*, 186–96.

The expense of maintaining missions in such a poor and isolated country as Lower California was very considerable, notwithstanding the economical plan upon which they were conducted. The king, it is true, contributed something toward their maintenance, but the royal aid never amounted to more than 30,000 pesos per annum, and the peninsula had been occupied nearly half a century before even this degree of liberality was reached. The sum granted by government was, besides, barely sufficient to pay, clothe, and feed the soldiers and sailors, so that nothing was left of it for ordinary mission purposes. It may, therefore, be fairly stated that the missions of California were from first to last founded and supported by private persons, whose combined gifts formed what has been known as the pious fund. We have seen how Salvatierra and Ugarte collected the expenses of their first entry into California from various pious persons in Mexico; this was the nu-

cleus of the pious fund, which by means of similar contributions from others rapidly increased to a very considerable sum. At first the management of the fund was a simple matter. Ten thousand pesos was the amount regarded as necessary for the maintenance of each mission, and this sum was left in the hands of the donor, who regularly paid the annual interest, about 500 pesos, to the fathers or to the procurador in Mexico, who purchased and forwarded the needed supplies. But the bankruptcy of the founder of San Juan Bautista Mission, and the consequent loss of the capital in his hands, admonished the padres to seek investments which should be beyond the risk of commercial fluctuations. Accordingly Salvatierra in 1716 obtained permission from the general to invest the principal of the fund in haciendas and farms in Mexico, and the procurador, Romano, was ordered to collect the funds and purchase estates therewith. Other property was bought as the fund increased, which it did rapidly in later years, when several benefactors made the most munificent gifts and bequests of money and land. For example, the marquis of Villapuente, not content with having founded more missions in California than any one else, gave to the fund in 1735 an estate of several hundred thousand acres of land in Tamaulipas, together with all the flocks and herds, farm-buildings, and appurtenances thereon. This the greatest of California's benefactors died Feb. 13, 1739, at the Jesuit college at Madrid, where he had shortly before become a member of the society. He was a man of enormous possessions, and after bestowing his charity in all parts of the world during his life, he bequeathed it for the same noble purpose at his death. Again, in 1747, Doña María de Borja, Duchess of Gandia, left the missions some 62,000 pesos, and in 1765 Doña Josefa Paula de Argüelles bequeathed nearly 200,000 pesos to the fund, though this latter sum was not received until after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Other large sums and estates were also given at various times in addition to the regular donation of 10,000 pesos which was made by the founder of each mission. It is difficult to tell, even approximately, what was the amount of the pious fund at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. It is generally spoken of by modern writers in round numbers as a million pesos, from which an annual income of $50,000 was derived; but this is probably an over-estimate. Palou, in his report of Feb. 12, 1772, quotes an anonymous document which shows it to have been about 500,000 pesos, and afterwards compares with this the report of Mangino, director of *temporalidades*, on the condition of the fund, finding the accounts substantially the same. *Noticia*, vi. 175–9, 580–6, 597–601. Revilla Gigedo, in his report to the court of Spain of Dec. 30, 1793, declares it to have amounted to over 800,000 pesos at the time of the expulsion. *Arch. Cal.*, *St. Pap.*, *Miss. and Colon.*, i. 18. Perhaps the viceroy's figures are as near the truth as any.

The fund was administered, like all other mission affairs, according to a regular system. The investment and use of it were intrusted to a procurador who lived in Mexico; the first of these was Ugarte, who had four successors during the Jesuit era. Besides seeing that the estates were properly cared for by subordinate superintendents, the chief procurador attended to the purchase of goods needed by the missions and forwarded them to California. The bales were carried on pack-mules to Matanchel and there shipped. The

transportation by land was expensive, but the sea journey cost little, as the padres used their own vessels. On their arrival at Loreto the supplies were received by the local procurador there, who stored them away for distribution as required. No goods were disposed of save to the missions and soldiers. If the few miners who in later years worked in the southern country wanted any article, they could obtain it only through a soldier or officer. While the San José presidio existed, there was a sort of branch warehouse there, which was supplied from Loreto.

In various parts of Mexico, but especially at Guadalajara and at several ports on the Pacific coast, there were other agents, generally called procuradores; but these were not regularly attached to the administrative system of the missions. They acted only in special cases where they could assist in collecting limosnas, or in facilitating the purchase or transportation of supplies. Concerning the administration of these financial matters, see *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 192–6; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, ii. 192–6; *Baegert, Nachrichten*, 220–3; *Cal., Estab. y Prog. de las Misiones*, 98–100; *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ix. 6-45.

CHAPTER XVI.

JESUIT ANNALS OF LOWER CALIFORNIA.

1717–1750.

Interest at Court—A Junta in Mexico—Bravo's Efforts—Ugarte Rector—A Storm—Founding of Purísima—'Triunfo de la Cruz'—Guillen's Exploration—Founding of Pilar de La Paz—Helen Founds Guadalupe—Ugarte's Voyage to Head of the Gulf—Sistiaga on the West Coast—Guillen Founds Dolores—Nápoli Founds Santiago—Locusts and Epidemic—Luyando Founds San Ignacio—Death of Piccolo—Visit of Echeverría—Founding of San José del Cabo—Death of Ugarte—Taraval Explores the North-west—Founding of Santa Rosa—Touching of the Manila Ship—Revolt in the South—Martyrdom of Fathers Carranco and Tamaral—Yaqui Reënforcements—Governor Huidrobo's Campaign—A Presidio at the Cape—Reoccupation of the Missions—A Decade of Troubles—Epidemic—Death of Captain Estévan Lorenzo—Changes in Padres—Consag's Exploration of the Gulf—Map—Royal Orders—No Results—End of Venegas' Record.

The king's interest in California had ceased so far as the missionaries knew; at least it had produced no results since the return of Salvatierra in 1705. This is attributed, however, by the Jesuits to the wiles of Alburquerque, who concealed the purport of the royal orders received. Viceroy Valero brought a cédula of January 29, 1716, being in substance a repetition of that of July 26, 1708, and of similar purport to the original orders of earlier date. The king's interest at this time was prompted largely by Minister Alberoni, who had long appreciated the importance of the peninsula, and whose attention had been specially aroused by the offer of a rich man to pay 80,000 pesos for the absolute rule over California with the *alcaldía mayor* of Acaponeta and Centipac on the main. This sum

of money was a tempting bait, but Alberoni reflected that either the purchaser must ruin the province, or else its resources must be much greater than had been supposed. The speculator was therefore told his offer could not be accepted unless he could obtain certificates from ecclesiastical authorities that his project would not be detrimental to California. This of course ended the matter. But Alberoni began to form the most magnificent designs for the colonization not only of California but the great north-west beyond. True, he was soon made a cardinal, and for the most part forgot his South Sea schemes; but it was before his enthusiasm was extinguished by a red hat that Valero came to Mexico with his instructions.

The viceroy called a junta to consider the matter, particularly the clauses relating to a colony and a west-coast presidio. These measures were approved by all except Romano, the father procurador of California, whose opposition showed how averse were the Jesuits to all interference with their monopoly. A royal garrison would have given them protection, and have opened more regular communication with the main; a colony would have developed the resources whose interests they professed to have at heart; and the annual arrival of the Manila ship would have created trade and made California a place of some importance. But all this might have lessened Jesuit authority and influence. It was Romano's opposition that caused the viceroy to summon Salvatierra to Mexico, the discussion being meanwhile postponed; and Bravo, as soon as the last rites had been performed over the body of his dearly loved master, hastened to the capital with full powers to represent California before the junta. His position was similar to that of Salvatierra in 1705. Instead of immediately accepting the king's bounty and thinking himself fortunate to get it, he tried to amend the royal cédula by demanding additional favors. We must not stigmatize this as begging, or avarice, be-

cause it is likely enough that the king's grants were small in proportion to the necessity; but it puts one almost out of patience to see these foolish padres repeatedly losing the bird in hand for an imaginary brace in the bush.[1]

Bravo, however, managed to get most of his amendments approved by the junta; but he soon learned the lesson that had been taught to Kino, Basaldua, and Salvatierra years before. It suddenly occurred to the treasurer that the grant of 13,000 pesos would fall far short of paying the expenses to be incurred, and the result was that the junta's liberal decision was materially altered, Brother Bravo's amendments being for the most part ignored.[2] By the new arrangement about 18,000 pesos were allowed for soldiers and sailors, 3,000 for Salvatierra's journey and debts, and 4,000 for a vessel, which, however, proved rotten and was lost the next year at Matanchel.

With such ready money as he could obtain, the amount not appearing in the records, Bravo bought a cargo of provisions and goods, with which he sailed on the new vessel, and arrived at Loreto in June 1718. He was accompanied by Father Sebastian Sistiaga,[3]

[1] Bravo prepared two memorias after the cédula was submitted to him. The first described the condition of affairs in California. The second insisted on the following measures: The presidial force to be increased to 50 men; a large vessel for transport and discovery, and a smaller one for coast service; a force of 15 men at La Paz to keep buccaneers from lying in wait for the Manila ship; a seminary with its maestro for the education of children; and the right to certain salt mines on Cármen Island to be vested in the missions. Venegas, ii. 286–307, is the most complete authority on these matters. It was estimated that by this time 500,000 pesos had been spent on the missions, nearly all of which had been supplied from private alms. It is difficult to conceive how such a sum could have been expended in doing what had been done; yet as we have seen they were always complaining of poverty, and apparently not without cause.

[2] The garrison was reduced to 25 men, the La Paz guard not granted, and the projects of salt-mines and seminary not acted on. Venegas, who gives the final decree, says the original resolution of the junta was not put on record, but was found some years later in a private house. He tells us that Piccolo's letter to Basaldua, the *Carta* of 1717 already cited, fell into the hands of the bishop of Durango, who sent it to the king from whom it brought out another cédula of Jan. 19, 1719, directing the viceroy in the strongest terms to carry out his instructions. But according to a later order of similar import, dated Feb. 27, 1723, in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 98–100, it seems that the cédula brought out by Piccolo's letter was dated July 6, 1719.

[3] Venegas, ii. 307, puts the arrival in July, but in the *Loreto, Libros de*

and he brought also an appointment for Ugarte as rector, to succeed Salvatierra. Meanwhile nothing of importance had been done at the missions. The autumn of 1717 was, however, a memorable season by reason of the terrible hurricanes and rain storms which swept over the peninsula, destroying the crops, levelling adobe houses and churches, and wrecking pearl-vessels on the coast.[4]

Tamaral soon after his arrival had gone to San Miguel, a visita of San Javier, where he remained some months baptizing and learning the language.[5] Then he went to a place before explored by Piccolo, and there in 1718 he founded the mission of La Purísima Concepcion, which became one of the best establishments in later years, though the soil was not the best. This padre personally baptized two thousand natives here, of thirty-three different rancherías. He also opened a good road to Santa Rosalía. The latter mission was intrusted to Sistiaga, Piccolo being transferred to the more responsible post of Loreto. Ugarte, as superior, continued to reside at San Javier, by far the most flourishing of the missions.

Ugarte had long desired to carry out Salvatierra's

Mision, MS., I find a baptism signed by Sistiaga on June 5th. He was professor of belle-lettres at San Andrés college in Mexico. The provincial refused to let him go at first, but he was urged by Salvatierra through Bravo to take the step, and this was regarded as evidence of divine will, since Sistiaga's wish had not been known to Salvatierra. In 1747 he was transferred to Mexico, and afterward to Puebla, where he died June 23, 1756. Clavigero, *Storia*, ii. 127–9, who was present at his death, says his extreme delicacy of conscience rendered him unfit for a missionary.

[4] The storms began in October. Church and house at San Javier were totally destroyed, Ugarte barely saving his life by taking shelter under a great rock. All the missions were more or less injured. At Loreto a Spanish boy was carried away by the wind and never seen again. Two pearl-vessels were lost with four sailors. According to *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 177, one of the injured vessels was bought for the missions for $4,000—probably an error, for Alegre, iii. 182–3, says that after the loss of the viceroy's vessel the old *San Javier* was the only craft left. See also on the storms, *Venegas*, ii. 310–11; *Clavigero*, ii. 12–13. In the Loreto mission register Capt. Estévan Rodriguez and Don Francisco Cortés de Monroi appear as witnesses at marriages in August and December.

[5] Ugarte had used 40,000 loads of stone and earth to make a road to this place, formed a reservoir, and made a garden with 160,000 loads of earth. *Villavicencio, Vida de Ugarte*, 83–4.

favorite scheme of exploring the gulf to its head in order to learn if it were really a gulf or a strait. He also wished to explore the outer coast. But to make these perilous voyages a good stanch ship was indispensable, such a one as the missions had never had, and were not likely to have if they went on buying and begging worn-out rotten old hulks only fit to drown Jesuits in. So thought Padre Juan, and with characteristic energy he determined to have a ship built in California under his own eyes and according to his own ideas. He hired some shipwrights from the other side, where he intended at first to get also his timber; but he heard of some large trees some thirty leagues above Mulegé, and went thither in September 1718.[6] He found the trees, but in such inaccessible ravines that the builder declared it impossible to use them. But Ugarte, disregarding this opinion, as also the ridicule cast upon his scheme at Loreto, returned to the timber country with three mechanics and all the Indians he could induce to follow him. Even the gentiles of the mountains afforded some aid; and after four months of hard work he had not only felled and prepared the timber, but had opened a road for thirty leagues over the sierra, and with oxen and mules had hauled his material to the coast at Mulegé. The 16th of July the craft was blessed and christened the *Triunfo de la Cruz*, and the 14th of September she was launched amidst great rejoicings.[7]

Meanwhile Bravo made a trip to the main for supplies; for the loss of the viceroy's vessel and the coming of the new soldiers of the garrison, at a time

[6] Venegas, ii. 317, makes it 1719, which must be an error.

[7] The vessel cost less than would have been the case *en la otra banda*, and was worth a fleet of tubs like that thrown together at Matanchel in 1713. In *Villavicencio, Vida de Ugarte*, 97–104, are the following statements, some of doubtful accuracy: Only 3,000 pesos in money were expended on the craft, though debts were contracted; she was completed in four months; Ugarte's enemies claimed that she was built for pearl-fishing, and even the provincial was deceived by these reports, writing the padre a sharp letter. A very good account of the building of this vessel and Ugarte's subsequent voyages in her is *Hittell's El Triunfo de la Cruz.* In *The Californian*, i. 15–19.

when so much was being spent on the new ship, had caused a scarcity of food at the missions. To his delight he found on landing a letter from Father Romano, now provincial,[8] summoning him to Guadalajara to be ordained as a priest and to serve in future as a regular missionary. After his consecration he went to Mexico to report to the viceroy and to beg for a new vessel, which was promised in March 1720, but for which he had to wait till June. Meanwhile he saw the benefactor Villapuente and obtained from him an endowment of 10,000 pesos for a mission at La Paz, of which Bravo himself was to take charge. He sailed from Acapulco in July, touched at Matanchel, and with a large cargo of needed effects arrived at Loreto in August. Here he found Ugarte's *Triunfo de la Cruz* riding proudly at anchor and fully equipped, and he found his place as manager well filled by Brother Mugazabal.[9]

Under date of 1719 I find a royal order on the importance of the Californian conquest, particularly with a view to the occupation of ports on the west coast up to San Diego and Monterey.[10] And during Bravo's absence Guillen with a party of soldiers and Indians had made an exploring expedition by land to

[8] Succeeded as procurador by Padre José de Echeverría. This padre was born in San Sebastian, Spain, in 1688, and came to America in 1712. He did good service as procurador, and was later visitador-general. His life is narrated in a letter of P. Juan Antonio Baltasar mentioning his death in 1756. *Papeles de Jesuitas*, MS., no. 13.

[9] During his absence Alférez Juan Bautista Mugazabal of the garrison who had been stationed at Mulegé had been so influenced by constant association with the padres that he demanded permission to serve as lay brother; and though such a course was not strictly in accordance with the rules, the request was granted, and he was transferred to Loreto to take Bravo's place which he filled most faithfully for 40 years. He was a Spaniard who came to California as a soldier in 1704. He was wont to pray so constantly that the flagstones were worn by his knees. He died at his post in 1761, over 80 years of age. *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 195–6.

[10] *Baja California, Cédulas*, MS., 82–9, including copies and references to earlier documents on the same topic. By documents cited in *Tamaron, Visita de Durango*, MS., 91–2, it appears that there was in 1719–21 a kind of controversy between the episcopal authorities of Durango and Guadalajara, as to which bishopric California, or 'las Islas Californias,' belonged to. It was settled in favor of Guadalajara, though as late as 1731 there was a disposition to question the decision.

Magdalena Bay, known since Vizcaino's time. The country near the bay was, however, found to be barren, destitute of water, and unfit for a colony; so that the

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padre had the satisfaction of reporting on his return that no royal garrison could exist on the contra

costa.[11] The hostility of the southern Indians made it important that the La Paz mission should be founded as soon as possible; and in November 1720 Bravo and Ugarte sailed in the *Triunfo* for that port. Guillen was to open a road from San Juan and join the others. The natives were better disposed than had been expected, even assisting in the work of clearing a site and erecting huts. Then the stores and cattle were landed and the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de la Paz was ushered into existence. The land party arrived later. Ugarte and Guillen remained till January, and the former meanwhile had great success in conciliating southern rancherías including the islanders. Left to himself Father Bravo with the aid of his guard and Indians soon built a church and put the establishment in good working order.[12]

While the others were absent at La Paz, Father Everard Helen, a German Jesuit and new-comer of 1719, set out in December 1720 with the captain and a party of soldiers for Huasinapi, the region where Ugarte had obtained timber for his ship, and there, to the great satisfaction of the natives, who gladly assisted at putting up the buildings, he founded the new mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, some sixty leagues to the north-west of Loreto.[13] It was apparently about this time that the mission of San

[11] Venegas, ii. 339–42, makes the date of this trip 1719; but there are some signs of confusion, and it may have been a year or two later; 1719 is also given in *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 178–9.

[12] Bravo served at La Paz till 1728, increasing the neophyte population to 800, at the mission and the two visitas of Todos Santos and Angel de la Guarda. He was succeeded by William Gordon. There was fertile soil a few leagues from La Paz. In later years, *Palou, Noticias*, i. 143, the mission was transferred to the Pacific coast and known as Todos Santos.

[13] According to Venegas' map Guadalupe was farther west than Ugarte's timber region, nearer the San Hilario than the Guadalupe of modern maps. The climate was cold and unhealthy, and the soil barren, though stock-raising was moderately successful. In spite of locusts and epidemics in the early years, it became a large establishment, with 32 rancherías in 1726. Twelve of them were later joined to Santa Rosalía and San Ignacio; the rest formed five pueblos, each with a church. Helen served until 1735, when for ill-health he was transferred to the mainland, dying at Tepozotlan in 1737. *Venegas*, ii. 327–35; *Clavigero*, ii. 24. Palou, *Noticias*, i. 153, says Guadalupe was founded in April 1720, and endowed by Villapuente.

Javier was transferred with its name to one of its visitas formerly called San Pablo.[14]

On his return from La Paz Ugarte at once began to prepare for his long projected voyage up the gulf, and he finally sailed from Loreto the 15th of May 1721 on the *Triunfo* with twenty men, only six of whom were Europeans. The sloop was accompanied by the *Santa Bárbara*, a large open boat carrying five Californians, two Chinos, and a Yaqui. At Concepcion Bay was the first landing, whence a visit was paid to Padre Sistiaga at Mulegé; then they followed the coast northward to Salsipuedes, and headed across the gulf to Santa Sabina, or San Juan Bautista Bay, on the Seri coast, where the natives received the navigators most hospitably at sight of the cross on the *Triunfo's* bowsprit, taking also a letter for the padre at San Ignacio mission. Ugarte was urged by the natives to visit their kinsmen on the island, and with difficulty the vessels were carried through the channel.[15] Constant exposure had told terribly on the padre's aged frame. He now suffered excruciating pains in his legs and groin;[16] but yet he landed, and kneeling in a hut prepared by the natives, blessed each of the savage islanders as they filed before him. Then they reëmbarked and directed their course to the mouth of the Rio de Caborca, or Altar, not far beyond which they found an indifferent anchorage. The *Santa Bárbara* was sent further up the coast, while three men set out by land. The latter found a trail which led to Caborca mission, from the minister of which and of San Ignacio,[17] as well as by purchase from the Pimas, a much needed store of food was obtained. Meanwhile the *Santa Bárbara* had found in

[14] *Barco, Informe de 1762.* In *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 204. He says the change was about 40 years ago.

[15] That between Tiburon Island and the main.

[16] Caused as was believed by some poisonous effect of the gulf water.

[17] The letter to S. Ignacio had been delivered, and the padres were already moving in the matter. Earlier letters had miscarried, so that the padres supposed the trip to have been postponed. See chap. xviii. of this volume.

the north a barren coast without harbors, having once been stranded and in imminent peril; and it was decided again to cross the gulf. They sailed on July 2d, and in three days reached the Californian shore, where the sloop anchored and the crew of the boat landed and made some explorations. Then both vessels proceeded northward and anchored in a large bay, though in a strong current.[18] Again the vessels stood to the northward, and after several days' sailing crossed again to the Pimería coast, shortly afterward anchoring in the eastern mouth of the Colorado River, which at the time was high and formed a very strong current. From their position they could see a promontory on the California side separated by the river only from the mainland. There was some talk of waiting for the flood to subside to explore the river; but the weather was threatening, their position was a dangerous one, and they had really accomplished the object of the voyage. Ugarte had proved to his own satisfaction, and to that of most others who heard his report, what had so often been proved before, that California was not an island.

The 16th of July they started southward, keeping in the middle of the gulf, the threatened storms soon breaking upon them with well nigh fatal effect. In the Salsipuedes channels the scurvy-stricken navigators became confused, had to anchor to avoid being driven ashore, and it was not until the fourth attempt —the tempest raging unceasingly the while—that they succeeded in clearing the islands the 18th of August, well satisfied that the name "get out if thou canst" had not been misapplied.[19] During the storm St Elmo's fire played about the mast-head, giving

[18] The pilot, an Englishman named William Strafford probably—Estrafort and Strafort he is called by Venegas and Clavigero—went ashore in a little skiff, and the boat being damaged by the surf nearly lost his life in regaining the sloop.

[19] Ugarte's sufferings became so unendurable that he wished to be set on the Seri coast by the boat but was prevented by the remonstrances of the crew. Villavicencio, *Vida*, 204–12, says he was most cruelly and unjustly prevented by the pilot from landing on Tiburon Island.

great comfort to all as a mark of divine protection, as did a triple rainbow the day they cleared the islands. Once the cross, made of the first wood cut in the forest of Huasinapi, fell from the bowsprit, and the raging sea was instantly calmed till the relic was recovered. There were other miraculous happenings throughout the voyage, which it is not necessary to chronicle. Before she reached Concepcion Bay the *Triunfo* was again imperilled by a violent storm; and a huge waterspout came like a giant toward the frail craft; but the monster's course was changed by dint of much praying, and they soon anchored in safety. After some days of recuperation at Santa Rosalía, the explorers proceeded to Loreto, where they anchored about the middle of September. Beyond its main purpose of proving California a peninsula—and not all geographers admitted at once that this riddle was solved, this voyage was of considerable importance in affording information about the shores, ports, islands, and currents of the upper gulf.[20]

During Ugarte's absence Tamaral had made several expeditions to the west coast from Purísima, exploring the shore for a long distance southward, but without finding the harbor and colony-site so much desired by the government. After Ugarte's return, Sistiaga and Helen from Mulegé and Guadalupe made a new exploration in November 1721. Their search extended from about latitude 28° down to the region opposite Loreto; and they found three tolerable harbors with wood and water, though the soil was poor. The best was near San Miguel, a pueblo of San Javier mission,

[20] The original account of Ugarte's voyage, with maps and journal of Strafford, were sent to the viceroy for the king, but nothing more is known of them. In the *Gaceta de Mexico*, no. 1, Enero, 1722, appeared an item under date of Sept. 8, 1721, to the effect that Ugarte's return was expected, and that P. Campos had sent him supplies; and in *Id.*, no. 4, April 1722, was published a general account of the voyage from Ugarte's letters. These *Gacetas* are reprinted in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. iv. 26, 98–102. The fullest narrative extant is that in *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 342–65. See also *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 180–1.

from which establishment it was suggested that the Philippine ships might be supplied with provisions. Accordingly the natives were instructed to light fires on the hill-tops in the winter months to attract the galleon; and the plan was successful, for soon the Manila ship entered the harbor, and some of her men landed, though, not understanding the Indians, they did not come to the mission.[21]

A new mission was also founded in 1721, and another attempted without immediate success. They were made necessary by the constant quarrels of the southern Uchitis, Guaicuris, Coras, and islanders, by which turbulent tribes the La Paz establishment was surrounded and kept in danger, notwithstanding Ugarte's past efforts at conciliation. Villapuente had offered to endow two more missions, and this enabled the father superior to issue instructions before his departure for the north. The interest on the endowment of San Juan Bautista had never been paid, though by strict economy the establishment had been kept up. Now it was resolved to make San Juan a visita, and that Guillen should move southward to a site between the lands of the Uchitis and Guaicuris. He went thither in August 1721, soon had the necessary buildings ready, and named the new mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It was generally known as Dolores del Sur. The padre served here for many years, and notwithstanding the barren soil and the bad disposition of the natives the establishment was made a success, at least as a useful barrier between hostile tribes.[22]

The other new mission was founded at the same

[21] *Gacetas de Mexico*, Jan., Feb., June 1722, 26–7, 50–1, 145–9. The original accounts were lost with those of Ugarte's trip, and Venegas laments his inability to find out the particulars. Taylor, *Hist. Sum. L. Cal.*, 32, evolves from his imagination the statement that Ugarte and Strafford made this exploration in person.

[22] Dolores was at first on the shore, 40 leagues south of Loreto, or 70 by the road; but was later moved 10 leagues inland. Its pueblos were Concepcion, Encarnacion, Trinidad, Redencion, and Resureccion. But the padre's influence extended much farther, even to Cape San Lúcas. In 1744 he sent a very satisfactory report on the condition of his mission.

time by Father Ignacio María Nápoli, an Italian priest who had arrived a few months before. He sailed from Loreto for La Paz the 21st of July. The intended site was on Las Palmas Bay, forty leagues to the south. Nápoli and Bravo went by land from La Paz, while effects were carried in boats borrowed from a pearl-vessel, and the vessel from Loreto was sent to Sinaloa for supplies. The arrival was the last week in August; and the Coras though at first suspicious were conciliated with gifts. The 4th of September twenty-nine of their children were baptized. A kind of temporary peace was also patched up between the Coras and their old foes the Guaicuris. But to do all this supplies and even the altar furniture had been exhausted in gifts; and Nápoli with his escort had to return to La Paz for a fresh store. During their absence of two months, the Cerralvo islanders made a raid on the place, killing several Coras and stealing all portable property. The soldiers taught the islanders a bloody lesson on their return; but Nápoli deemed it not prudent to remain, and removed to a spot some thirty leagues from La Paz and five from the gulf. In 1723 he built a church a little farther inland, which when nearly completed was destroyed by a hurricane, falling upon and killing many natives, whose friends wished in turn to kill the padre, but failed. The church was rebuilt and dedicated to Santiago.[23]

In 1722 the peninsula was visited by immense swarms of locusts, hitherto unknown in California.[24] They devoured every green thing, and were themselves eaten in great quantities by the Indians, who for some time could get no other food. There resulted

[23] *Gaceta de Mexico*, Jan. Feb. 1722, 26–7, 52–4; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 182; *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 372–90. Nápoli remained at Santiago until 1726, being succeeded by Lorenzo Carranco who was murdered by the Indians in 1734. There was plenty of water which ensured better crops than were raised at most missions. Palou, *Noticias*, i. 139, says Villapuente endowed this mission in 1719.

[24] They came again in 1746–7–8–9, 1753, 1765–6–7. *Clavérigo, Storia*, i. 84.

an epidemic which carried off many natives.[25] In 1823 the captain of Loreto with a party of soldiers made a tour through the south with a view to inspire some degree of awe and respect among the turbulent tribes of that region. Similar tours were made in later years. These southern Indians, bad as they were, were made worse by mulattoes and mestizos left among them from time to time by the pearl-fishers. For several years from 1723 there is nothing requiring notice in the annals of the peninsula.[26]

Some excitement was caused in 1727 by the arrival of Father Juan Bautista Luyando. This pious Jesuit on joining the order some years before had devoted a part of his fortune to the endownment of a mission, and he now wished to become the founder in person. It was resolved that the new establishment should be in the region north of Guadalupe, where Piccolo had long ago found the natives well disposed, and where Sistiaga now went to engage in preparatory work while Luyando wrestled with the idiom at Loreto. In January 1728 he proceeded to the new field, where many had already been baptized and married; and he soon had a great number of catechumens about him, so many that his large supply of food was exhausted, and more had to be brought from Loreto. The Indians, and even soldiers, aided in the erection of buildings, and on Christmas the mission of San Ignacio was formally founded by the dedication of the church.[27] In 1728 the king issued several cédulas,

[25] At Guadalupe the pestilence was especially virulent, 228 Christian adults dying. The mortality was nearly as great at some other establishments.

[26] Capt. Andrés Lopez appears in 1723–4 as witness at marriages. In Sept. 1724 a daughter of Capt. Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo was married to José Antonio Robles. The signature of Father Francisco Ossorio appears in July 1725. *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS.

[27] Luyando's signature appears in the *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, in 1727–8. The same records bear the signature of Father Lorenzo José Carranco in 1727 for the first time. According to the original, *San Ignacio, Libros de Mision*, MS., baptisms began Oct. 22, 1716. Four hundred and nineteen were baptized before the foundation in 1728; 106 before 1726; and 2,292 before 1741. Luyando is named as founder, but nearly all the entries are signed by Sistiaga in the early years. There were 36 marriages before the founding, the date of which may have been July 7, 1728, instead of Christmas. Deaths to

ordering investigation of several subjects on which he had received memorials. These subjects were the disputed episcopal jurisdiction, an increase of the presidial force to fifty men, and the cession of Cármen Island to the missionaries—for purposes of pasturage![28]

The year 1729 opened sorrowfully. The 22d of February Father Francisco María Piccolo breathed his last at Loreto, in the seventy-ninth year of his life and the thirty-second of his labors in California. His loss was irreparable, and his character receives perhaps but little more than its due of praise from Alegre, who describes him as indefatigable, zealous, gentle, and of marvellous purity of conscience, which in the opinion of his confessors he never tarnished with any fault.[29]

Procurador Echeverría came to Sinaloa this year to see about procuring a vessel for the missions, and having been appointed visitador general he resolved to make California the scene of his first labors,[30] especially as Villapuente and his sister-in-law, Doña Rosa de la Peña, had offered to endow two new missions. Echeverría crossed over in the *Triunfo* from Ahome, and arrived at Loreto the 27th of October. Scarcely waiting to recover from a malignant fever, the visitador with two soldiers and a few Indians spent forty-eight days in a tour of inspection through the north, returning surprised and delighted with the progress made.[31] Then he prepared for a tour in the south,

1740, 2,006; marriages to 1748, 848. The site is called Kadaa in San Vicente Ferrer Valley. See also *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 182–4; *Venegas, Noticia*, ii. 390–409. The land here had already been cultivated by Sistiaga and Helen for grain and vegetables; Luyando soon planted trees and vines. Notwithstanding agricultural advantages, and the docile disposition of the natives, the padre had much trouble with neighboring tribes, and, worn out, he was succeeded after four years by Sistiaga. Taraval served from 1732, and Fernando Consag seems to have been minister from 1736 to 1747, and after him Pedro María Nascimben, and later José Gasteiger.

[28] Order of May 10th and July 10, 1728. *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 102–4.

[29] *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 236.

[30] Brother Francisco Trompes succeeded him as procurador and served till his death in 1750.

[31] His letter of Feb. 10, 1730, is in *Venegas*, ii. 421–4. Over 6,000 natives had been baptized in the north.

where the new missions were to be. One of them at Las Palmas, the original site of Santiago, could not be begun yet for want of a minister; for the other it was decided to transfer Tamaral from Purísima, where his place would be taken by Father Sigismundo Taraval soon to arrive,[32] since an experienced missionary would be needed at Cape San Lúcas. Echeverría and Tamaral sailed on March 10, 1730, arriving in nine days at La Paz, where they were received by Father William Gordon, the successor of Bravo. The southern Indians were now tranquil; and continuing their journey by way of Santiago, the padres found not far from the cape two fine lakes stocked with fish and surrounded by wooded hills, about a league from the shore of a spacious roadstead. Here a site was chosen and temporary buildings were erected. Few Indians presented themselves, saying that the rest of their tribe had perished in an epidemic; but no sooner had Echeverría and two of the soldiers departed than the natives came in crowds. Inviting as the spot had seemed, life there soon became intolerable by reason of mosquitoes; and Tamaral soon selected a new site six miles from the coast, where another church and dwelling were erected, and here sprang up the mission of San José del Cabo, where 1,300 natives were baptized the first year. Meanwhile Father Taraval arrived in May, and proceeded immediately to Purísima, though disappointed in not being able to found his new mission at Las Palmas.[33]

This same year the missions had to bear the greatest loss since the death of Salvatierra in 1717.

[32] His name appears first on May 4, 1730, at S. Ignacio. *Lib. Mision*, MS. Names appearing on the Loreto records this year are those of Mayorga, Guillen, Echeverría, and Tamaral. *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS.

[33] Sigismundo Taraval was born at Lodi in 1700. He was a young man of literary ability, and was charged by the provincial to write a history of the California missions, and he seems to have done so, for Venegas admits having derived most of his information from the work; and Clavigero saw over 12 volumes of MSS. in the Jesuit college at Guadalajara. I have before me *Taraval, Elogios de Misioneros de Baja California*, MS., being eulogies of padres Tamaral, Carranco, and Mayorga. He was rector in 1737, and died at Guadalajara in 1763, having lived there since 1751.

Juan Ugarte died the 29th of December, at the age of seventy years, thirty of them spent in California. Again and again had his courage, pertinacity, and tact saved the missions from dissolution. Every crisis of distress and despair had found him ready. His heart had been strong when all others were weak, his hand active when others were listless. The natives feared, respected, and loved him, for he ever tempered the ruler's authority with the friend's affability, the gentleness of the priest with the dignity of the man. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities indispensable to a leader of pioneers. He died at his own mission of San Javier, or San Pablo.[34]

Having served a year at Purísima, and made several entradas by which he had extended the jurisdiction of that mission, Taraval was called in 1732 to San Ignacio to take the place of Sistiaga, now made visitador. On the west coast in that latitude was a Christian ranchería of Walimea, or Trinidad, under a pious Indian named Cristóbal. Through his influence the natives of that coast and islands farther north were induced to ask for a visit from the padre; and the 3d of December Taraval set out for the west. Reaching the great bay intersected on modern maps by the parallel of 28°, he named it San Javier, and crossed on a raft to a small island called Afegúa, or isle of Birds, now Natividad. From this island he went to the larger one of Cedros, then called Amalgua, or isle of Fogs. From a high mountain on the island he saw the western islets now called San Benito and others in the bay; and far to the north he descried what he thought were other islands, probably in reality projecting points of the main. Believing himself in lati-

[34] *Villavicencio (Juan José), Vida y Virtudes de el Venerable y Apostólico Padre Juan de Ugarte de la Compañía de Jesus, Misionero de las Islas Californias, y uno de sus primeros Conquistadores*, etc. Mexico, 1852. 8vo. 7 l. 214 p., is one of the typical eulogies of one Jesuit by another, filled for the most part with long disquisitions on the Christian virtues of the subject; giving a brief though tolerably accurate account of Ugarte's life; but adding nothing of importance to what has been given in my text.

tude 31° he was disposed to identify the northern islands with Vizcaino's Santa Catalina and others of the Santa Bárbara Channel. He was a long way out of his reckoning as are those who have adopted his idea.[35] The bay islands were named Dolores as a group. The islanders returned with the padre in a body to settle at San Ignacio, one sorcerer who showed reluctance being killed by a shark in crossing to the main. Jacobo Droet is the name of a new padre who came to Loreto in 1732.[36]

Early in 1733, still other tribes came to San Ignacio for baptism from different directions; but Taraval was interrupted in his work by the return of Sistiaga, who had been succeeded by Guillen as visitador,[37] and who brought with him Father Fernando Consag, lately arrived in the country.[38] In obedience to Guillen's instructions Taraval now prepared to found his new mission at Las Palmas Bay. He sailed from Loreto about the middle of the year and from La Paz proceeded by land, finally erecting his chapel not far from the original site of Santiago,[39] and dedicating it

[35] Venegas, ii. 432–43, gravely discusses the matter; and most others express no strong doubt on the subject. Most follow also the English edition of Venegas with its errors and omissions of dates. For instance all between Taraval's arrival in May 1730 and this journey is omitted, and thus 1730 is often given as the date of the expedition. Taylor, *Hist. Sum.*, claims to have consulted the original; but he gives the date as 1730. The trip is recorded also in *Cal., Estab y Prog.*, 196. In his report of this year made before the journey, *Carta al Visitador General sobre Mision de Purísima, 1730*, Taraval gives a detailed description of Purísima and all its pueblos and rancherías, as well as of the mission system and routine.

[36] *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS. Luyando and Mugazabal also appear on the records.

[37] We hear of no rector or superior succeeding Ugarte; but the visitador seems to have exercised the same control.

[38] Fernando Consag—so he wrote his name, also written Konsag and Konschak, see *Backer, Bibliothèque*—was a native of Hungary born in 1703, the son of an officer in the army. He came to America in 1730 and to California in 1732. He served chiefly at S. Ignacio, but also for a time in the south. I shall have occasion to notice several of his northern explorations. He died Sept. 10, 1759. *Zevallos* (*Francisco*), *Vida del P. Fernando Konsag*, Mexico, 1764, 12mo, 31 pp., is a letter from the provincial on the early life, missionary labors, and writings of the padre. This writer implies what is stated by Backer, *Bibliothèque*, that Consag wrote the *Apostólicos Afanes;* but I think such was not the case.

[39] Clavigero, *Storia*, ii. 78–9, diverges from his model to say that Sta Rosa was not founded here but at Todos Santos near the west coast; but others

to Santa Rosa in honor of the foundress, Doña Rosa de la Peña. He found his flock already somewhat domesticated, and in a few months made great progress in winning their esteem, as he had reason to know in the troubles that were to come. Yet they were fickle and treacherous, and the padre kept his army of three troopers near him.

For some time the southern savages had been chafing under restraints imposed, being especially indignant that polygamy was not permitted. Perhaps the padres might have succeeded in allaying the brewing storm, but for the efforts of Chicori and Boton, the first a mulatto and the second the offspring of a mulatto and Indian, formerly in some authority at Santiago, but deposed and publicly whipped by Padre Carranco for his vicious conduct. Boton swore vengeance, but Carranco was warned in time to escape, and the conspirator went to join Chicori, chief of the Teneca ranchería near San José del Cabo, who was angry with Padre Tamaral for a reprimand. The two resolved to kill the fathers. Tamaral went to aid Carranco in quelling disturbances at Santiago; and the two plotters with a band of villains lay in wait for him on his return. Receiving a warning, however, from friendly natives, Tamaral sent instructions to his neophytes to fall upon the enemy's rear which they did, forcing them to flee for their lives, and destroying their rancherías. The two leaders soon tendered their submission, the padres too readily consented to a peace, and there was no further outbreak in 1733.

In January 1734 the Manila galleon for the first time put in at San Bernabé just east of the cape; and the crew, sorely afflicted by scurvy, were restored to health by pitahayas and fresh meat from the mission. Three men remained, one of whom died, and the others, Captain Baytos and Fray Domingo Horbi-

say that it was La Paz that was transferred to Todos Santos. *Venegas*, ii. 443-5; *Alegre*, iii. 251; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 197.

goso, recovered to depart later. The commander announced that the galleon would touch here on every voyage, asking that a supply of provisions should be made ready. He also urged upon the government the importance of a presidio at the cape, but without effect.

Meanwhile Boton and Chicori were secretly spreading sedition, their main reliance being the unpopularity of the law against polygamy. The military force in the south was six men; three soldiers at Santa Rosa with Taraval, two invalid mestizos with Carranco at Santiago, one man, Romero, in charge of La Paz, while Father Gordon was absent at Loreto, and no guard at all with Tamaral at San José. Yet the Indians greatly dreaded the fire-arms, and the insurgents resorted to stratagem. Early in September 1734 they waylaid and murdered one of Taraval's soldiers, and sent for the padre to visit the man who they said was lying sick in the woods. His suspicions being aroused he did not go; but a few days later Romero, the solitary guard at La Paz, was killed. About this time a soldier came to San José to protect Tamaral, who was in bad health, and finding signs of rebellion he begged the padre to flee, and on his refusal started for La Paz alone. He found a ruined mission with blood-stained walls and floors, marks of violent deeds everywhere, and he fled in terror to Dolores. Visitador Guillen had long apprehended this trouble; and he sent letters summoning the padre to Dolores, but the roads were already closed. Carranco sent a party of his Christian Indians to bring Tamaral to Santiago, but again he refused to quit his post. The party fell in with a large body of the rebels on their way to San José; but learning that Carranco suspected their designs they resolved to attack him, first forcing the Christians to join them.

Early in the morning of October 1st they reached Santiago. While Father Carranco was engaged in conversation with the neophytes the others rushed in

and killed him. His body with that of an Indian servant, after gross indignities, was burned.[40] The church was then destroyed and the ornaments were burned, and the two mestizo guards returning from the fields shared the fate of their master, both pagans and Christians dancing deliriously the while about the holocaust they had made. The insurgents, followed by a great crowd, now bent their steps to San José, arriving in the morning of the 3d. Tamaral knew his time had come, but he spoke calmly to the mob, refusing to quarrel about the impossible things they asked, and dying without a sign of annoyance.[41] The scene at Santiago was then reënacted, but more deliberately and with more abominable ceremonies. These orgies gave Father Taraval time to escape from Santa Rosa with the church paraphernalia to La Paz, whence he crossed on a boat sent by Guillen to Espíritu Santo Island, and soon went to Dolores. The murderers, enraged at Taraval's escape, wreaked their vengeance on his neophytes, killing twenty-seven of them. Then they began to quarrel among themselves; and soon the southern part of the peninsula was once more in the state of chaotic discord in which the missionaries had originally found it.[42]

At the first alarm Guillen had written to the viceroy and provincial, urging the founding of a presidio in the south; but the viceroy declined to do more than recommend an application to the court at Madrid.[43] This was but poor comfort, and the revolt threatened to infect the whole province. The captain, with nine men, went down to Dolores, but did not deem it pru-

[40] Lorenzo Carranco was a native of Cholula, educated at Puebla, and passed his novitiate at Tepozotlan. *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 90. Alegre, iii. 261, says his martyrdom in California had been foretold by Padre Zorilla in Mexico. See biographical sketch in *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 194–5. See also *Taraval, Elogios*, MS., 2–4, 9.

[41] See *Taraval, Elogios*, MS., 4–8.

[42] Baegert, *Nachrichten von Cal.*, 277-8, triumphantly tells us that the original population of 4,000 was in a few years reduced to 400 by war and diseases sent upon these people for their sins.

[43] Alegre, iii. 256–7, says a reason for failures was that viceroy, archbishop, and provincial were not personally on friendly terms.

dent to advance on the foe. Even the warlike Cochimís of the north showed some signs of dissatisfaction, though they had always been friendly to the padres. They saw their old customs overturned, their gods belittled, their lands coolly appropriated by invaders without strength, conquerors without force, and masters without title. Now that the example was set, the temptation was strong to follow it. Guillen was resolved that the southern tragedies should not be repeated in the north; and early in 1735 he peremptorily ordered all the padres to repair at once to Loreto. They obeyed somewhat deliberately, each bringing with him the valuables of his mission.

A new appeal of Father Guillen to the viceroy had no effect, though the provincial, through Procurador General Rodero, succeeded in arousing some interest in Spain.[44] But at the same time Father Bravo sent an appeal to Governor Huidrobo and the Sinaloa missionaries, for soldiers or Yaquis. Five hundred Yaquis at once volunteered, only sixty of whom could be brought by the vessel. By the time of their arrival all need for their services in the north had ceased; for the tribes had voluntarily tendered their submission, with expressions of contrition for backslidings, and had persuaded the padres to return to their posts. The Yaqui warriors were, therefore, sent down to Dolores to reënforce the captain and his little band. Then an advance was made into the country of the foe, the army advancing by land and water to La Paz as a base of operations. One party was furiously attacked on arrival, but on the coming of the others the savages scattered.

As was generally the case on such occasions, many natives now came to the camp claiming to have been loyal from the first. From these men were learned the particulars of an affair which had made the rebels

[44] Two or three orders of 1735–7, vaguely ordering the viceroy to take the necessary steps to put down the revolt in California. *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 104–7.

more recklessly audacious than before. The Manila galleon, the *San Cristóbal*, had approached San Bernabé expecting the same hospitable treatment that had welcomed the ship of the preceding year. Though the prearranged signals were not seen, the captain sent a boat with thirteen men ashore, all of whom were massacred. A larger force landed, found the murderers breaking up the boat for her iron, killed some of them and carried off four prisoners to Acapulco.[45]

So far as pecuniary support was concerned the missions had now been for some years on a secure footing, owing to the wise system of investing the California fund in real estate. In 1735 the marquis de Villapuente and his wife made very large additions to the estates,[46] so that the once worthless peninsula was now grown into a province well worthy of the crown's protection. Still, so long as the rebellion had brought disaster to missionaries only the viceroy had remained unmoved; but the murder of the galleon's sailors and passengers, some of the latter perhaps men of distinction, could not be permitted to pass unavenged. Governor Huidrobo was therefore ordered to invade the country with a strong force and reduce the rebels to order, acting according to his own judgment, without being in any way subject to the authority of the padres. The governor made known his orders to the fathers, directed that hostilities in the La Paz district should be suspended, and asked for a vessel to fetch him and his troops. His commands were obeyed to the letter, and he was received with great honors at Loreto. He began operations in the most approved military style and with much energy. The reduction of these miserable

[45] *Venegas*, ii. 485–7; *Clavigero*, ii. 101–2. Alegre, iii. 257–9, has an account taken from a letter of the captain of the galleon to the viceroy, which gives a version that differs in details from that given by the others, and is quite as likely to be accurate.

[46] Grant of the San Pedro Ibarra hacienda in *San Miguel, Documentos*, 3–4, 10–17. See also *Doyle's Hist. Pious Fund*, 4.

savages he thought an easy matter, and he paid no heed to the missionaries' advice or experience. For several months this self-reliant and over-wise general carried on a fruitless campaign. The rebels were now scattered all over the country, and simply fled or hid themselves at his approach. Wherever he went the country seemed an uninhabited desert, and at last the baffled governor was obliged to turn to the padres for aid.

This change of policy took place at the end of 1736. The Jesuits without thought of past rebuffs were glad to devote all their skill to the task; and by their contrivance the savages were wheedled into a general engagement, in which they were routed with great loss. Once again they rallied and met Huidrobo's force in open battle with the same result; and then they tendered submission and prayed for mercy. The governor insisted on a surrender of the ringleaders, but instead of inflicting the capital punishment their crimes so richly deserved, he merely banished them to the mainland.[47]

While the war was going on the king had yielded to importunities of Jesuits and others, and had issued orders for an increase of the presidial force and the establishment of a new presidio in the south.[48] The execution was intrusted to Governor Huidrobo, who, for the greater convenience of the Manila ship, decided to found the presidio at San José del Cabo instead of La Paz as had been intended at first. The commandant was to be entirely free from missionary control;

[47] The old writers exultingly tell us how God took their punishment into his own hands. They attempted while crossing to seize the vessel, and in the conflict most were killed. The survivors, probably Boton and Chicori, soon died a violent and miserable death on the main. The cost of the campaign was finally paid from the royal treasury by an order of April 2, 1742. *Venegas*, ii. 499; *Clavigero*, ii. 115; *Alegre*, iii. 276. The order of April referred to is in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 110–18, and is of 1843 instead of 1842. The amount granted from the treasury was about 50,000 pesos. Many previous orders are alluded to and many details given of the official acts to be noted in a general way in my text.

[48] This order of 1735 is not given, but is alluded to in the order of April 1743 as a secret one.

but this innovation was neutralized at first by the appointment of a son of the captain at Loreto, Bernardo Rodriguez Lorenzo y la Rea,[49] who had inherited all his father's reverence for the missionaries. This officer, caring less for the convenience of the Manila ship than for the safety of the missions, divided his force, placing ten men at La Paz, ten at Santiago, and ten at the cape. This soon sealed his fate. He was displaced by Pedro Álvarez de Acebedo, against the protest of the procurador that it was a violation of the original charter. Disorders under Acebedo's rule came near causing another revolt; the viceroy admitted his error, and a lieutenant was appointed subject to the captain at Loreto, who was as before amenable to the authority of the padre superior.

As soon as order had been restored steps were taken for a restoration of the destroyed missions. Padre Mayorga had died in November 1736, at the mission of Comondú, which he had founded in 1708;[50] and the force had been still further reduced by the removal of Father Helen to the mainland in 1735.[51] In 1736, however, there arrived Father Antonio Tempis;[52] and the next year there appear on the records the names of padres Francisco Javier Wagner, who succeeded Mayorga at Comondú, and Andrés Javier García. In 1740 the name of Francisco María Masariegos appears.[53] It was probably in 1737, but

[49] He was probably a native of California. Venegas and his followers fall into some confusion about the name as between Lorenzo and La Rea. It is possible, however, that he was a son of Lorenzo's wife by a former husband, though I find no evidence of the fact.

[50] Eulogy of Padre Mayorga, in *Taraval, Elogios*, MS., 10–22.

[51] Everardo Helen, Hellen, or Hyelen, had come to California in 1719. Except that he was a German and died at Tepozotlan in 1757, nothing is known of him beyond his labors in the peninsula. *Dicc. Univ.*, iv. 217–18, from Clavigero.

[52] Tempis was a native of Olmuz, Moravia, born in 1703, of noble parentage. He was educated in Prague, distinguishing himself there and elsewhere as a scholar and teacher. His only missionary service was at Santiago, Cal., where he died July 6, 1746. *Consag, Vida y Trabajos del P. Antonio Tempis* (Mexico, 1749), 12mo, 43 pages. This is a letter of Oct. 1, 1748, to the superiors of the order in Mexico, in which the writer describes the life and virtues of his countryman.

[53] *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS. Some of these may have been mere

possibly in 1738, that Tempis went to reëstablish the mission of Santiago, where he spent the rest of his life. About the same time a new mission was formed of three pueblos between Dolores del Sur and San Javier. It was endowed by Luis de Velasco, named San Luis Gonzaga, and its first minister was either one of the two new padres named above or Padre Lamberto Hostell, who was serving there in 1745.[54]

On leaving California Huidrobo, who flattered himself that the natives had been taught a lesson never to be forgotten, ordered all soldiers to be withdrawn from the missions to the presidios, except a guard of eight or ten at San Ignacio and Dolores. But after the Indians of San José de Comondú had twice attempted the life of Father Wagner,[55] the captain of Loreto took the responsibility of sending a soldier for the protection of each padre.[56] And this precaution proved a necessary one, for it was not long before the tribes from Santiago to the cape were again in revolt. Murdering a goatherd and attempting the life of another, they induced the neophytes of San José to desert in a body. The fugitives were, however, induced to return; and the captain, with an army of soldiers, neophytes, and pagan allies, soon put down the revolt, killing several of the foe, executing three and banishing four ringleaders, besides flogging many more.[57] Yet no lasting impression could be produced on these fickle and treacherous savages. Turbulence suppressed in one district, broke out in another; now the crew of a pearl-craft were killed; now the cattle

visitors, as nothing more is heard of the last two. Father Nápoli's name appears in 1736, showing that he had not yet left the country.

[54] Clavigero, ii. 42, doubtless a misprint, makes the founding 1747.

[55] On each occasion Alferez Estévan had quelled the tumult, putting to death three ringleaders, exiling and flogging others. *Clavigero, Storia,* ii. 109–11.

[56] Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal.*, 462, says that in the California conversion the faith seems to have been merely pinned on, *prendida con alfileres*, for it was much less difficult to convert the natives than to control them as Christians.

[57] *Clavigero, Storia,* ii. 112–14.

of a mission were stampeded; now a tribe attacked a neophyte community or a rival ranchería.[58] For a decade and more after the governor's campaigns the south was seldom free from disorders of some kind. At first the blame was laid at the door of the independent captain; but the records do not show any diminution of troubles after that officer was subjected to the padres.

In addition to these calamities an intermittent epidemic made fearful havoc among the southern tribes from 1742 to 1748. Some of the missions were so completely depopulated by this scourge that it became necessary to incorporate them with others. In this way the surviving neophytes of Santa Rosa and San José were transferred to Santiago, while the remnants of La Paz were removed to Todos Santos.[59]

It is said that at Loreto a new presidio was built, but not on the original site, in 1742–3.[60] In 1744 the veteran Captain Lorenzo became blind and was succeeded by his son Bernardo, dying two years later.[61] In the same year the missionaries lost two of their number. Jaime Bravo died at San Javier the 13th of May 1744, after almost forty years of

[58] *Alegre*, iii. 288–9; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 201; Clavigero, ii. 123, says that the southern captain was too prone to bloody revenge for outrages of the savages.

[59] The epidemic, probably small-pox, raged most furiously in 1742, 1744, and 1748. Hardly one sixth of the southern people were left alive. The Uchitis lost more than any other tribe, only one surviving in 1767. *Clavigero*, ii. 123. All agree that the plague was a punishment from heaven. One writer tells us that not only did the Indians of the north escape, but loyal ones in the south were saved by lemon-juice and sea-baths, a treatment that proved fatal to malefactors. At San José del Cabo alone 500 natives were carried off. *Sales, Noticias Cal.*, i. 90–1.

[60] In *Ilustracion Mexicana*, i. 277–8, is a view of the presidio in 1850. It is said that on the lintel of the chief door is an inscription to the effect that the building was completed in 1742. Negrete, in *Soc. Mex. Geog. Bol.*, vii. 338–9, says the presidio was founded on its present site in 1743; but he is in error in supposing it had been at San Bruno before.

[61] Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo was a native of Portugal. In Mexico he was for some years majordomo of an hacienda belonging to the Tepozatlan college. He came to California with Salvatierra in 1697, and was made captain by his companions in 1701. His marriage in 1707 has been noted. He was as pious as he was brave, and nothing could shake his devotion to the padres. He died full of years and honors Nov. 1st or 4th, 1746. Notwithstanding his services no pension could be obtained in his last years.

faithful service;[62] and Francisco Javier Wagner died at San José de Comondú the 12th of October, being succeeded by Jacobo Droet, who had come in 1732.

But two new padres arrived at the same time; one of them was Gaspar de Trujillo to take charge of Loreto, which flourished exceedingly under his care, particularly in matters religious,[63] and the other Miguel del Barco.[64] Other padres who came before 1745, some of them perhaps several years earlier, were Karl Neumayer, Lamberto Hostell, Pedro María Nascimben, and José Gasteiger.[65] Father Antonio Tempis died in 1746 at Santiago as has already been noted. In 1747 Sebastian Sistiaga was transferred to the mainland by reason of ill health, his place at San Ignacio being taken by Consag; and in 1748 the list of losses was increased by the death of Father Clemente Guillen, the senior member of the band,[66] and in 1750 by that of the young comandante Lorenzo y la Rea.[67] The last accessions of the half century were padres Juan de Armesto and Ducrue, the former taking the place of Trujillo in 1748.[68]

Perhaps the most important event of the period was Father Consag's exploration of the upper gulf

[62] He was 61 years of age, the founder of La Paz, and died as piously as he had lived. He was buried in the centre of the presbytery 1½ varas from the last step of the high altar. *Loreto, Libro de Mision*, MS.

[63] His name appears frequently down to 1752. *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS. He obtained 'la apetida licencia de tener en depósito al Señor Sacramentado...Ningun otro misionero ha podido conseguir hasta ahora para su mision é iglesia esta gracia tan estimable.' *Barco, Informe del estado de la mision de San Francisco Javier de California, 1762*, 205.

[64] His name appears in April and May 1744 in *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS. Clavigero implies that he came in 1737.

[65] Venegas, ii. 546–50, names these padres not mentioned before in a list of missions and their padres. Most of them appear later on the registers of Loreto and San Ignacio.

[66] He died at Loreto April 8, 1748, aged 71 years, 52 years a Jesuit, and 34 (37?) in California, spending 20 years in converting the Guaicuri nation. Came to Loreto for his health in April 1747, intending to go later to Comondú. Worked hard learning new languages within a week of his death. *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.

[67] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS. He died Dec. 10, 1750. The death of Lieut. Juan Carrillo on May 4, 1748, is also recorded. He was husband of Efigenia Millan, whoever she may have been.

[68] *Barco, Informe, 1762*, p. 207.

coasts in 1746. It was made by order of Provincial Escobar who hoped by the results to increase the importance of California in the king's eyes. Though the padres were to bear the expense, and had no reason to believe that their cause would be advanced by results, they did not hesitate. The 9th of June Consag with a party of Yaquis, Californians, and

CONSAG'S MAP, 1746.

soldiers, sailed in four open boats from San Cárlos, a shallow inlet lying a little north of east from the padre's mission of San Ignacio. Slowly they worked their way northward, as near the shore as possible, landing often, finding the natives at one point friendly,

at another hostile, until they reached the mouth of the Colorado in the middle of July. An attempt was made to explore the river, but was frustrated by the strong current, one boat being lost. On the 25th they started southward and on the return examined such points as had been omitted on the upward trip. The results of the expedition are shown on the annexed copy of Consag's map.[69] The diary gives a detailed description of the coast, but records nothing of note in the way of adventures. The voyage once more proved California to be a peninsula.

After the royal order of April 1743, in which expenses of the Californian revolt were assumed for the treasury, a consultation was held by the council of the Indies through the influence of Jesuit authorities; and the recommendations of the council were issued in a cédula of November 13, 1744. The document was long, and favorable to the Jesuits. Past orders in their behalf were mentioned, with the admission that those orders, particularly in the payment of stipends, had not been obeyed, but with the assurance that they would now be promptly attended to. Settlements and presidios and vessels were to be provided, and detailed reports were to be called for that the aid might be more efficient. The royal views went far beyond the peninsula, up to Monterey, and an essential feature of the new movement was to be the occupation of Pimería Alta, a presidio on the Gila, and an advance on California from the north-east. All this, however, took the form of general recommendations of a grand scheme to be investigated. In 1745 the provincial Escobar prepared a report on the condition and needs of the Californian establishments with a view particularly to the projects of the late cédula. He showed that California was too sterile a province

[69] *Consag, Derrotero del Viage que en descubrimiento de la costa Oriental de Californias hasta el Rio Colorado... hizo el Padre... 1746.* In *Venegas, Noticia*, iii. 140–94; also in *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 276–94. And more briefly in *Apostólicos Afanes*, 389 et seq.; *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 120–2; *Alegre, Hist.*, iii. 286–7; *Zevallos, Vida de Konsag*, 9–10.

for Spanish settlements; that a new vessel and an increased military force were essential, and that the missionaries should have a larger stipend than three hundred pesos. And he went somewhat into details respecting the necessity and methods of occupying the Gila region as a step toward the conquest of the coast to the north. It was by Escobar's orders and with a view to these general projects that Consag's exploration was made in 1746, as already recorded. The new king, December 4, 1747, reissued the former cédula with Escobar's report, and ordered the viceroy to take such steps as might seem necessary for the carrying-out of the projects recommended. And that seems to have been the end of the matter for years so far as California was concerned. I find no evidence even that a stipend was paid to any Jesuit missionary, or that any additional expense was incurred by the government for garrison or maritime service.[70]

The record of Father Venegas ends practically with 1746, and so far as details of California happenings are concerned we shall find nothing to take its place for the next twenty years. I append his closing table of missions, pueblos, and padres,[71] adding such changes

[70] Orders of Nov. 13, 1744, and Dec. 4, 1747, in *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 117–44: *Venegas, Not.*, ii. 498–520, 536–46; *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 115–20; *Alegre, Hist.*, iii. 286.

[71] *Venegas, Not.*, ii. 546–50; *Catalogus Personarum et Domiciliorum*, Mexici, 1751.

I. Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 25° 30′; presidio, P. Gaspar de Trujillo (1750, P. Juan Armesto, procurador).

II. San Javier, 25° 30′; P. Miguel del Barco (visitador in 1750). Pueblos: Sta Rosalía, 7 leagues W.; S. Miguel, 8 l. N.; S. Agustin, 10 l. S. E.; Dolores, 2 l. E.; S. Pablo, 8 l. N. W.

III. Dolores del Sur, formerly San Juan Bautista Malibat, or Liguí; P. Clemente Guillen (1750, P. Lamberto Hostell, superior). Pueblos: Dolores, 24° 30′; Concepcion, Encarnacion, Trinidad, Redempcion, Resurreccion.

IV. San Luis Gonzaga, 25°; P. Lamberto Hostell (1750, P. Jacob Baegert). Pueblos: S. Juan Nepomuceno; Sta María Magdalena, on bay of same name.

V. San José de Comondú, 26°; P. Jacobo Droet (1750, P. José Rondero—Rotea?). Pueblos: three not named, 1 l. W., 7 l. N., 10 l. E. on the shore.

VI. Santa Rosalía, 26° 50′; P. Pedro María Nascimben. Pueblos: Trinidad, 6 l. S. E.; S. Marcos, 8 l. N.

VII. Purísima Concepcion, 26°; P. Jacobo Droet. Six pueblos within 8 leagues.

in the personnel as are recorded in a Latin catalogue of the order for 1750. Villa-Señor y Sanchez devoted a chapter of his work, published in 1748, to a somewhat superficial description of the Californian establishments, besides devoting considerable space to Consag's exploring voyage.[72]

VIII. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 27°; P. José Gasteiger. Pueblos: Concepcion, 6 l. s.; S. Miguel, 6 l. s. w.; S. Pedro y S. Pablo, 6 l. w.; Sta María, 5 l. N.

IX. San Ignacio, 28°; P. Sebastian Sistiaga (Consag from 1747). Pueblos: S. Borja, 8 l.; S. Joaquin, 3 l.; S. Sabas, 3 l.; S. Atanasio, 5 l.; Sta Mónica, 7 l.; Sta Marta, 11 l.; Sta Lucía, 10 l.; Sta Ninfa, 5 l.

X. Dolores del Norte, 29°; PP. Sistiaga and Consag, in connection with S. Ignacio; 1,548 converts. (Not in *Catalogus.*)

XI. Santa María Magdalena. Not yet founded, though the Indians had been converted by Consag.

XII. Santiago del Sur, 23°; P. Antonio Tempis (1750, Juan Bischoff). Anchorages of Sta María de la Luz and San Borja.

XIII. Nuestra Señora del Pilar de la Paz. No reports. (1750, P. Francisco Inama.)

XIV. Santa Rosa. No reports. (1750, P. Jorge Redo—Retz?)

XV. San José del Cabo. No reports. (1750, P. Cárlos Neumayer.)

XVI. San Juan Bautista, in the north. Preparations made but not yet founded.

[72] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Americano*, ii. 272–94.

CHAPTER XVII.

LOWER CALIFORNIA—JESUITS AND FRANCISCANS.

1750–1769.

REVIVAL OF INDUSTRIES—CALUMNIES—MEAGRE RECORDS—CONSAG ON THE PACIFIC—FOUNDING OF SANTA GERTRUDIS—RIVERA Y MONCADA COMMANDANT—COAST EXPLORATION—HURRICANE—VENEGAS' MAP—FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO DE BORJA—CHANGES IN MISSIONARIES—LINK'S EXPLORATIONS—FOUNDING OF SANTA MARÍA—TROUBLES IN THE SOUTH—DEMAND FOR WOMEN AND SECULARIZATION—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR PORTOLÁ—WORKS OF BAEGERT AND DUCRUE—MAP—PARTING SCENES—LIST OF JESUIT MISSIONARIES—COMING OF THE FRANCISCANS—OBSERVANTES AND FERNANDINOS—NAMES OF THE SIXTEEN—DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRIARS—A NEW SYSTEM—COMING OF VISITADOR GENERAL GALVEZ—REFORMS INTRODUCED—MISSION CHANGES—TOWNS AND COLONIZATION—REGULATIONS—MINING—TRADE—PREPARATIONS FOR THE OCCUPATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA—THE FOUR EXPEDITIONS—SECULARIZATION OF SANTIAGO AND SAN JOSÉ—FOUNDING OF SAN FERNANDO DE VELICATÁ—THE OLD MUST SUPPORT THE NEW.

WHILE no statistics have been preserved, it appears that in grain, fruit, live-stock and like standard supplies, the missions of Lower California were now nearly self-supporting, and that revenues from the estates of the pious fund were amply sufficient to meet all the wants of the missionaries. The military establishment was supported by the government. There are indications that about the middle of the century the Jesuits adopted a somewhat less exclusive policy than that of earlier years, and even gave some little encouragement to the legitimate development of the country's slight resources. The Manila ship touched at the cape each year, exchanging goods for produce and thus creating quite a lively trade. Other vessels began to arrive from time to time and found the padres ready

for barter. Pearl-fishing was no longer frowned down as altogether detrimental to the country's prosperity, and a few mines were opened on the peninsula. Under this revival of industries farming and stock-raising on a small scale became profitable. But we have only very scanty information on the general subject.[1]

It was, however, impossible to please everybody—or even anybody in the case of the Jesuits as it would seem. That the general and growing feeling against the society was not well founded I am not prepared to say; but it is certain that no imaginable change of policy in California could have lessened that feeling. In former years the Jesuit monopoly was believed to conceal vast treasures. California was an 'el dorado,' and the padres were dragons guarding its wealth.[2]

And now that communication was open by other than missionary craft, the grounds of calumny were by no means removed. Not content with their old mysterious wealth of gold and pearls, the Jesuits now insisted that the galleon, greatly to her own disadvantage, should touch at the cape for their profit; and the coming of other vessels was encouraged that the padres might engage in smuggling![3]

It is not possible to form a connected and complete narrative of mission annals from year to year for the remainder of the Jesuit period. Only a few events are preserved in the records; but they are naturally the most important, and from them and the details of the past the reader may picture to himself the monotony of peninsula happenings and progress in these years. Even the Jesuit chroniclers found nothing of interest in the dry record.

[1] The general industries of the country, especially the pearl-fisheries, will receive attention in a later chapter of this work.

[2] 'The Jesuits kept Europe ignorant about California as long as they could,' says De Pauw, 'and Anson in 1744 was the first to discover how dangerously powerful they were.' *Recherches Phil.*, 158.

[3] Venegas, iii. 222–5, indignantly, but needlessly, denies these charges. Alegre, iii. 289, mentions the circulation of such reports in connection with the visit of a Dutch vessel in 1747–8.

In May and June 1751 Father Consag crossed from San Ignacio to the Pacific, and explored the coast somewhat carefully between latitudes 28° and 30°. A place called Kalvalaga was the northern limit, and there they heard of people in the far north dressed like themselves, obtaining some pieces of cloth and other articles which could not have come, as was thought, from the Californian neophytes or pearl-fishers. The party returned on July 8th to Piedad ranchería above San Ignacio.[4]

Many natives had been converted in the northern regions by Consag and Sistiaga in former years; but lack of missionaries and troubles in the south had prevented the founding of a new mission. Funds were not wanting, for Villapuente had suggested that the revenues of San José del Cabo should be applied to a new northern establishment, whenever the former should be abandoned or become self-supporting. Consag in his late trip selected a site, sending thither some neophytes under a native teacher; and in the summer of 1752 Father Jorge Retz went to take charge of the mission which was named Santa Gertrudis.[5] In the same year Father Armesto went to Mexico as procurador, and his place at Loreto was taken by Juan Javier Bischoff.[6] Father Jacob Baegert may also have come about this time, though there is no definite record of the fact. It was in 1752 also that Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, a man prominent in the later annals of both Californias, received

[4] *Consag, Diario de su Entrada, de 1751.* In *Apostólicos Afanes*, 391–429. The diary is full of petty details, though distances and directions are given in the usual vague manner. Account also in *Zevallos, Vida de Konsag*, 11–12.

[5] According to *Santa Gertrudis, Libros de Mision*, MS., Padre Retz was superior of the missions and from 1756 to 1762 confirmed 1,740 persons. The soil was barren, and the mission required much outside aid for years; but grain and fruit were eventually raised with success. *Clavigero*, ii. 132–9; *Palou, Not.*, i. 161; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 201. Sales, *Noticias de Cal.*, ii. 39–41, says Sta Gertrudis was founded in 1746; but dates in that work are not to be relied on.

[6] *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 207–8. Bischoff is said to have made great improvements in the establishment. He was transferred to Purísima in 1757. The name of Padre Francisco María Badillo also appears on the Loreto books in 1752. *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.

from the king his commission as commandant of the Loreto garrison.[7]

In 1753 Consag made a new exploration of the western coast up to latitude 31°, as he believed, really perhaps not quite to 30°, being well received by the natives, of whom he brought back many to Santa Gertrudis. He was accompanied by Captain Rivera, whose zeal is highly praised in the diary.[8] A hurricane nearly destroyed several of the northern missions in 1754, besides wrecking the best of the padres' vessels.[9] It was in 1757 that Venegas' standard work as revised by Burriel was published at Madrid. Enough has been said of the work elsewhere; but I reproduce the map which accompanied it. From this year to the end of the Jesuit period the name of Father Lúcas Ventura appears on the registers as minister at Loreto.[10]

It was intended to establish a new northern mission in 1759, and in a sense it was founded, though without a regular minister for three years. The duchess of Gandía, María de Borja, had left a large sum of money to endow the mission, which was to be called San Francisco de Borja.[11] Retz had found a good site three days' journey north of Santa Gertrudis; Consag was to superintend the founding, and Father José Rotea, a new-comer, was to be the minister. But Consag died in September 1759, and Rotea had

[7] Sept. 9, 1752. *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., 145–6. This is the first that is known of Rivera; but he is spoken of as a man familiar with all parts of the province, where he had probably served for some years.

[8] *Zevallos, Vida*, 12–14; *Clavigero*, ii. 139; *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 201.

[9] The ill-luck of old seems to have returned to the mission flotilla in these years. Procurador Armesti in 1759 persuaded the viceroy to build a vessel at a royal expense of 19,000 pesos, and the craft was lost at San Lúcas on its first trip. Then a vessel belonging to Dolores was broken up by the native crew after the captain had been murdered. The criminals were punished; but thereafter communication with Loreto was by land. Finally an excellent vessel was built in California by one Molina, at a cost of 18,000 pesos, of which sum 10,000 was paid by the treasury; and Molina later built a smaller vessel paid for by the missions, though surrendered at the expulsion in 1767. *Clavigero*, ii. 142–4.

[10] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.

[11] *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 139–40. Palou, *Not.*, i. 162–3, says this mission was endowed by Antonio Lanza.

VENEGAS' MAP OF THE PENINSULA, 1757.

to take his place at San Ignacio. Yet Retz went on with his work, not only converting and instructing natives, but opening a road from Santa Gertrudis and building a church and dwelling. Thus all was ready, when in 1762 the Bohemian Jesuit, Wenceslao Link, arrived and was appointed to San Francisco.[12] Several years passed before Borja became self-supporting, supplies being meanwhile brought by sea to Los Angeles Bay, some twenty miles from the mission. It soon became comparatively a large and prosperous establishment; but it also had its troubles, caused by the determination of certain medicine-men that the northern tribes should not apostatize from their original faith. It took all of Padre Wenceslao's energy to overcome the hostility excited; but he did it, on one occasion taking prisoners a whole ranchería without striking a blow.[13]

In 1761 the name of Padre Manuel María Sotelo y Figueroa, appears on the records of Loreto and Santa Gertrudis.[14] At the end of the same year Brother Mugazabal died at his post at the age of seventy-seven years, fifty-eight of which had been passed in California, and forty-three as a Jesuit.[15] For 1762 we have reports from fathers Barco, Link, and Rotea on the missions of San Javier, San Francisco de Borja, and San Ignacio respectively, with items of information on other establishments, this matter closing one

[12] Link, or Linck, was a native of Nider, born in 1736, who became a Jesuit in 1754. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 24. In *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 739–40, we read that after the expulsion he died at Vienna in 1772; but a better authority, *Ducrue*, in *Jesuites, Expulsion*, 367, states that in 1773 he became catechist at Olmütz college; also that he wrote a history of the missions in Latin. *Link (Wenzel), Nachrichten von Californien*, is a brief description of the peninsula in *Murr, Nachrichten*, 402–12, where it is stated in a note that he was born at Joachimthal, and was still living at Olmütz in 1790. I shall have occasion to cite other writings of his.

[13] *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 139–50; *Link, Informe de San Borja, 1762*. Extracts in *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 212–15.

[14] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Sta Gertrudis, Lib. Mision*, MS. Sotelo in 1767 was in Puebla. He was a native of Galicia, born in 1736, and made a Jesuit in 1752. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 40. P. Lamberto Hostell was visitador in 1761.

[15] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Barco, Informe de 1762*, 209–10. His body was buried near that of Padre Bravo.

of the most important records hitherto consulted.[16] Early in this year the name of Padre Ignacio Türsch appears on the records.[17] Between August 1762 and April of the next year, the small-pox carried off many neophytes at Loreto. Father Lúcas Ventura began his service in 1764, and fathers Victoriano Arnés and Javier Franco arrived, the latter taking charge of Todos Santos on the death of Father Neumayer in August. The name of Juan José Diez first appears in 1766.[18] There were three other Jesuits in the country in 1767, respecting whose coming I have found no record.[19]

In 1765 Father Link made an exploration of Angel de la Guarda Island, finding it destitute of water and not inhabited by either men or animals, though the natives had led him to expect a different state of things.[20] In February 1766 the same padre set out with a large party from Borja with the intention of reaching the Colorado River by land. He came within some twenty or thirty leagues of the river, as he believed; but difficulties of the way and the exhaustion of the animals forced him to turn back. His diary is full of details, but has no general interest except in the fact that it records the first exploration of the northern peninsula.[21]

There was money from the duchess of Gandia's bequest for a new mission in the north; and, Link having failed to find a better site, Arnés and Diez went in October to found it at a spot called Calagnujuet, eighty miles above Borja, where Consag had been

[16] *Cal., Estab. y Prog.*, 202–19. The *Baja Cal., Cédulas*, MS., is ended by two brief cédulas of 1763–4 of no importance, p. 146–7.

[17] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS. His name was written Tirs by the Spaniards. He was a native of Cometzer, born in 1733, and became a Jesuit in 1754. He was minister at Santiago at the expulsion. *Comp. Jesus, Cat.*, 42.

[18] *Loreto, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Sta Gertrudis, Lib. Mision*, MS. Padres Juan Mariano Blanco and Julian José Salazar officiated at baptisms in 1766; but they seem to have been Sinaloa missionaries visiting the peninsula.

[19] These were Inama, Escalante, and Villavieja.

[20] *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 155–7.

[21] *Link, Diario, 1766*, MS.; *Clavigero, Storia*, i. 21; *Baegert, Nachrichten*, 5–6; *Palou, Not.*, ii. 99.

in earlier years. The padres worked hard, and with much success in the matter of conversion, Arnés continuing his toil alone after Diez was worn out and transferred to Borja and then to Purísima; and some serious troubles with the natives were quelled by the father's skilful application of Link's former policy, a happy mingling of conquest and clemency; but by reason of the barren soil and alkaline water the establishment had to be moved in May 1767 to a new site some fifty miles distant, where new buildings were erected, and where under the name of Santa María the mission soon became somewhat prosperous. It was the last of the Jesuit establishments.[22]

Since 1760, the scanty chronicles of this epoch paying little heed to dates, new troubles had arisen in the south. Several mines were now worked in that region, and the miners had considerable difficulty in obtaining supplies, the missionaries having but little to spare after feeding their neophytes, and demanding what were regarded as extortionate prices. In their consequent hostility to the missions these men shrewdly began to instil new ideas into the minds of the natives, telling them how the aborigines in New Spain tilled their own fields, paid tribute to the king, and sold the produce as they chose. This was a revelation to the Californians, who soon began to demand from the padres a division of land and of live-stock; the women, children, old, and sick to be left in care of the missionaries. The absurdity of such demands is obvious enough. It was only by the most unremitting labors that these lazy natives had been induced to work for a living. Without the urging and example and authority of the padres they would soon have returned to their original savagism; but the miners would in the mean time have cheated them out of their lands and cattle, which was exactly what they desired.

[22] *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 176–83; *Palou, Not.*, i. 164–5. It was on the stream called Carbujakaamang.

Another cause of dissatisfaction, especially in the south, was the scarcity of women. Many natives at Loreto and in the north obtained Yaqui wives; but the turbulent bachelors of the south found no favor in the eyes of mainland maidens. The padres did all they could to remedy the evil; and they even applied to the governor of Sinaloa, engaged in campaigns against the Seris, to capture as many girls of that tribe as possible to be made wives in the peninsula, but none could be caught.

Such being their chief grievances, the southerners resolved to send a deputation to demand from the government the dismissal of the missionaries, and secularization of the missions. Twenty men in the night seized one of the padres' vessels and crossed to Ahome. The padre there succeeded in detaining them for months, except three who succeeded in reaching Montesclaros and laying their complaint before the alférez in command, who promised to forward it to his superiors, but was induced by the Jesuits not to meddle in what did not concern him. Meanwhile a vessel came from Loreto to carry the fugitives back. They were condemned to a severe flogging but pardoned at the padres' intercession. But the Indians, at the instigation of the miners—as the Jesuits say, and as there is no reason to doubt—renewed their efforts, and after an unsuccessful application to the visitador general, again crossed the gulf in a stolen craft, part going to Durango and the rest to Tepic. Three of the latter reached Guadalajara, whence the oidores reported their complaints to the court at Madrid. After being reduced to great destitution on the main the Californians were sent home after an absence of two years, reaching Loreto in a very penitent frame of mind, though in their absence their countrymen had made other efforts in the same direction. In 1766 the Jesuit provincial made a formal offer to give up all the society's missions, including those of California; and in 1767 the Jesuits

declined to receive the bequest of Doña Josefa Argüelles y Miranda, who by her will left a large fortune for the Californian fund.[23]

At first thought it may appear that the Jesuits were wrong in making such efforts to prevent the complaints of their neophytes—especially if they were as absurdly unfounded as is claimed—from reaching the government; but they well knew the use that would be made at this critical time by their enemies of such complaints. Their effect would be consummated long before any explanation could be utilized. It behooved them to keep their local troubles as quiet as possible and leave the great battle to be fought out in Europe.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish dominions in 1767 is a subject that has received due attention in another part of this work.[24] The complicated causes leading to that event did not depend very largely on the doings and reputation of the order in America, and still less of course on developments in any particular American province. In each province the Jesuits had contributed material for the charges, true and false, that had stirred up such a storm of opposition, but it is obviously impossible to estimate the weight of any particular contribution. In each case the charges, the bitterness of prejudice and hatred, were exaggerated by the missionaries themselves. It may be said, however, that California by reason of its isolation, the air of mystery always enveloping it, its known wealth in pearls, the exclusiveness of Jesuit occupation, and the large sums contributed by private benefactors, played as prominent a part in the drama as any province of the New World.[25]

[23] *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 157–70.

[24] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. iii., this series.

[25] Baegert, *Nachrichten*, 331–4, mentions a series of eight charges presented to the viceroy in 1766: 1, that the soldiers were slaves to the padres; 2, were forced to pay exorbitant prices for food; 3, that the Indians were

Late in September 1767 it was reported that a party of strangers had landed at Puerto Escondido below Loreto, remained a few days, and mysteriously sailed away. They appeared later near La Paz, departing after obtaining some provisions and stating that a new governor was coming with a party of Franciscan friars.[26] The Jesuits thought that perhaps their resignation had been accepted, but they were far from suspecting the truth. In fact Don Gaspar de Portolá had been sent as governor to execute the decree of expulsion, and the mysterious strangers were a part of his company strictly enjoined not to divulge the nature of their mission.[27] They returned to the main because Portolá had been delayed; but on the 30th of November the governor landed near San José del Cabo; was welcomed with his company at Mission Santiago by Padre Türsch, and soon had an interview with Captain Rivera y Moncada. He also visited some mines in the vicinity.[28] If he had any extravagant expectations respecting the wealth of the country and the prospect of a forcible resistance to his measures, they were promptly dispelled by his observations in the south and on the march to Loreto, as well as by the statements of Türsch and Rivera. The Jesuit

overworked and underfed; 4, that the Jesuits had silver mines concealed; 5, that it was their fault that the mines of Sta Ana and S. Antonio did not flourish; 6, that they opposed colonization; 7, that they traded with Englishmen; 8, that they taught the Indians nothing of the king of Spain. The captain of the garrison sent a sworn denial of the truth of these charges. Pauw, *Recherches*, i. 161–6, says the Jesuits at first hankered after pearls; then they hoped to find a rich and civilized country; and at last found trade with the galleon very profitable. Robertson, *Hist. Amer.*, ii. 330, tells us the Jesuits studiously concealed the great resources of the peninsula; and this has always been a popular idea, though a very absurd one. Forbes, *Hist. Cal.*, 61–2, complains of the slavery that destroyed the natives; and Combier, *Voyage*, 330–3, rails at some length in the same strain.

[26] *Palou, Not.*, i. 14.

[27] It was feared perhaps that the Jesuits would arm for defence, or at least conceal their treasure. At least this is a favorite view of the padres. Baegart, *Nachrichten*, 302, says it was rumored that there were 8,000 muskets concealed in their houses with which to arm the Indians. The greatest care had been taken to prevent news of what was taking place on the main from crossing the gulf.

[28] Some information about these mines, which seem not to have been very profitable investments, is given in *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 157–9; *Baeyert, Nachrichten*, 77–83; *Lassepas, Baja Cal.*, 9.

chroniclers, and especially Father Baegert, a writer of great force and humor,[29] are fond of dwelling on and doubtless exaggerating the disappointment of Portolá and his men at finding so barren and poverty-stricken a country where they had looked for a paradise rich in silver and pearls.

Portolá reached Loreto the 17th of December. He at once wrote to Father Ducrue, the visitador who was at Guadalupe, requesting him to come to the presidio and enclosing a letter from the viceroy which contained the fatal decree of expulsion. There was nothing for it but to submit, and he sent notice to his brother missionaries that by the governor's orders they were all to embark at Loreto on January 25, 1768, at the same time directing them to pacify the Indians and prepare them by every possible means for the coming change. Then he bade adieu to his weeping neophytes, who followed him for leagues as he set out with a heavy heart for Loreto.[30] The sad

[29] Jacob Baegert, or Santiago Begert as the Spaniards wrote it, was born at Schlettstadt, Upper Rhine, in 1717, became a Jesuit in 1736, sailed for California in 1751, was minister of San Luis Gonzaga in 1767, and returning to Europe died at Neuburg, Bavaria, in Dec. 1772. *Backer, Bibliothèque*, iv. 44; v. 28; *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 8. Ducrue, *Reisebeschreibung*, 416, says Baegert died Sept. 24, 1772. This writer's work, which does not bear his name, is entitled, *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten. Geschrieben von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, welcher lang darinn diese letztere Jahre gelebt hat. Mit Erlaubnuss der Oberen. Mannheim, 1772*, 12mo; also edition of 1773 with slight corrections. An extract was published in the *Berlin'sche Litterarische Wochenblatt*, 1777, ii. 625; and *Baegert's Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Californian Peninsula* [Wash., 1864], 8vo, 352–99, is a translation of ethnographical portions of the work by Prof. Charles Rau, published in the *Smithsonian Reports*. Clavigero, *Storia*, i. 15, mentions the work, which he did not see.

I append a copy of Baegert's map. Father Jacob was a vigorous and an amusing writer, in style somewhat reminding the reader of Thomas Gage, though disposed to be fair and truthful, which is more than can be said of Gage in all cases. He gives an unfavorable picture of the peninsula and its people, finding something to praise in its climate, and accusing Venegas of exaggerating its resources and charms.

[30] Franz Benno Ducrue was born at Munich in 1721, became a Jesuit in 1738, was sent to California in 1748, and died at Munich in 1779. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, 16, where, however, his birthplace is given as 'Monaco, Bohemia,' and his death is not recorded. He wrote an account of the expulsion and journey to Europe, which must be regarded as a standard work on the subject so far as California is concerned. *Ducrue, Reisebeschreibung aus Californien durch das Gebiet von Mexico nach Europa, 1767.* In *Murr, Na-*

scene of parting was repeated at each mission. From Santa Gertrudis Father Retz had to be carried on

BAEGERT'S MAP, 1757.

the back of his Indians, having recently broken his leg. Of the parting at another place, says Baegert,

chrichten, Halle, 1809, 413–30. Also *Ducrue, Notes Historiques sur l'expulsion des Jésuites de la province du Mexique et principalement de la Californie en 1767; par le P. Bennon-François Ducrue, Missionnaire en cette même province pendant vingt ans.* In *Documens Inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus* (1860), pt. ii. doc. iii. This is said to have been translated from a Latin edition of Murr, 1784. It is in the library of John T. Doyle.

"not only did I weep then but throughout the journey, and even now as I write the tears stand in my eyes." The grief of the Indians, if not disinterested, was real enough; their affection was that of the dog for the hand that feeds and protects. No human beings could be more hopelessly dependent on others. At this time they remembered only that they had been fed and cared for, forgetting the prayers and work and occasional flogging. On the other hand the padres' affection for their neophytes and desire for their well-being must have been disinterested, otherwise they had little reason to regret leaving the barren peninsula. Sixteen Jesuits left their missions at this time.[31]

While the padres were concentrating at the presidio, Portolá busied himself with taking an account of mission and garrison property. The amount of the inventory was about 7,000 pesos in money, and goods to the amount of 60,000 pesos, chiefly for the soldiers' pay, which with a little grain and meat constituted the whole wealth of California, not including I suppose the mission cattle nor the vestments, plate, and other church property, which the Jesuits state were of considerable value, for the missionaries had taken much pride in decorating their temples.[32] The meagre result as compared with the extravagant expectations

[31] These were Hostell, rector at Mision de la Pasion (Dolores), born at Münster 1706, Jesuit 1752; Barco, San Javier, born Casas de Milⁿ (?) 1706, Jesuit 1753; Ducrue, visitador, Guadalupe; Baegert, San Luis; Bischoff, Santa Rosa, born Bohemia 1710, Jesuit 1727; Türsch, Santiago; Inaama, San José, born Vienna 1719, Jesuit 1735; Diez, Purísima, born Mexico 1735, Jesuit 1752, died Ferrara 1809; Escalante, rector Sta Rosalía, born Jaen 1724, Jesuit 1744, died Jaen 1806; Rotea, San Ignacio, born Mexico 1732, Jesuit 1749, died Bolonia 1799; Retz, Santa Gertrudis, born Conflanz 1717, Jesuit 1733; Link, San Borja; Arnés, Santa María, born Graus 1736, Jesuit, 1754; Ventura, Loreto, born Zaragoza 1727, Jesuit 1749, died Bolonia 1793; Franco, Loreto, born Agreda 1738, Jesuit 1753; and Villavieja, lay brother, Loreto, born Villa de Sota 1736, Jesuit 1762. Of the padres who had left the country before 1767, Armesto is the only one belonging to the Mexican province in that year; he was born at San Cristóbal, Spain, 1713, became a Jesuit 1735, and died Bolonia 1799. *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo*, passim.

[32] *Ducrue, Notes*, 355–6. The writer says that he desired to revisit his mission, but found himself suspected of a design to abstract treasure. The funds at Guadalupe were 13 pesos.

attributed to the government by the Jesuits, gives Baegert and his brother chroniclers a new opportunity for sarcastic reflections.

January 19th news came that a party of Franciscans and soldiers had arrived at the cape, but there were other causes of delay, and the date of departure had to be postponed from January 25th to the 3d of February. The decree of expulsion had been read to the assembled padres. The last day was spent largely in the performance of religious duties. At the hour of sailing the Jesuits offered a last prayer for California and for themselves. They marched in a body to the shore at night to avoid a crowd; but a multitude of Indians thronged to the beach prostrating themselves with loud lamentations, kissing the padres' hands and feet, and offering to carry them to the boats. Even the governor shed tears. The exiles standing in the boat loudly chanted the litany of Our Lady, and so bade farewell to the land of their toil.

The vessel that carried them to Matanchel in four days was a little two-masted transport without accommodations for passengers, the padres making their beds on deck. At Matanchel they were despoiled in the king's name of the few trifling comforts which the kind-hearted Portolá had given them. Without rest they were reshipped to San Blas, and after four days in wretched lodgings they started on horses and mules across the continent, closely guarded and subjected to many needless hardships. They were not allowed communication with any one on the way, nor to accept any assistance. They reached Vera Cruz after forty-four days on March 27th and the 13th of April they sailed for Europe.[33] I append a list of the fifty Jesuit missionaries who served in California with the dates of their service. Five of the number, whose names appear on the mission books, may have been merely visitors from the mainland missions. Of the rest

[33] *Ducrue, Notes; Id., Reisebeschreibung; Comp. Jesus, Catálogo; Baegert, Nachrichten*, 302–12; *Clavigero, Storia*, ii. 202–5.

fourteen died at their posts, nine were transferred to the main, sixteen were expelled in 1767–8, and as to what became of the remaining six, Nápoli, Gordon, Droet, Trujillo, Nascimben, and Gasteiger, the records are silent.[34]

In June 1767 on the enforcement of the expulsion decree in Mexico the California missions were tendered by Viceroy Croix to the Franciscan college of San Fernando, and the trust being accepted it was arranged that seven friars should set out from the college and be joined by five others from the Sierra Gorda missions. Nine, however, started on July 16th, and not meeting the others at Querétaro or Guadalajara went on to Tepic.[35] Here they found Governor Portolá with his fifty men ready to sail, Palou and Gaston accompanying him on August 24th,

[34] List of Jesuits who served in California, 1697–1768.

d, died; *l*, left the country before 1768; * expelled.

Armesto, Juan, 1748–52, l.
Arnes, Victoriano, 1764–8.*
Badillo, Francisco María, 1752.
Barco, Miguel, 1744.–68.*
Baegert, Jacob, 1752–68.*
Basaldua, Juan M., 1702–9, d.
Bischoff, Juan Javier, 1752–68.*
Bravo, Jaime, 1705–44, d.
Carranco, Lorenzo José, 1727–34, d.
Consag, Fernando, 1733–59, d.
Diez, Juan, (1766)–8.*
Droet, Jacobo, 1732–(50). ?
Ducrue, Franz Benno, 1748–68.*
Escalante, Francisco (1765)–8.*
Franco, Francisco J., 1764–8.*
García, Andrés Javier, 1737.
Gasteiger, José, (1745)–50. ?
Gordon, William, 1730 et seq. ?
Guillen, Clemente, 1711–48, d.
Guisi, Benito, 1711, d.
Helen, Everard, 1719–35. l.
Hostell, Lambert, (1745)–68.*
Inama, Francisco (1750)–68.*
Link, Wenceslao, 1762–8.*
Luyando, Juan B., 1727–(32), l.
Masariegos, Fran. M., 1740.
Mayorga, Julian, 1707–36, d.
Minutili, Gerónimo, 1702–(10), l.
Mugazabal, Juan B., 1720–61, d.
Nápoli, Ignacio Ma., 1721 et seq. ?
Nascimben, Pedro Ma., 1745–(50). ?
Neumayer, Karl, 1745–64, d.
Ossorio, Francisco, 1725.
Peralta, Francisco, 1709–11, l.
Piccolo, Francisco Ma., 1697–1729, d.
Retz, Jorge, 1751–68.*
Rotea, José Mariano, 1759–68.*
Salvatierra, Juan Ma., 1697–1717, d.
Sistiaga, Sebastian, 1718–47. l.
Sotelo, Manuel Ma., 1761.
Tamaral, Nicolás, 1717–34, d.
Taraval, Sigismundo, 1730–(50). l.
Tempis, Antonio, 1736–46. d.
Trujillo, Gaspar, 1744–(49). ?
Türsch, Ignacio, 1762–8.*
Ugarte, Juan, 1700–30, d.
Ugarte, Pedro, 1704–10, l.
Ventura, Lúcas, 1757–68.*
Villavieja, Juan, (1766)–68.*
Wagner, Francisco J., 1737–44, d.

[35] The nine were, Junípero Serra, president; Francisco Palou, Juan Moran, Antonio Martinez, Juan Ignacio Gaston, Fernando Parron, Juan Sancho de la Torre, Francisco Gomez, and Andrés Villumbrales. *Palou, Noticias*, i. 9–20, is the authority for the movements of the friars. At Tepic they were lodged at the hospice of Sta Cruz, and were well treated by the commander of the expedition against Cerro Prieto awaiting transportation to Guaymas.

but all being driven back to Matanchel the 5th of September.[36] Meanwhile the five friars from Sierra Gorda had arrived,[37] as had many others for mainland missions; but after the reverend party had waited till October for a vessel, there came an order that changed all the plans. It was that the California missions should be given to the Franciscan observants of Jalisco, while the friars of San Fernando and Querétaro colleges should be sent to Sonora. It was feared that those of Jalisco and Querétaro might quarrel, but this imputation on their brotherly love was indignantly repelled by the padres, and Palou and Campa were sent in haste to Guanajuato and Mexico. They obtained from the viceroy a decree of November 11th revoking the order and restoring the original arrangement. The envoys sent the decree in advance, and themselves, accompanied by padres Dionisio Basterra, and Juan de Medina Veytia, arrived at Tepic at the end of December. Meanwhile Portolá had sailed the 19th of October with twenty-five dragoons, and with fourteen observant friars and twenty-five infantrymen on another vessel. Portolá's arrival at the end of November has been already noted, as also that of the padres observantes in January, after many mishaps on the gulf.

Father Junípero's band at Tepic, about the time of Palou's return from Mexico, heard by the governor's returning vessel that the observants had not been heard of, and considerable anxiety was felt about future prospects. During January 1768 most of Colonel Elizondo's troops sailed for Guaymas, and the friars destined for Sonora took their departure. The Fernandinos, however, did not remain idle, but held *misiones*, or revival meetings, in the neighboring

[36] Palou relates that when the tempest was at its height Padre Gaston cast on the raging waters some moss from the famous Tepic cross, whereupon the winds instantly subsided. Baegert, *Nachrichten*, 303, says that this was Portolá's second unsuccessful attempt to cross.

[37] José Murguía, Juan Ramos de Lora, Juan Crespí, Miguel Campa y Cos., and Fermin Francisco Lasuen.

districts. At length in February the *Concepcion*, with the expelled Jesuits on board, arrived with orders to bring the missionaries across the gulf. They embarked on March 14th,[38] and reached Loreto the 1st of April. Father Manuel Zuzáregui was in charge, but an order recalling the observants scattered at the different missions had been issued. Five of them sailed April 10th on the *Concepcion*, and the rest soon followed.[39]

The Franciscans were at once made acquainted with the viceroy's orders that they were to be put in charge of church property and spiritual interests only, the temporalities being intrusted to military comisionados. This was a bitter disappointment, as they had expected to receive the missions on the same basis as the Jesuits had held them, and they believed that without control of the temporalities no progress could be made, but the good-natured Portolá gave them encouragement that a change might be effected when the visitador general should come. After a few days of rest and a celebration of easter festivities Padre Serra read to the assembled friars his plan for their distribution.[40] The 6th of April they went to San Javier,

[38] *Palou, Not.*, 20–6. According to *Id., Vida*, 561, the date is given March 12th.

[39] *Cancio, Cartas*, 253–4.

[40] The distribution was: S. José del Cabo, Moran; Santiago de los Coras, Murguía; Nra Sra del Pilar, or Todos Santos, Ramos de Lora; Dolores or La Pasion, Gomez; S. Luis Gonzales, Villumbrales; S. Francisco Javier, Palou; S. José Comondú, Martinez; Purísima, Crespí; Guadalupe, Sancho de la Torre; Sta Rosalía Mulegé, Gaston; S. Ignacio, Campa; Sta Gertrudis, Basterra; S. Francisco de Borja, Lasuen; Sta María, Veytia; Loreto, Serra and Parron. *Palou, Not.*, i. 26; *Id., Vida*, 57. In the *Loreto, Libros de Mision*, MS., we find the following in Padre Junípero's handwriting: 'Dia dos de Abril, sábado de gloria de este año 1768 entramos á esta Mision y Real Presidio de Loreto, cabezera de esta Península de California diez y seis Religiosos sacerdotes Predicadores Misioneros Apostólicos del Colegio de *propaganda fide* de México, del órden seráfico enviados de nrs Prelados pa Ministros de todas las Misiones de esta Prova q. en nombre de su Magd Catholica (q. Dios gde) por decreto del Excmo Sr Marqués de Croix, Virrey y Capitan Genl de esta Nueva España, se pusieron á cargo del dho Apostólico colegio expelidos de esta Peninsula y demas Dominios del Catholico Monarca, pr motivos á su Magd reservados, los PP. de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus, y habiendo yo, el infra-escripto Presidente de dhos Religiosos, por el expresado Colegio resuelto quedarme á administrar por mí mismo esta Mision y Real Presidio en compañía de P. Por Fr. Fernando Parron, uno de los de dicho númo y colegio,

where after a solemn mass they separated on the 8th, eight going north and five south. Brother Pedro Fernandez, chaplain of the troops, remained at San Javier. On reaching his mission each friar received from the comisionado, signing duplicate receipts, the church with its paraphernalia, also the dwelling and household utensils. They were furnished with board by the comisionados, and their functions did not extend beyond matters purely ecclesiastical.

The evils of such a system had been clearly foreseen. The comisionados could not be expected to take a very deep interest in the welfare of the country, the prosperity of the missions, or the comfort of the natives. They lacked skill, interest, and conscience for an economical administration of the temporalities. The padres could no longer attract the pagans by gifts of food and clothing; and their loss of power caused the neophytes to have less respect for them than for the Jesuits. The result justified the president's remonstrances. The missions rapidly declined under the new régime, and it soon became clear that unless the spiritual authority and the temporal were reunited, a few years would suffice to undo all that the Jesuits had accomplished.

Don José de Galvez, the visitador general, came to the north-west invested with the fullest powers not only to settle Indian troubles in Sonora, and after investigations to introduce at his discretion all needed reforms in peninsula affairs, both secular and ecclesiastical, but by despatches received en route he was directed to advance the Spanish occupation up the coast to San Diego and Monterey. He arrived at Cerralvo Island the 6th of July, and proceeded to the mining district of Santa Ana, where his family was lodged in the house of Manuel Osio, the wealthy speculator in pearls and mines. Soon the whole prov-

assigné á las demas Misiones los Ministros en esta forma.' Then follows the distribution as already given. The signatures of Serra and Parron appear often on the books in 1768–9; also that of Chaplain Pedro Fernandez and that of Padre Palou in 1769–70.

ince was in a flutter over the investigations and decrees of the great man. He called for and obtained exact reports from the padre and comisionado of each mission. Then he made a tour of investigation in the south, at once detecting the evils and abuses of the prevalent system. The remedy was radical and promptly applied. On August 12th he issued a decree, ordering the comisionados to turn over all mission property to the friars, at the same time sending in their accounts through the missionaries, who were to examine and sign them. This was carried out except at Loreto, the friars feigning a degree of reluctance for effect, and not a few instances of dishonesty and wastefulness were revealed. Palou publishes several extracts of letters in which Galvez expressed his anger at the rascalities of the comisionados; yet it appears that all of them escaped punishment, at the intercession of the padres it is said.

Next the indefatigable visitador turned his attention to the forming of settlements and ameliorating the condition of the Indians. If his reforms were not always successful it was not owing to any lack of energy or sagacity on the part of the projector. It was found that lands and Indians were very unequally divided among the missions, and to remedy the disproportion many changes were decreed. Dolores and San Luis were abandoned, their neophytes being transferred to Todos Santos, whose few people were sent to Santiago. Surplus families of San Javier were added to San José del Cabo, while the surplus at Guadalupe and Santa Gertrudis were transferred to Comondú and Purísima. These changes were made in September by Adjutant Juan Gutierrez and Lieutenant José Garazo. Certain transfers of northern families to the south for the relief of poor missions like Borja and Santa María were abandoned on account of the reluctance of the Indians to leave their homes.[41]

[41] Correspondence between Galvez and Lasuen in *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., i. 8–14; viii. 139–49. Two vessels with grain and clothing sent to the northern

There was ample room it appears for the visitador's good offices, for he was much disappointed with the condition in which he found the peninsula establishments.[42]

It was not solely to the missions and Indians, however, that Galvez gave his attention. A pet project was to establish in the south the nucleus of a colonization to gradually extend over the country as the missions disappeared. On August 12th he issued a decree defining privileges offered to colonists and regulations by which they were to be governed. Crown lands were separated from those of the missions and offered to Spaniards of good character[43] under easy conditions, chiefly the obligation of making improvements, and paying a small annual tax to

missions. *Id.*, i. 20–1. Correspondence about furnishing the Indians with tobacco. *Id.*, i. 1–7; xi. 371.

[42] It has been stated, *Lassepas, Baja Cal.*, 167, that Galvez admired the Jesuit management, but in a letter to Lasuen, *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., i. 22, he alludes to certain scandalous evils caused by the Jesuits; and the fact that he restored the temporalities to the Franciscans only proves that he regarded the original system as less injurious to the country than the rascality of the comisionados. In a proclamation of Nov. 23, 1768, *Id.*, i. 17–20, he expresses his surprise and disappointment at the state of affairs. After all the laws made and moneys granted he expected to find thriving settlements; but finds instead mere *haciendas de campo*, or farms, with houses for padres, soldiers, and servants only. The natives go naked; have been withdrawn from the seashore, where they lived by fishing, and are forced to wander in the mountains, living on roots and berries, often obliged to work without recompense. Hence they look with dislike upon agriculture, and regard civilization as the greatest evil. Missions with fertile lands need laborers, while many rancherías are collected in sterile spots. No Indian is permitted to own property. The system has reduced the population to 7,149 souls. In this proclamation and in a letter to Lasuen of the same date, *Id.*, i. 22–8, he announces his determination to improve this state of things by settling the Indians in fixed domiciles, where they may till their own soil and enjoy the fruits of their labor. And he appeals to the padres to help him. He ordered that no mission should keep more Indians than it could feed and clothe. To the north he sent supplies of food and clothing. 'Let the northern Indians know that I am taking steps to relieve all their wants,' he wrote, *Id.*, 20; and he urged the padres to engage in otter-catching and other enterprises to make the missions self-supporting; and it appears that a little was actually done in the direction of otter-hunting. *Id.*, xi. 371–4; viii. 139–49. Moreover, Galvez attempted by the employment of surgeons to check the progress of disease, especially of syphilis, which was making great havoc. Palou, *Not.*, i. 139–42, tells us that nearly all at Santiago and many at Todos Santos were affected by this disease.

[43] The first colonists were discharged soldiers and sailors from Loreto, who had earned some means and were favored by the padres. There were very few others before 1821. *Lassepas, Baja Cal.*, 10.

the king.[44] Within a few months much was done toward perfecting the plan. The two mining districts of San Antonio del Oro and Santa Ana with some ranchos were formed into one settlement with its capital at Santa Ana. This district became also a curacy under Brother Isidro Izarzabal as curate, with a thousand dollars besides alms for a church. A lieutenant-governor attended to judicial matters, and a royal commissary to farming and mining, one mine being worked to pay expenses of government. Militia companies were soon formed in the young colony. Four Indian boys were sent to the pueblo from each mission to learn trades. Another settlement was attempted, with slight success on account of the small number of colonists, at San Bernabé to succor the galleon and protect the cape; and still another was planned at La Paz, where a sergeant and eight soldiers were stationed. Captain Manuel García Morales was the comisario appointed to superintend the founding of the new towns.[45]

The visitador's efforts to promote mining were not very successful. The mines were not so rich as he had been led to believe, and facilities for working them were few. He imported laborers from the main and put up houses for them; but the expense was greater than the return, and the mines were finally rented to private speculators or abandoned.[46] The loyalty of Don José was by no means less conspicuous than his philanthropy; and in all his efforts to secure advantages for the new establishments of the country he had volunteered to regenerate, he was equally careful to protect the king's interests. Thus in November he forbade all trade with the Manila ships,

[44] *Galvez, Decreto de Colonizacion en Baja California, 1768*, MS. In *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 61–6.

[45] *Palou, Noticias* i. 57–60.

[46] Palou, *Not.*, i. 142–3, says Galvez bought all the buildings and mining effects at Santa Ana from Osio; and that the mines were ordered to be sold or given away in 1671. Lassepas, *Baja Cal.*, 48, tells us the royal mining district of Tescalama, east of San Antonio, was rented to Osio, who soon died, leaving his fortune much impaired by the speculation.

which under existing regulations could dispose of their goods only at Acapulco.[47]

Though busy with so many other matters Galvez by no means neglected the project of extending Spanish dominion northward, but rather deemed it more important than all the rest. After careful investigation he resolved to send four expeditions, two by land and two by water, to start separately, but all to unite at San Diego and press on to Monterey. Details of preparation belong to the history of the northern province, and are fully presented in another volume of this work.[48] Captain Rivera, beginning in August, recruited men and collected supplies for the land expeditions; while Galvez attended personally to all connected with despatching the vessels; and Serra to preparations for mission extension. There is no evidence that the padres had come to California with any definite hope or plan of an immediate advance northward, but they had long desired such a step; they were disappointed with the state of things in the peninsula, and they gave a most enthusiastic support to the visitador's project.

On January 9, 1769, the *San Cárlos* sailed under Vicente Vila with sixty-two persons on board, including Padre Parron, Lieutenant Fages with twenty-five infantrymen from the mainland, Alférez Costansó, and Surgeon Prat. The *San Antonio*, commanded by Juan Perez, sailed the 15th of February, carrying besides her crew fathers Vizcaino and Gomez. March 24th the first land expedition, commanded by Rivera, and including Padre Crespí, Pilotin Cañizares, a company of twenty-five soldiers from the Loreto presidio, and a band of forty-two native Californians, set out from Velicatá on the northern frontier; and finally on the 15th of May Governor Portolá, with nine or ten soldiers under Sergeant Ortega, Father Serra, and

[47] Nov. 2, 1768. *Arch. Cal.*, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 67.
[48] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. iv. this series.

another company of natives, began his march from the same point. All were reunited at San Diego at the beginning of July.[49]

In order that there might be missionaries for the northern field, the college, at Serra's request, sent padres Juan Escudero, Juan Vizcaino, and Benito Sierra to the peninsula; and, also by Serra's advice, Santiago and San José del Cabo were converted into curacies, thus releasing two more friars. It was further arranged that Chaplain Fernandez should take charge of Loreto, releasing Padre Parron. Juan Antonio Baeza from Guaymas came to Santiago as curate in March 1769, and a clergyman from Sonora, not named, took charge of San José a little later.[50] Thus there were six friars to spare, five of whom as we have seen accompanied the expeditions, and one took charge of a new mission on the northern frontier. This mission was San Fernando de Velicatá, where Captain Rivera had established his rendezvous as a better position than Santa María. He had built some huts and a chapel, where Lasuen had celebrated a farewell mass on the departure of the party. The place was deemed well suited for a mission, and Galvez had expressed his desire that one should be founded there to facilitate communication with San Diego. Accord-

[49] It is well to preserve the names applied by these first expeditions between Velicatá and San Diego. The names are from *Crespí, Primera Expedicion*, the additions in parentheses being those applied by the second or Portolá's party. The course is N. W. or N. N. W.

Velicatá, S. Juan de Dios arroyo, 4.5 leagues, 30° 46′; Santos Mártires arroyo, 3 l.; Las Palmas arroyo (2 l. w. s. w.), and 3 l.; S. Angelo de Fulgino arroyo, or Corpus Cristi, 3.5 l.; Álamos arroyo, 3.5 l.; Cieneguilla, 4 l.; 30° 56′; S. Ricardo (Sta Humiliana), 3 l.; S. Vicente Ferrer (Sta Petronila), 3 l.; S. Dionisio rio, 3 l., 31° 8′; S. Leon arroyo (S. Andrés Hispelo), 2 l.; S. Ángel de Clavacio (S. Pacífico), 6 l.; S. Telmo pozo (Stos Mártires), 4 l., 31° 11′; S. Rafael (Sta Margarita), 3 l.; S. Bernabé, 5 l.; Sta Isabel (S. Guido), 3 l., 32°; Alisos arroyo (S. Nazario), 5 l.; Jacobo Ilirico (S. Antonio), 2 l., 32° 8′; S. Anselmo (S. Basilio), 3 l.; S. Francisco Solano (S. Antonio), 1.5 l.; S. Jorge (S. Atenógenes); (2 l.) [near Todos Santos Bay]; Stos Mártires (S. Gervasio), 3 l.; S. Pedro Mártyr (Sta Miguelina), 2 l.; Santos Apóstoles, 3 l.; Sta Cruz (Visitacion), 1 l. (32° 14′) [on Todos Santos Bay]; Sta Mónica (S. Juan), (3.5 l.); S. Estanislao valle (S. Juan Bautista), 4 l., 32° 18′; S. Juan Bautista (S. Juan Capistrano); S. Antonio valle (S. Francisco Solano), 4 l.; S. Pio (S. Bienvenuto), 4 l.; Stos Mártires pocita (Cárcel de S. Pedro), 3 l. [opposite Coronados]; Santi Spiritu [on S. Diego Bay].

[50] *Palou, Noticias*, i. 39, 60–1.

ingly on May 14th, the day before Portolá and Serra started for the north, the ceremonies of founding were performed, and Father Campa was left as minister with a guard of ten men and a supply of food with which to attract converts. San Fernando was the only mission founded in the peninsula by the Franciscans, and became somewhat prosperous.[51]

It was decided that the old missions must supply the new ones with church paraphernalia, furnishing also grain and other food as a gift, and live-stock and implements as a loan. To despoil these poor establishments of the property accumulated under the Jesuit régime seems an injustice; but Galvez affirmed that the friars were bound by their vows to spread the faith, not to accumulate riches, and Serra found that it was in accordance with both Jesuit and Franciscan policy that old missions must support new ones. Palou, the historian, defends the policy, and also claims that the peninsula missions were subsequently repaid for all that was taken from them.[52] Whatever may be said in defence of the policy, it is certain that under different circumstances it would have provoked much controversy. Had the authority of Galvez been less complete, had President Serra not been personally interested in the northern enterprise, had the padres in charge been of a different order from those bound northward, or even attached by long service to the old establishments, the matter would doubtless have assumed a different aspect. But the friars were newcomers, disgusted already with prospects in the barren peninsula, hoping each to secure a better position in the early future. The Indians, the only parties really interested, were not consulted; the authorities were all in accord, and there was none to make objections.

[51] *Palou, Not.*, i. 270–5; *Id., Vida*, 75; *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 103–5; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 38–9; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., i. 85–7.

[52] For instance Galvez gave 8,000 pesos in cloth; the viceroy sent a complete outfit for the Loreto church, established a warehouse for the purpose of repaying the value of articles taken, gave 250 pesos per year for oil and wax, and gave up 5,000 pesos in money left by the Jesuits. *Palou, Not.*, i. 40-56.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SONORA AND SINALOA.

1701–1730.

KINO'S LABORS IN PIMERÍA—EXPLORING TOUR WITH SALVATIERRA—MAP—SIXTH TRIP TO THE GILA AND ACROSS THE COLORADO—LAST TOUR IN THE NORTH—FINAL EFFORTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS—DEATH OF KINO—EXPLORATIONS BY CAMPOS—UGARTE ON THE COAST—MOQUI PROJECTS—SERIS AND TEPOCAS—MISSION DECLINE—STATISTICS—JESUITS VERSUS SETTLERS—POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS—RULE OF SALDAÑA AND TUÑON—SINALOA PROVINCES—CONQUEST OF NAYARIT.

WE left Father Kino at the end of 1700 engaged in vain efforts to obtain missionaries for Pimería Alta. Again and again he had traversed the country between his mission of Dolores and the Rio Gila, finding the natives filled with a childish enthusiasm to have churches and padres. More than ten thousand had been registered, and children had been baptized in all directions, many of the chieftains also holding their office under commissions or badges given by representatives of the Spanish crown. In many rancherías houses had been built, fields planted, and live-stock carefully tended in readiness for the padres who were so slow to come. Besides these preparations at home the Pimas had repeatedly fought side by side with the Spanish soldiers against the savage hordes of the north-east, doing terrible execution with their poisoned arrows, and meriting from the highest officials warm commendations. All Jesuits who ventured near Dolores were taken by Kino on a northern tour, and none ever returned with any doubt that this people was indeed ripe for salvation—or at least they never

expressed such doubts until they had left the country. Yet the Pimas were always suspected by such as had not been among them of hostile intentions and of complicity in the plots of savages. No sooner was one rumor proved false than another became current. For every one that accepted Kino's invitations to investigate, there were many who had no such opportunity or desire, and who persisted in regarding Kino and his associates as reckless enthusiasts. The Jesuit authorities were timid about sending missionaries into so dangerous a field, and the secular powers were but too glad to avoid the expense. We shall see that in time the Pimas became nearly as bad as they were now unjustly accused of being; but not during the life of Kino, who kept on with undiminished zeal, and to whose labors down to his death in 1711 the first part of this chapter is devoted.

In January 1701 Salvatierra came over from California by order of his provincial, chiefly for the purpose of examining the port of Guaymas and studying the disposition of the natives in that vicinity, whose conversion had been intrusted to the California establishment. He seems, however, to have forgotten to a certain extent his primary purpose, or at least he gives in his letter describing the trip but little information about Guaymas or its people.[1] He landed from the *San José* at the mouth of the Rio del Fuerte in the middle of January, and having first visited Comandante Rezabal at the Real de los Frailes to make some preparations for the protection of Loreto, he started northward by land intending to approach the Guaymas tribes from the Pima missions. High water in the streams prevented him from visiting more than one ranchería called Ecatacari, but he obtained a promise from the natives to join Villafañe's mission, and then went on to Quatape. Here he was shown by Padre Kappus certain shells sent down by the Gila Indians, but which it was thought must have

[1] *Salvatierra, Relaciones*, 125–56.

come from the shore of the Pacific and not from the gulf. After much conversation respecting Kino's recent explorations he became strongly impressed with the idea that California might after all be attached to the main; and he soon concluded that in no way could he serve his California projects so well as by solving the problem at once. Leal, the visitador, favored the scheme, and Salvatierra went over to the capital, San Juan, where Comandante Jironza, Captain Antonio Recalde, and Padre Bastiromo readily furnished at their own cost an escort of twelve men under Captain Mange, all the regular troops being needed at the time for active service against the savages.[2]

On his way to Dolores Salvatierra passed through the new Tepoca pueblo of Magdalena, while the soldiers in two detachments under Mange and Adjutant Nicolás Bohorques took different routes, and during the week from the 17th to the 24th of February had several successful encounters with savages who were raiding in this region and had attacked several towns for plunder. Sacarachi was the point most threatened, where three hundred warriors had stolen two hundred head of cattle. Salvatierra's party included some Californian natives. He was welcomed at Dolores by Kino, and by Campos at San Ignacio, where he was joined by the soldiers and was ready for a new start on the 27th, reaching Caborca, by way of Tubutama on the 6th of March.[3] On the way he

[2] Up to this point Salvatierra's letter is the only original authority; but now Mange's diary begins. *Hist. Pimería*, 323–37. He says that Jironza furnished 4 regular soldiers and hired 8 vecinos at 12 reals per day to complete the force. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 75–6, 97–103, gives a confused version of this expedition at its beginning, making Salvatierra arrive in October. The author of *Apost. Afanes*, 290–5, implies that Salvatierra came over for the express purpose of northern exploration, and got an escort of 10 men. See also *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 124–6. None of the writers add anything accurate to the original diaries of Salvatierra and Mange.

[3] There is some discrepancy between the diaries respecting details of the march from S. Juan to Caborca, but it seems that Salvatierra went to S. Ignacio on the 24th, was joined by the soldiers there on the 27th and by Kino at Caborca; though Mange implies that Kino was with him all the way. According to *Apost. Afanes*, Kino left Dolores March 1st, and went *via* Cocóspera, S. Simon, and Busanic. New names are Atí, 4 l. below Tubutama, and Soba, or Pitiqui, at the junction, where a pestilence was raging.

had preached and exhorted with good apparent effect, and had heard rumors of goods cast on shore from the west, a fact which seemed to bear directly on the main object of his journey. Remaining several days at Caborca, still under Padre Varilla, he was joined by Kino, started on the 10th, and marched up to Sonoita, where they arrived the 14th, after having had great difficulty in finding water for their band of a hundred horses.[4]

From Sonoita the party, following at first the course of the stream now known as Rio Pápago, went down to the coast,[5] with the intention of following the shore up to the mouth of the Colorado, against the advice of Mange, who was sure that want of water would prevent success, and favored the old route of 1699 to the Gila. On the way they passed the foot of Santa Clara Mountain, from the summit of which Kino had already surveyed the gulf. Reaching the shore on March 21st, the last ten leagues over barren sands, it seemed to the padres that they were in latitude 32°,[6] that the gulf at that point was twelve leagues wide, that it narrowed to at most six leagues in the north-west, and that the coasts probably came together at a distance of about thirty-six leagues.[7] Their opportunities for observation here were not nearly so good as those of Kino in his previous trip; and the result was only a matter of opinion, on which actual observations had less effect than theories and the reports of Indians. Salvatierra and Kino thought California to be a peninsula; but Mange was inclined to the opposite opinion, relying mainly on the strong gulf currents. An *amigable disputa* ensued in which

[4] Caborca; S. Eduardo Baipia, 16 l. N. W.; S. Luis Bacapa, 30 l. N. and N. W.; Sonoita, 19 l.

[5] Route: Sonoita; Comaquidam, or Anunciata, 10 l. on river; Sicobutovabia, or Totonat, 10 l. S. W. on river; Basotutcan, or J. José Ramos Ayodsudao, 8 l. S. W. and W. over a plain at foot of Sta Clara Mt; Tupo, or Aibacusi, 8 l. W. over volcanic desert; Cubo Guasibavia, or Duburcopota, 8 l. W. over sand, 2 l. from shore.

[6] According to *Apost. Afanes*, 31°.

[7] Salvatierra mentions only the width of the gulf and the conclusion that

all the arguments pro and con were brought up, and after which, as is usual in all discussions, opinions as well as facts remained unchanged. It was manifestly impossible for the whole party to follow the shore up to the mouth of the Colorado, for nine horses had died on the beach already; and it was even deemed too great a risk for Mange to make the attempt with a small detachment as he desired. They therefore returned inland on the 23d, after Salvatierra had sent a letter overland to Piccolo in California, a letter which the native carriers never delivered.

After returning to the stream, while the soldiers and horses went on to Sonoita, the friars and captain made a day's trip to the north, and on March 31st climbed a mountain some six leagues farther north than Santa Clara. The view, taken in connection with that below and Kino's observations about the Gila mouth and the statements of a native chief who served as guide, confirmed the padres in their belief that there was no *estrecho;* but Mange says, "we were left in the same doubt as on the shore." At Sonoita on April 6th the company separated. Salvatierra, receiving Kino's promise to come up in the autumn, when water would be plentiful, to clear up what little doubt might still remain on the geographical problem, returned with the train to Dolores, and went to Guaymas, where he found the *San José* awaiting him, and also a flourishing pueblo of incipient Guaymas Christians, called San José de la Laguna and under the care of Padre Manuel Diaz. He sailed for California in May. Kino and Mange in the mean time crossed the country eastward to Bac and thence reached Dolores April 16th by way of Cocóspera. The warriors of Bac were absent on a campaign against the Apaches; and the natives of Cocóspera and Remedios were busy in building new churches.

the coasts came together. He says they saw a little island, examining the beach and a good *estero*. Mange says there was no sign of a port. They were somewhat above Shoal Point, and the 36 leagues was merely an estimate of the distance to where the mountain ranges seemed to unite.

One hundred had been baptized during the trip and four hundred new souls had been registered.[8]

In fulfilment of his promise Kino set out on November 3, 1701, and went by a partially new route to Sonoita,[9] and thence to the ranchería San Pedro on the Gila. He had asked for a guard to explore the mouth of the Colorado, but failed to obtain it on account it seems of Jironza's removal from the military command. Neither could Mange, his indefatigable co-explorer and careful chronicler, go with him this time, for he had to undertake an entrada against the Apaches;[10] therefore the padre went alone, or with one Spaniard who subsequently deserted. With two hundred Pimas and Yumas he went to San Dionisio, and thence, recrossing the Gila, down to the last Yuma ranchería named Santa Isabel, entering on the 19th the lands of the Quiquimas and calling the first ranchería San Felix de Valois. These stranger natives were hospitable, and were filled with wonder at the padre's sacred vestments, and especially at the horses, that could outstrip their fleetest runners. One day farther down the Colorado he crossed the 21st on a raft pushed by the Quiquima chief and his followers swimming. The spot was called Presentacion, and the river was two hundred yards wide and very deep. The horses could not cross, and Kino's explorations on the western shore did not extend over three leagues. He visited, however, the chieftain's hut, amid a great concourse of Cutganas, Coanopas, and Giopas, who were eager to receive the true faith

[8] According to *Apost. Afanes* and Venegas, the padres founded a chapel at Sonoita in honor of Our Lady of Loreto. Venegas took his account from Kino's diary and did not see that of Mange. I have not deemed it necessary to note slight differences between the diaries. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 124–6, consulted both. See also *Dicc. Univ.*

[9] Dolores, Remedios, Cocóspera, S. Lázaro, S. Luis Babi (?), S. Simon, Busanic, S. Estanislao Ooltan, Sta Ana Anamic, 15 l.; S. Martin, S. Rafael, Sonoita, 19 l. from Sta Ana.

[10] *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 337–40. Here end this writer's invaluable diaries. He barely mentions the entrada of Kino and Gonzalez in 1702, and says there were two others (one of them the present?) of which the records had been lost. During the joint explorations of Kino and Mange they had travelled 3,000 leagues, registered 14,000 natives, and baptized 700.

and entertained their guests with dances. Here Kino learned that the blue shells came, as had been supposed, from the contra costa of California, only eight or ten days distant; and also that a day's journey would bring him to the mouth of the Colorado. Had his animals been available he would have pressed on and solved the question of strait or no strait. As it was he felt sure he was in California, and sent a letter addressed to Salvatierra at Loreto; but postal facilities were not good on this route, and this letter like a former one for Piccolo never reached its destination. Returning by way of Sonoita, where he caught his runaway servant, and found the church completed and whitewashed, he reached Dolores the 7th of December. This exploration strengthened the growing belief that California was a peninsula, but did not, as most writers state, prove it to be so.[11] I give herewith Kino's map, which may be regarded as the earliest one extant representing the Gila region from actual observation. It is remarkably accurate considering the circumstances under which it was made—much superior to many modern maps, and may be supposed to have been drawn by Kino on his return from the trip just described.[12]

[11] The best account of this trip, made probably from Kino's report, is in the *Apost. Afanes*, 296–300. See also *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 103–5; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 134.

[12] *Tabula Californiae Anno 1702. Ex autoptica observatione delineata a R. P. Chino é S. J.* A photograph of an old copy with names in Latin, and in which the portion below 25° was added from other sources than Kino's original. I have given the names their original Spanish form for the reader's convenience. The map is also given in *Lettres Edifiantes*, v. 29; *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits*, i. 395; *Marcou's Notes*, and *Hinton's Hand-book Ariz.* Le Gobien, in a letter translated by Lockman, p. 356, says this map was 'lately drawn by Father Kino, who is very well skilled in the mathematics.' According to *Apost. Afanes*, 242–4, Kino sent several maps to Europe, but none of them could be found. Le Gobien says of Kino's journeys, from which this map was made: 'He advanced, in 1698, northward along the sea as far as the mountain of Santa Clara. There, observing that the sea ran from east to west, instead of following its course farther, he entered the country; when travelling always from South-East to North-West, he discovered in 1699, the banks of the Rio Azul, or blue river, which after receiving the waters of the River Hila, runs and discharges its own into the great river Colorado, or of the North. He crossed the Blue river; and in 1700 arrived near the river Colorado, when crossing it, he was greatly surprised, in 1701, to find himself in California. and to hear that, about thirty or forty leagues from the place where he then

FATHER KINO'S MAP, 1701.

After a brief stay at home, Kino went back in February to the Colorado, and Padre Francisco Gonzalez of Oposura went with him. They reached San Dionisio via Sonoita, and proceeded down to Santa Isabel. From this point they were in new territory. Going down the river through the Quiquima rancherías, called San Rudesindo and San Casimiro, they reached the tide-water on March 5th, and on the 7th the very mouth of the river. Nothing but land could be seen in the south, west, and north; surely they thought there could be no estrecho and California was a part of America; though Mange in noticing this trip insists that it still left the matter in doubt. The explorers were urged to cross to the western bank, but the horses could not do it, and the illness of Gonzalez hastened the start homeward. Kino indeed attempted to take a short cut to Sonoita over the sand-plains; but after advancing eighteen leagues was obliged to return and take the Gila route. Gonzalez had to be carried from San Marcelo and soon died at San Ignacio. On April 2d Kino wrote to his superior announcing his return, describing the journey, and contradicting a report that both padres had been drowned. He never visited either the Gila or the Colorado again.[13]

Kino was now old and his career as an explorer was nearly at an end. Father Luis Velarde came to aid him at Dolores about 1702. In 1704 he opened a new route to Guaymas by way of Nacameri and

was, the Colorado, after forming a bay of a pretty long extent, empties itself into the sea, on the eastern side of California, which thereby appears to be separated from America only by this river.'

[13] *Apost. Afanes*, 301–9, from Kino's letter. The Indians had reported another river, the Amarillo west of the Colorado, and said that the Colorado separated into two branches before entering the gulf, thus forming a large and fertile island. The author indulges in some speculations about the gulf geography which have now no interest or value. See also *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 134–5; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 105–6; *Californie, Hist. Chrét.*, 102–3; *Burney's Chron. Hist.*, iv. 358; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 52. In *Apost. Afanes*, Padre Gonzalez is said to have died at Tubutama; but I have the record of his death on Aug. 10th at San Ignacio, where he was buried by Padre Campos. *San Ignacio, Lib. Mision.*, MS., 30. There are some indications that Gonzalez had been appointed to serve at San Javier del Bac.

Pópulo; and in January and February of 1706 he advanced south and west from Caborca, over land never before explored, to the gulf shore, where he discovered an island named Santa Inés, and a more distant land named San Vicente, which might be California. He was perhaps half way between Libertad and Tepoca, though he called the latitude 31°.[14] In October and November of the same year he made his last extended and recorded tour in the north. He went over to Cuquiarachi for two *cabos militares* who were to accompany him, and brought them back to Dolores,[15] whence they started on October 21st, and were joined next day at Remedios by Manuel Ojuela, a Franciscan who had come from Guadalajara to seek alms. Passing through Cocóspera to Tubutama,[16] they were welcomed by the new missionary Minutili, and then passed on to Caborca and Sonoita. Kino preached and baptized all along the way, and we may imagine the brightening of the old man's eye as he pointed out to the soldiers and the friar his enthusiastic and respectful audiences, their stores of grain, their herds of live-stock, and especially their neatly whitewashed chapels and houses; and then we may see the sad and perhaps bitter expression with which he explained that no padres could be induced to come and occupy these houses and chapels. They went on yet a little farther, climbing and camping for the night on Santa Clara Mountain, from which Kino took his farewell look out over the gulf waters and river mouth in the hazy distance, recapitulating to his companions the labors and arguments by which he had satisfied himself and many others that the opposite land was not an island, and musing sorrowfully as he descended the hill on the Pimas, Yumas, and Quiquimas, waiting at the

[14] Taylor in *Browne's L. Cal.*, 34–5, speaks of Kino's port of S. Juan Bautista, now Libertad.

[15] Cuquiarachi; Real de Bacanùchi, 10 l.; Dolores, 20 l.

[16] Cocóspera; S. Simon y S. Júdas, 15 l.; Babasaqui; Sta Bárbara, 14 l.; S. Ambrosio Busanic, 4 l.; Sta Gertrudis Saric, 3 l.; S. Bernardo Aquimuri; Tubutama.

head of the gulf for salvation that was so long in coming. Father Ojuela climbed a higher peak and obtained a broader view, discovering as he thought a fine bay which he named San Manuel. They returned to Tubutama by another way[17] reaching Dolores the 16th of November.[18]

With the exception of these last tours, the life of Kino and the annals of Pimería from 1703 to 1710 form but a series of failures and bitter disappointments for the venerable apostle, interpersed with and largely caused by not only the exasperating indifference but the active opposition of the military government. Campos at San Ignacio and Velarde at Dolores were Kino's only permanent companions during this period, though Piccolo from California visited him in 1706. Minutili, who had come to Tubutama from California for his health, did not probably remain there long; Varilla also seems to have soon left Caborca; and Contreras had never returned after the burning of Cocóspera. One authority mentions the arrival of four padres in 1701, and their distribution to Caborca, Tubutama, Bac, and Guevavi, whence they soon retired on account of sickness and other causes; but this is probably an error, and it is not likely that any padres besides those who have been named were actually stationed in Pimería Alta during Kino's life, though it seems that on several occasions missionaries were appointed for the field by the provincial in Mexico. Alegre notes that four padres started in 1703, but were frightened away by false rumors of Pima hostilities. Frontier missionaries in different places were said to have been assassinated; the Pimas

[17] Sonoita; S. Rafael Actun, 18 l.; S. Martin; Sta Bibiana, 9 l.; S. Estanislao Octam, 12 l.; Busanic, 3 l.

[18] The two *cabos* had orders to keep a diary, but did not send it to Mexico. The best account of the trip is in *Apost. Afanes*, 323–6, taken from Kino's report. The author saw also a report by Ojuela, but did not use it, because as he says it contained things hard to believe which the padre had probably recorded from hearsay. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 146–7, calls the Franciscan Manuel de Ojeda. See also *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 107; *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, 103.

were treacherous brutes, wholly unfit for Christianity; the Sobas were in league with the Seris to invade Sonora; the Sobaipuris were at the bottom of Apache raids; the Pápagos inhabited a sterile waste of sand; the tribes of the Gila and Colorado were myths; the neophytes of the missions already founded had just killed their padres and fled, or were on the point of doing so.

It would seem also that the military force and the Spanish settlers became not only willing listeners to all that could be said against the Pimas, but active opponents to Kino's plans. This state of things began, if we may believe Mange—who was very likely not altogether free from prejudice on the subject—with the accession of General Jacinto Fuens Saldaña to the command of the *compañía volante* in place of Jironza in 1701. He is said to have behaved very badly, and his successor and nephew, Gregorio Álvarez Tuñon, still worse. The army was made up largely of men who desired the spoils and glories of conquerors without great risks; long and tedious pursuits of Apache raiders did not meet their requirements. Miners and settlers wanted laborers, for which purpose Apaches were not available. It was not difficult to trump up charges to serve as excuses for plundering the rich Pima towns and enslaving the people. The stores of maize and live-stock accumulated by the rancherías under Kino's influence excited the avarice of the soldiers no less than of the savages. Naturally this was not long in bringing about an open quarrel with the missionaries; and a certain lieutenant of the province, not named, went so far as to present formal charges of a serious nature, not specified, against the Jesuits. The charges were proven false, if we may accept the Jesuit version, and the officer was removed from his command. The Pimas of the south about Dolores seem to have submitted to much abuse without resistance, running to Kino much as children would run to a father to have their wrongs redressed, and never

refusing aid against the savages. One officer is charged with having forcibly carried away neophytes from Kino's own mission, and others in the vicinity, and with having burned some chapels. From the older missions in the south converts were enticed away to work in the mines and on ranchos, where they were given the utmost license in respect of conduct and morals, of course greatly to the prejudice of mission progress. From the Sobaipuris of the north the Spaniards, on attempting interference, met a prompt rebuff. Chief Coro, at the head of his warriors, made some pretty loud threats, and the Spanish officer was not only driven away from Quiburi Valley, but spread such reports of Coro's hostility that all Sonora was in terror, and rushed to arms for self-protection, the padres being ordered to secure church property and to seek a place of safety. Kino was of course appealed to, and had no difficulty in quelling a rebellion that was purely imaginary, by simply summoning Coro and other Sobaipuri chiefs to Dolores.

Meanwhile Kino's chief occupation was to visit and pacify his flock, to protest against Spanish oppression, to receive deputations from distant tribes whom his infirmities no longer allowed him to visit, and to send petitions to Mexico for padres who never came. His only comfort was to note the patience and fidelity of his beloved Pimas. In 1702–3, he had an idea of going personally to Mexico; but the war in Europe made it certain in his mind that such a trip would be unavailing. In 1704 new churches were completed at Remedios and Cocóspera, equalling the finest in Sonora. Kino's exploration south-westward in 1706 and his final tour to the north have been already described. It was also in 1706 that he made extraordinary efforts to obtain for Caborca, Suamca, Bac, Busanic, and Quiburi, five of the eight padres allowed to Pimería by the king, from a new arrival of Jesuits in Mexico. Mange and other officials made full reports to the viceroy in support of his claims, but as

usual nothing was accomplished. In 1707 he is said to have attempted to secure the establishment of a villa in northern Sonora. In 1710 he made his final *informe*, addressed to the king in behalf of the Pima missions, and then he died, as Velarde and Alegre tell us, early in 1711.[19]

I have thus narrated as fully as the records permit the *afanes* of this famous missionary, who in fulfilment of his vow to St Francis Javier had baptized over 40,000 gentiles. His eulogy and the little that is known of his death I quote literally from the Jesuit historian.[20] "Who can tell the inner acts of virtue by which he made himself so worthy an instrument of salvation to many souls? In all his missionary career he was known to have no other bed than two sheep-skins,[21] a coarse blanket for a cover, and for a pillow a pack-saddle. Such was the couch on which, after long and tiresome journeys, even in the most serious illness, at the age of seventy years, he took barely a slight repose, and in which he died at last, not without tears from his good companion, Padre Campos, witness of his humility, mortification, and poverty. Most of the night he spent in prayer, and when at Dolores it was in the church, into which, says his companion, Padre Luis Velarde,[22] during the last eight years he heard him enter every night, but with all his watching never heard him come out. To this nightly prayer he joined a bloody *disciplina*, which the Indians sometimes saw and talked about in wonder. He was seen to enter the church for prayer

[19] *Apostólicos Afanes*, 295–337; *Velarde, Descrip. Hist.*, 385–6; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 106–7; *Mange, Hist. Pimería*, 340. Several authors following the *Apost. Afanes*, give 1710 as the date of Kino's death. Reyes, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 731, says that according to Ribas and Florencia the Jesuit reduction of Sonora began in 1709; but according to the mission books of Cucurpe, in 1560! Berrotaran, *Informe*, 207, says there were in Sin. and Son. 110 missions.

[20] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 154–7, taken in substance and much of it literally from *Velarde, Descrip. Hist.*, 385–6.

[21] *Saleas*, a provincial word applied to the skins used as *sudaderos*, or saddle-cloths.

[22] This and Velarde's own statement from which it is taken is the only notice we have that Velarde came to Dolores before Kino's death.

more than a hundred times in a day, in imitation of the great apostle of Ireland, though his whole life was a continual prayer. He was honored with the gift of tears, with which the Lord endowed him, not only in the holy sacrifice of mass which he never omitted, but even in divine service which he always said kneeling. He had ever on his lips the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary; so that it is not to be wondered at that even when insulted in his house he replied with gentle words, tenderly embracing the offender. His conversation was always of God, of his holy mother, and of the conversion of gentiles. He suffered frequent and acute fevers, of which he cured himself by total abstinence for four or six days. And even besides such occasions his food was very meagre and coarse, without salt or other condiment than some insipid herbs which he pretended to take as medicine. All this harshness and austerity toward himself became suavity and gentleness toward the Indians, among whom he distributed all his allowance and all he could by industry obtain. Finally Father Kino was a perfect example for apostolic missionaries, of whom it was a common saying: 'To discover lands and to convert souls are the *afanes* of Padre Kino. Continuous prayer, life without vice, nor smoking, nor snuff, nor bed, nor wines.'" Campos, having finished in his pueblo of Magdalena a small chapel in honor of San Francisco Javier,[23] invited Kino to the dedication mass, to which he gladly came. The image on the altar represented the dying saint. Saying mass he felt himself attacked by his final illness, the saint wishing that he who had so perfectly imitated him in the labors of the apostolic ministry should rest in his chapel.[24]

[23] Bartlett, *Pers. Narr.*, i. 424–7, relates a legend that the site of the Magdalena church was selected by an image of San Francisco Javier, which was carried on a mule's back, the animal stopping at a particular spot and refusing to move. I believe mules have been known to act thus in other instances and in places where no chapels have as yet been erected.

[24] A writer in *Hutchings' Mag.*, iv. 504–7, says that Kino was buried at

It is most convenient to follow still farther the sluggish course of progress in Alta Pimería before turning our attention to the more southern Sonora districts. With the record before him of what Kino had been able to accomplish in obtaining padres for the northern field, the reader may readily imagine that nothing was done in that direction for a long time after his death. Velarde still served at Dolores for twenty years at least, and Campos remained for twenty-five years at San Ignacio; but with the exception of Luis María Gallardi, who took charge of Caborca about 1720, and of Luis María Marjiano, who served at San Ignacio in 1722–3, during the absence of Campos in Mexico,[25] there was no increase of the force until after 1730. Campos, Kino's companion almost from the first, was perhaps no less faithful a seeker for gentile souls, making such tours among the pueblos as his home duties would permit; and for a time messengers came as before from the far north with urgent entreaties for padres; but Campos had learned to be somewhat less profuse than Kino in promises, which as experience taught could not be kept; and consequently communication with the more distant tribes became less and less frequent, so that in many rancherías all that had been learned of the new faith was well nigh forgotten.[26]

In January 1715 Padre Campos was on the coast and found a port which he named Ascension and located in 30°. Salvatierra had planned to come over

S. Antonio Oquitoa in a church built by himself, where there is a tablet to his memory. Alegre tells us that during the four years preceding 1710 no manuscript of the period refers to Kino.

[25] The printed authorities place Gallardi at Caborca; but in the original mission registers—*S. Ignacio, Lib. Mision*, MS.; *Sta María Magdalena, Lib. Mision*, MS.—I find him at Magdalena in 1722–3, and at S. Ignacio in 1725–7. Perhaps Caborca, like Magdalena, was considered at this time a visita of S. Ignacio; but probably he went to Caborca first. It is in the Magdalena register that I find Marjiano's name. In *Apost. Afanes*, 339, another padre not named is said to have come to Tubutama about the same time. A visit of Bishop Tapis is recorded at Magdalena in 1715.

[26] For general remarks on the decline of Pimería Alta after Kino's death see *Apost. Afanes*, 337, etc.; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 173; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 107, 522–4; *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, 252–4; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 371–2.

in June for a voyage of exploration; Campos and Velarde accordingly waited for him at Caborca, making signals of fire and smoke from the hilltops to guide the vessel into Port Ascension; but the voyage was postponed and finally given up, though Campos repeated his preparations and signals at the end of September. Disappointed in not meeting Salvatierra, he went up the coast in October to a point twelve leagues above Ascension, perhaps to the same region where Kino and Salvatierra and Mange had been in 1701,[27] a region whose inhabitants now or a little later began to be known, for some unknown reason, as Pápagos, or sometimes as Papabotes.[28] The most important circumstance, and indeed almost the only one recorded in connection with this trip, was that Campos from his own observations and what he could learn from the natives felt himself justified in rejecting the conclusions of previous explorers, and committing himself to the opinion that there was a strait separating California from the main. Velarde concurred in this opinion and recorded it—fortified with learned arguments and references to a Dutch map and old narratives which he had seen—in his historical report written in 1716.[29] This difference of opinion among those who were deemed to have the best opportunities for observation accounts in great measure for the curious and long-continued discussions respecting Californian geography.[30]

In the middle of 1721 Padre Ugarte in the *Triunfo de la Cruz* arrived at or near the mouth of the Rio San

[27] The Port Ascension of Campos may possibly have been identical with Kino's Sta Clara and the modern Adair Bay, though neither this hypothesis nor any other seems to agree with all the statements of the narrative.

[28] Stone, *Sonora*, 20–1, speaks of padres left among the Pápagos at Kino's death; and other writers are wont to speak of the northern pueblos, particularly of Bac, as having been abandoned by their padres; but in fact there had never been any resident missionaries north of Cocóspera and Tubutama.

[29] *Velarde, Descripcion Histórica de la Pimería*, 353–4. For notice of this work see chap. x. of this volume.

[30] Velarde's geographical ideas were very accurate so far as explored regions are concerned, but in the N. W. beyond the limits of actual exploration he loses his head in the mazes of the Northern Mystery. He made a map to illustrate his report, but it does not appear either in my printed or MS. copy.

Ignacio, bound on an exploring voyage elsewhere described. He met with many mishaps on this coast, where he found no ports whatever, notwithstanding the discoveries of Kino, Campos, and others. He met Gallardi at Caborca, and was soon visited by Campos, who hastened down from San Ignacio with all the supplies he could gather on short notice. Captain Mange also went down to the coast, intending, as he says, to sail with Ugarte, but was prevented by an accident. The reverend explorer recrossed the gulf to continue on the contra costa the search whose results proved once again that California was not an island, Velarde and Campos to the contrary notwithstanding.[31]

In 1723 the project of reconverting through Jesuit agencies, by way of Pimería, the Moquis, who had been without instructors since they drove out the Franciscans in the New Mexican revolt of 1680, was mooted in Sonora and Mexico. Kino had supposed the Moqui province not more than thirty or forty leagues distant from the limit of his own exploration, and easily accessible from that direction. As early as 1711–12 the Moquis are said to have sent word by natives of other tribes that they wanted Jesuit missionaries; but, as Alegre states, the society refused to interfere in what might be considered a Franciscan field. Again in 1720, according to the *Afanes,* a mulatto boy brought to San Ignacio the report that the Moquis were anxious for baptism, and Campos became as anxious to undertake their conversion. Captain Becerra of Janos claimed to have learned in New Mexico that the Moquis wanted Jesuits and had a horror of Franciscans, and he joined Campos in a petition. In response the viceroy was ordered to promote the proposed conversion, and in his perplexity he consulted Bishop Crespo of Durango, who at first favored the scheme; but when he understood the loca-

[31] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 348–50; *Mange, Hist. Pim.*, 340. For Ugarte's explorations see chap. xvi. of this volume.

tion of the province, and that the "seraphic order" had not yet abandoned their efforts in that direction, he seems to have changed his mind, and the matter was temporarily dropped.[32]

In 1723 Campos, on a visit to Mexico, asked for two padres for the northern missions, and also proposed the founding of a villa on the Gila, offering, in the name of the provincial, live-stock, seeds, and implements for one hundred families of pobladores; but nothing could be effected.[33] In 1725, however, Bishop Crespo visited Pimería, and it happened that while he was at San Ignacio messengers arrived from Sonoita and Bac—perhaps not altogether by accident —to remind the padre of their desire for instructors and of the golden opportunities the Spaniards had already lost by delay. The bishop became interested, and wrote to the viceroy, offering to pay himself, if the royal treasury would not, for the support of one or two padres. Even on this basis the difficulties were insurmountable, and the bishop applied to the king in 1728, forwarding a petition of the Sobaipuris and a report of General Rivera. This had some effect, for in October of the same year the king ordered the viceroy to take speedy steps to supply northern Sonora with missionaries.[34] The order was obeyed but not very promptly; for in 1730 the three padres were still serving alone as before, save that Gallardi had changed his residence first to San Ignacio, and again after 1727 to Tubutama, becoming rector. Caborca was now only a *visita*, though it was the largest of all the four missions and fourteen pueblos. The whole district had now less than twelve hundred converts, not a very good showing, especially in view of the fact that Dolores and San Ignacio had never lacked

[32] *Apost. Afanes*, 345–7. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 212–3, states that Campos' petition was to the viceroy, and that the matter came to an end by the refusal of the Jesuit authorities to furnish the padres asked for by Bishop Crespo. See also *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 526–7.

[33] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 213.

[34] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 228–32; *Velasco, Sonora*, 140. Bishop's visit recorded in *S. Ignacio, Lib. Mision*, MS., 30, 37.

missionaries and were now the smallest of all, having but nine and thirty-two families respectively. The Spanish population was apparently about three hundred. Cucurpe with its pueblos on the Rio San Miguel seems now to have been included in this district, but is not included in the preceding figures.

I have already noticed the slight progress made in attempts to convert the Tepocas and Seris of the gulf coast above the mouth of the Yaqui, and the foundation of a mission pueblo of San José de Guaymas with which Kino opened communication by a new route from the interior. This Guaymas mission was attached to the California establishments under Salvatierra, never had any resident padre, was visited purposely or accidentally at long intervals, probably was merely a ranchería if not altogether deserted except at these irregular visits, and naturally has left no chronologic record. Several of the California padres resided in Sonora at different times to attend to the shipment of supplies, which were generally despatched from the mouth of the Yaqui. Salvatierra had visited the Seris, and made peace between them and the Pimas in 1690. Again as we have seen in 1701 he was at Guaymas and met with some success in preparing the natives for conversion. In 1709 he was wrecked on the coast and improved the opportunity to work among the Seris, Tepocas, and Guaymas for two months with very flattering success. Padre Basaldua is also named as having taken charge of the Guaymas mission about this time, and Ugarte being cast on the same shore baptized many natives, built a chapel, founded a pueblo de visita, and would, it is said, have remained there had his superior permitted it. Beyond these vague allusions we know nothing whatever of the coast establishments down to 1730 and later.[35]

[35] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 138, 176, 188–9, 205–8; *Clavigero, Storia Cal.*, i. 259–60; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 124; *Villavicencio, Vida Ugarte*, 110–11.

For the first thirty years of the century there is no proper mission history of the old Sonora and Ostimuri provinces. The excitement of the conquista espiritual was past; there were in most mission jurisdictions no gentiles if many apostates left to convert; the Jesuit establishments had passed the period of their highest prosperity and were on the decline; the neophytes had decreased and were rapidly decreasing in numbers, from the effects of civilization, from pestilence, from desertion, and from the ever-increasing demand for laborers. The great desideratum of all missionary friars, protection at first and non-interference later, could never be realized. Petty quarrels with the Spanish population, and petty losses from raids of savages; the dull routine of religious service and mission toil, an occasional runaway or flogging, now and then a change of padres or the building or destruction of a church, joyous occasions of procession and fiesta, statistics of births and marriages and deaths—such were the current annals, and no wonder, and small pity perhaps, that the record has not survived.[36]

On February 14, 1730, the visitador general Pedro de Rivera in a report to the viceroy pictures the missions in the brightest *couleur de rose*. They were delightfully located in fertile valleys. The neophytes were intelligent, industrious, well dressed, docile, devout, and well versed in Spanish. The management was all that could be desired, the padres being kind in their treatment of the neophytes, diligent as instructors, skilled in the native idioms, and constantly ap-

[36] P. Marcos Antonio Kappus, visitador; P. Daniel Januske, rector of Stos Mártires district in 1716. *Velarde, Descrip. Hist.*, 376-8. Bravo in 1717 asked that the Ahomes and Yaquis be exempted from *mita*. The viceroy deferred his decision. *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 301. Fifty pueblos in 1721. The better the Indians are treated the faster they die. Industrious, have fine churches, well grounded in the mysteries of the holy faith. Outside Indians changing from lambs to tigers. *Mange, Hist. Pimeria*, 343, 394. In 1726–7 Bishop Crespo visited Sonora. *Apost. Afanes*, 341. (It was really in 1725–6.) Father Antonio Urquiza, a prominent Jesuit, who is said to have served in the country over 30 years, died at San Felipe in 1724. *Alegre*, iii. 217–22; *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 696–7.

plied to by gentiles for baptism. It is to be feared that this report in the political and slangy parlance of a later era would be classified as 'whitewash.'[37] For the year 1730 also we have a very complete report on the state of the missions,[38] by which it appears that there were in Sonora—including Pimería Alta, but not the Yaqui and Mayo districts—four rectorados, with sixty-six pueblos in twenty-five missions, with twenty-four padres serving about ten thousand persons, one veteran, Father Gonzalez at Oposura, still surviving from the last list of 1688. This document affords no basis for an estimate of the Spanish population; but that population was estimated a few years later at one thousand men, besides the military force, and including the southern province of Ostimuri. Of the sixty-six pueblos thirty had good churches well adorned and cared for; six had small and poor chapels; in seventeen they were damaged or in ruins; eight were in process of erection; and five had no churches at all. I append in a note the substance of the *catálogo*.[39] A comparison with Zapata's report

[37] *Rivera, Informe del Sr. Brigadier Visitador General al Sr. Virey del estado de las Misiones de la Compañía en las provincias de Sinaloa y Sonora*, in *Son., Materiales*, 833–6. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 229–30; Rivera had made a tour of inspection to all the presidios of the north, including New Mexico. *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 519.

[38] *Sonora, Estado de la provincia de Sonora con el catálogo de sus pueblos, iglesias, padres misioneros, número de almas capaces de administracion, lenguas diversas que en ella se hablan y leguas que se dilata; con una breve descripcion de la Sonora Jesuítica segun se halla por el mes de Julio de este año de 1730, escrito por un padre misionero, etc.*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 617–37.

[39] Yecora, population, 197; Sta Ana, 34. P. Pedro Proto (dead) with 231 Ópatas.

San Francisco Javier Arivechi, 118; Bacanora, 116. P. Juan S. Martin with 235 Eudeves.

Sahuaripa, 150; S. Mateo, 95. P. Cristóbal Lauria with 245 Ópatas.

Cucurpe, 179; Sacarachi, 31; Toape, 187; Opodepe, 134. P. Marcos Zamora with 517 Eudeves.

San Miguel Ures, 592; S. Pablo Pescadero, 237; S. Francisco Pitiquin. P. José Calderon with (1,100) Pimas.

Nra Sra del Pópulo, 195 Seris; Rosario Nacameri, 62; Los Angeles ranchería. P. Nicolás Perera with 561 Seris and Pimas.

Matape, 35; Nacori, 25; Alamos, 45; Robesco (Reboico?), 8; P. Cayetano Guerrero with 113 Eudeves.

San Francisco Javier Batuco, 188; Sta María Tepuspe (?), 212. P. José Armas with 400 Eudeves.

Tecoripa, 50; Suaqui, 42; Comuripa, 165; Hecatari, 127. P. Luis María Marciamares, rector, with 401 Pimas.

of 1678[40] is sufficient to show the rapid decline in mission population, which was at least fifty per cent in the aggregate for corresponding missions, Baseraca being the only one that could show a gain.

The author of the *Estado* expresses very freely his ideas about the state of the country, the people, and the padres. He gives the natives—even the Ópatas, who were the best of all—a bad character, pronouncing them "incredulous respecting Catholic truths, of malicious spirit, deceitful, and very revengeful, particularly the women." They not only swore falsely, but made use of the confessional to bear false testimony, and were ever ready to poison their nearest relatives, especially those who were likely to report their evil doings to the padre. Extremely improvident, they as a rule gambled away their year's supply of seed and clothing the next day after receiving it. They committed the most beastly immoralities and

San Ignacio Onabas, 457; Tonichi, 379; Sopopa ranch. P. Andrés Gonzalez with 836 Pimas.

Concepcion Mobas, 90; Nuri, 41. P. Juan Avendaño with 129 Pimas.

San Miguel Oposura, 300; Cumupas, 146; P. Manuel Gonzalez (as in 1688) with (427) Ópatas.

San Francisco Guazava, 191; S. Ignacio Opotu, 248. P. Ventura Gutierrez with 448 Ópatas.

San Luis Bacadeguachi, 272; Guadalupe Nacori, 281; S. Ignacio Mochopa, 24. P. Nicolás Oro with 577 Ópatas.

Sta María Baseraca, 839; S. Miguel Babispe, 566; S. Juan Guachinera, 285. P. Prudencio Romero with 1,702 Ópatas.

San Ignacio Cuquiarachi, 76; Cuchuta, 58; Teuricachi, 52; Presidio Fronteras. P. Ignacio Arce with 190 Ópatas.

Asuncion Arizpe, 316; S. José Chinapa, 204; Bacouiz (Bacuachic?), 51. P. Cristóbal de Cañas, visitador, with 650 Opatas.

San Lorenzo Huepaça, 71; Banamichi, 127; San Ignacio Sinoquipe, 91. P. José Toral with 300 Ópatas.

Concepcion Babicora, 294; S. Pedro Aconchi, 285. P. Juan Echajoyan with 579 Ópatas.

Sta Rosalía Onapa, 76; Angeles Taraichi, 96; S. Ildefonso Ostimuri, 57. P. Diego Gudiño with 229 Pimas.

San José Teopari, 259; Dolores, 180. P. José Escalona with 439 Jovas.

San Pablo (Pedro?) Tubutama, 131; Sta Teresa, 81; Siete Principes Atí, 56; S. Antonio Oquitoa, 104. P. Luis María Gallardi, rector, with 395 Pimas.

Concepcion Caborca, 223; Natividad Pitiqui, 313; Jesus María Basani, 178; Cinco Señores Busanic, 253. P. Gallardi with 723 Pimas.

San Ignacio, 94; S. José Imuri, 80; Magdalena, 63. P. Agustin Campos with 247 Pimas.

Dolores, 29; Remedios, 20; Santiago Cocóspera, 74. P. Luis Velarde with 135 Pimas.

[40] See chapter x. of this volume.

ran away when reproved. On the other hand there were many skilled in music and painting, many faithful and even zealous in the performance of religious rites, as indeed were all when the rites involved show and music and fiestas. They kept their houses neat and clean, and were willing to sell anything they had to buy pictures for the walls; moreover they were firm believers in hell and purgatory, and in the efficacy of sacred relics.[41]

The troubles of the padres, however, did not all come from the Indians, who as this writer claims were encouraged in their evil ways by Spaniards, ever ready to welcome complainants and circulate their calumnies against the missionaries, so that the position of the latter was fast becoming intolerable. "Here," he says, "we are the mark for calumny from domestics and strangers. Do we admit into our houses some of the most judicious and noble of the province?—then they say it is to abuse and give advice against their enemies, since the province goes ever in cliques. If we retire we are captious; if we offer open house and table to the meritorious, we are prodigal; if we refuse, miserly. If we clothe the Indians we are lost; if not, tyrants. If we give alms it is from interested motives; if we give none, it is because we are avaricious. Adorning our churches, we are rich and powerful; not decorating them, we live on the sweat and toil of the Indians. In fact so full is our ministry of thorns, toils, and persecutions, that the padres assigned to missions may well wear on the breast *magna facere et pati* as a motto of their ministry. So much suffering would be intolerable did not the pity of God sow the road with beautiful flowers—not only those that by the waters of baptism go

[41] The Indians were fond of historical and religious paintings, being especially pleased with a picture of the crucifixion. One of the native teachers observed that there were no Indians among the painted crucifiers, and promulgated the rather novel doctrine that the Ópatas were therefore in no danger of hell. Another Indian refused to do any manual labor after playing the part of one of the 12 apostles in a *fiesta*.

straight from our hands to heaven, but also others of more advanced age who fill us with peculiar consolation."

We have seen that General Jironza was succeeded as comandante of the province, or of the "flying company," to which its defence was intrusted, in the autumn of 1701 by General Jacinto Fuens Saldaña, who is accused by Mange of having obtained his command through unworthy subterfuges. Captain Andrés Rezabal is also named as comandante at San Felipe in 1701. Saldaña was followed in his turn before 1712 by his nephew, Captain Gregorio Álvarez Tuñon y Quirós, whose conduct, according to the same authority, was still more corrupt. Retiring far from his presidio he is said to have engaged for some nine years in mining and agriculture, even employing some of the soldiers in his own private work. The company was never full, but pay for the whole number was drawn from the treasury by Tuñon, who covered up his irregularities in this direction by forged papers, and by filling the ranks with criminals or *vecinos* for the rare inspections. These charges are perhaps as likely to have been true as false. It is to be supposed that all this time the presidio forces were doing some service in protecting the frontier settlements from Apache raids; but excepting the outrages on the Pima pueblos, already noticed, and the statement that Tuñon made three entradas against the savages in 1724, we have no definite records of campaigns in any direction.[42] The visitador Miguel Javier Almanza wrote to the viceroy on October 6, 1724, that in spite of Tuñon's energetic efforts the Apaches had become so bold

[42] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 211–12, vaguely alludes to the rumor that the Tobosos had appeared on the frontier in 1723, as having been circulated by malecontents with a view to rebel and overthrow mission rule during the soldiers' absence. On Aug. 4, 1704, a *junta extraordinaria de guerra* at Mexico reported in favor of transferring the presidio of S. Felipe northward to protect the Chinipas frontier and the Yaqui region; but against the founding of a new presidio in the region of Teuricachi. *N. Vizcaya, Doc.*, iv. 12–13.

and their raids so frequent that the whole province was threatened with ruin unless some more effective means of defence could be devised; but at the same time he asked that the comandante be ordered, when not occupied with the Apaches, to keep the Seris in order and protect them from the ravages of the Pimas![43] It seems that about this time the viceroy was led to adopt a new policy with the savages, and sent orders to Tuñon to suspend his entradas and confine his efforts to a purely defensive warfare; that is, to wait until the Apaches should attack him with intent to destroy life, and then and there to punish them! Almanza protested in the name of the missionaries and of the whole province against this absurd and suicidal order, which he said had filled with consternation all who knew anything of the Apaches, since the latter could never be induced to attack any point where there were soldiers.[44] How far this new and brilliant policy was carried out in Sonora does not appear.

In 1730 the Seris, Tepocas, Salineros, and Tiburon islanders kept the province in great excitement, killing twenty-seven persons and threatening all the pueblos with a general conflagration, "which," says one Jesuit. "we are expecting from hour to hour as a blow from the wrath of God deserved for our sins and negligence."[45] Captain Tuñon was in command down to 1724, and perhaps for ten years longer, for no other comandante is clearly named.[46]

[43] *Almanza, Carta*, Oct. 6th, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 820–2.

[44] *Almanza, Carta* (no date), in *Sonora Materiales*, 823–8. On Sept. 18th Ventura Fernandez Calvo, alcalde of Nacosari, and other citizens wrote to Tuñon, praising him for his past efforts and condemning the new policy of the Mexican authorities. *Id.*, 828–32.

[45] *Sonora, Estado*, in *Sonora Materiales*, 619, 630. April 26, 1729, viceroy receives from king commission of Juan B. Anza as captain of the presidio of Sta Rosa Corodeguachi. *N. Mex. Cédulas*, MS., 334–5.

[46] In my MS. copy of tom. xvi. of the *Archivo General* in Mexico, in connection with the *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, of 1764, is a map bearing the date of April 13, 1733, and the title: *Provincia de la Nueva Andalucia ó de S. Juan Bauta de Sonora, delineada por el Capptn de Cabos D. Gabriel de Prudhom Heyder, Butron y Muxica, Baron de Heyder, Gravoshing Goldokre; quien por merced del Rey la gobernó ocho años.* A note refers to the pearl-fisheries,

The name Sinaloa is added to the title of this chapter as a mere formality, for of the territory bearing that name in modern times, the southern coast provinces from Culiacan down to Chametla, there is absolutely nothing to be recorded at this period, save that the settlements remained in existence as before. Here may be appropriately noticed, however, the conquest of Nayarit in 1721–2. This province was on the frontier between New Galicia and Nueva Viscaya, chiefly in the modern Jalisco, but on the borders of Zacatecas, Durango, and Sinaloa; and it was the last stronghold of aboriginal independence in all this region, the refuge of fugitives, or so-called rebels, from the time of Guzman and of the Mixton war.

As Nayarit became surrounded by missions, several minor and unsuccessful attempts were made in the seventeenth century to penetrate this mountain fastness or to convert its valiant defenders; and naturally exaggerated ideas became current respecting the strength of its defences. The natives were strong in the belief that they could not be conquered; permitted no white man to enter their domain; massacred a party under Bracamonte who attempted the entry in 1701, and presently gave their support to rebellious tribes on the frontiers. Then followed a new series of weak efforts, military and Franciscan, as before without results. In 1720 the tonati, or chief, being in trouble, was induced to visit Mexico and make promises that he could not fulfil; the Jesuits, having awaited their opportunity as was their custom, took charge of the spiritual conquest, now that the government showed itself in earnest; and a strong military force was sent under Juan de la Torre, which with much diplomacy and some fighting accomplished very little in 1721. Operations were continued, however, under the command of Juan de Flores, and in Janu-

mostly abandoned since the Seri revolt; also of the richness and neglect of the mineral wealth. This is the only record of such a ruler.

ary 1722 the strongest peñol of El Gran Nayar was carried by assault. The subjection of the province presented later only such difficulties as zealous missionaries with a competent guard could overcome; and in a few years the bishop on his tour was delighted at his reception by the converts of Nayarit.[47]

[47] For particulars see *Hist. Mex.*, iii., this series.

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNALS OF SONORA AND SINALOA.

1731–1751.

Coast Provinces Detached from Nueva Vizcaya—Huidrobo as Governor—Revolt of Yaquis and Mayos—A Decade in Pimería Alta—Keller and Sedelmair—Bolas de Plata, or Arizonac—Vildosola's Rule—Letters and Quarrels—Gallardo as Visitador General—Proposed Reforms—Parrilla Appointed Governor—Presidio Changes—Seri War—Moqui Scheme Revived—Expeditions to the Gila—Sedelmair's Explorations—Royal Orders—Salvador's Consultas—Secularization, Penal Colony, Colonization—Jesuit Catalogue of 1750—Pima Revolt—Martyrdom of Rhuen and Tello—Items on the Sinaloa Provinces.

In 1734 a change was made in the government. Down to this time, since 1693, Sinaloa and Sonora had been ruled by military commandants residing at San Felipe and San Juan, and both subject in civil and political matters to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. Now all the coast provinces were united in one *gobernacion* called Sinaloa y Sonora, under Manuel Bernal Huidrobo as the first governor. It would seem that the rank of Huidrobo and his successors was equal to that of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, who no longer had any jurisdiction over the coast. The capital was perhaps deemed to be regularly San Felipe de Sinaloa; but practically it was in Sonora, at San Juan, Pitic, or San Miguel Horcasitas, where the state of public affairs obliged the governor to spend most of his time. Under him as comandante general were the presidio captains; and the civil affairs of the province were administered as before by

alcaldes mayores.[1] Huidrobo ruled till 1741, being engaged during the first three or four years in quelling disturbances in California.

Trouble was now brewing in the missions. In 1737 the Pimas of Tecoripa, Suaqui, and perhaps others in the same district ran away to the Cerro Prieto under the command of a native called Arizivi, or God. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza of Fronteras presidio brought back the fugitives after flogging the ringleaders.[2] Anza was killed in a fight with the Apaches two years later.[3] In 1740 a very serious revolt broke out among the Yaquis and Mayos who had been the most faithful and submissive of subjects, the former since their submission to Hurdaide, whom they had repeatedly defeated in battle, and the latter from their first acquaintance with the Spaniards.

The exact cause of this outbreak, like most of its subsequent details, is wrapped in mystery; but there are indications that it originated as much in quarrels between the Jesuits and the Spanish settlers as in any dissatisfaction on the part of the natives.[4] It

[1] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 219; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 275.

[2] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 219; also MS. This brief document I have found exceedingly valuable. All that is known of the author is contained in the following sentence, p. 225: 'En las noticias que aquí se dan no cabe la menor duda porque él que las escribe las presenció y es tan antiguo en el gobierno como su ereccion.' See also on this revolt, *Panes, Vireyes*, MS., 115–16.

[3] *Apost. Afanes*, 433–4. Juan Bautista Anza who was prominent in the early history of Alta California was this man's son.

[4] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 273–5, says the country 'was disturbed by the seditions of the Yaquis and Mayos, backed by some vecinos who needed them for their own private interests. Ill-feeling toward the Jesuits on the part of one gentleman in office contributed not a little. The missionaries during the whole revolt were but the mark for all the volleys and calumnies with which their rivals wished to blacken them.' According to the *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 219–22, the Yaquis some years before, while Gov. Huidrobo was in California, had complained of the cruelty of two majordomos and had asked for their removal, which the alcalde mayor of Yaqui and Ostimuri, Miguel Quirós y Mora, attempted to effect, the Jesuits resisting. Quirós was arrested and put in irons by Lieut. Gov. Manuel Nicolás de Mena, whom Huidrobo had left in command during his absence. Thereupon the Yaquis sent two of their chiefs to Mexico to urge their complaints before Viceroy Vizarron (whose rule ended in Aug. 1740), and during their absence of two years the revolt broke out in 1740. Salvador, *Consulta y Repres.*, 639–40, states that the Yaqui Chief Muni applied several times to Huidrobo, complaining of the mission government, and asking that his people be allowed to pay tribute and

was in some respects the same struggle that we shall see repeated in Alta California nearly a century later. The Spanish settlers wanted the mission lands and the tamed Indians for laborers; and they painted for the neophytes secularization in its brightest colors, prompting their petitions for a change. The Yaqui leaders were Muni, Baltasar,[5] and Juan Calixto, the latter commanding at first in Muni's absence. The outbreak began in 1740, and peace was restored before the middle of 1741 after many lives had been lost, churches burned, crops destroyed, several hard battles fought, the rebel leaders put to death, and Governor Huidrobo superseded. Beyond this outline all is confusion among the authorities, some of whom would seem to have left the record intentionally vague. Many of the irreconcilable details seem nevertheless worth preserving in a note.[6] This revolt with its

be governed like those about the city of Mexico. Then he went to Mexico to present the same request to the viceroy, who did not comply but flattered him, and sent him back with the title of captain-general of his nation. On his return he considered himself king, and began to stir up rebellion. Had his request (secularization) been granted the trouble might have been prevented. Reyes, *Descripcion y Not.*, 728, says the rising was caused by the unjust punishment inflicted by a 'juez real' on the native governor of a pueblo. Says Velasco, *Sonora*, 75–6, the Yaquis rose at the instigation of a criminal who escaped from prison and persuaded the Indians that the plan was to take their lands from them.

[5] Mota-Padilla, *Cong. N. Gal.*, 520–27, gives the full names Juan Ignacio Usacamea Muni and Bernardo Felipe Bacoritemea. The *Resúmen* calls the second perhaps Bernabelillo.

[6] According to Alegre hostilities began in the Mayo missions with the murder of the native governor and burning of the churches. Then the rebels continued their ravages at Cedros and encamped at Bayoreca, the governor retiring to Álamos. (The *Resúmen* says that Huidrobo at news of the revolt hastened to Cedros de Lucenilla Hacienda, but retreated by night to Álamos, an act for which he lost his office a little later. Mota-Padilla tells us that the inhabitants of the whole province were killed or driven to S. Felipe and Álamos where they were besieged until aid was sent by the alcalde of Rosario and the governor of N. Vizcaya.) Now, returning to Alegre, the Yaquis learned of the imprisonment of Muni whom Capt. Mena had arrested but soon released, whereupon they rose at Rahum and ravaged the missions of that district. (According to the *Resúmen* Muni was at this time in Mexico, and according to Mota-Padilla this chief went to Mexico after the revolt began, persuaded the viceroy that he had been working to check the hostilities, and succeeded in getting an order for Huidrobo's recall.) The governor paid no attention for a while to the clamors of the province, but at last sent a lieutenant with a small force to Mayo where he thought there was the least danger. The Mayos pretended to receive them kindly until they carelessly laid aside their arms, when they were flogged and sent back. (Gov. Vildosola in a later letter also refers to this occurrence.) The governor sent 60 men to

causes and results may be regarded as marking the end of all prosperity in the missionary history of Sonora.

In Pimería Alta, we left fathers Velarde, Campos, and Gallardi toiling at Dolores, San Ignacio, and Tubutama, awaiting help which had been definitely promised. At last, late in 1731, three padres arrived in the field and tarried awhile at San Ignacio and Tubutama, both on account of illness and in order to learn the language. They were Ignacio Javier Keller, Juan Bautista Grashoffer, and Felipe Segesser, and

avenge this insult, but they were led into a swamp and nearly all killed. The rebels now went to Basacora (Bacanora?), ravaged Ostimuri, and drove the inhabitants to take refuge at Icora (Yecora?), whence they applied to the governor of N. Vizcaya for aid to save Sonora. Next the Indians under Baltasar and Calixto attacked Tecoripa, where they were repulsed and Baltasar was killed after a hard fight, by Vildosola and a few presidio soldiers stationed there. (The *Resúmen* says nothing of the above disasters, but simply that Huidrobo retreating to Álamos, sent Vildosola, sergeant-major of militia, to the Tecoripa frontier where he defeated the Yaquis in two battles.) Capt. Usarraga entered the Tepahue mountains, found the Indians celebrating the death of some Spaniards, defeated them, and left the heads of many nailed to trees; but returning, he was himself wounded and defeated by the foe. This encouraged Calixto to make another attack on Tecoripa with 1,600 Yaquis, but he was again repulsed by Vildosola, and accepted propositions for peace. The negotiations would perhaps have failed on account of Muni's return at this time—this is Alegre's only allusion to his absence—had not Huidrobo gone promptly to Yaqui and arrested many of the leaders, whom he was about to punish when ordered to give up the government to Vildosola. The latter visited different points, learned the plans of Muni and Bernabé, whom he shot in June 1741, Calixto meeting a like fate a little later. (According to the *Resúmen*, Muni and his companion came back from Mexico to Álamos and obtained leave to visit their people, promising to pacify them, as they did, releasing 38 captives, including P. Pedro Mendivil, who were to have been put to death next day. The new governor arrested Muni, Calixto, and Bernabelillo, and shot them at Buenavista on suspicion of plotting a new revolt. Mota-Padilla tells us that Muni came back from Mexico to plot a rising for June 24th; but that Vildosola discovered his plans and executed him with 14 others after he had confessed his guilt. The heads of the victims were sent round to the pueblos, and the people came in by thousands to thank the governor; 15,700 offered submission; the most guilty were banished; others placed under surveillance; and all deprived of some of their old privileges, such as living outside the pueblos or absenting themselves without the padres' permission.)

Velasco, *Sonora*, 75–6, says the Yaquis gathered 7,000 to 10,000 men to oppose Gov. Vildosola, who marched against them with 500 soldiers. They were first routed on Mt Tambor, where they lost 2,000 men; and again on Mt Otancahui, losing 3,000, when they sued for peace, and remained quiet until 1825. Berrotaran, *Informe*, 197, says 300 men were sent from Chihuahua to aid in putting down this rebellion. See also mention in *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 136; *Stone's Sonora*, 17; *Soc. Mex. Geog. Bol.*, viii. 298–9; xi. 89–90; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 558; *N. Mexico, Cédulas*, MS., 109–10.

they went to their stations in May 1732—Keller to Santa María Suamca, Grashoffer to Guevavi, and Segesser to San Javier del Bac; all of which pueblos were now for the first time supplied with padres.[7] Captain Juan Bautista Anza of Fronteras accompanied the padres, harangued the Sobaipuri caciques, and saw that the new-comers were everywhere well received, though the Christian ardor of olden times had somewhat abated by long waiting. The names of Velarde and Gallardi do not appear after 1730. Of Grashoffer and Segesser we hear nothing after 1732–3, except that one of them died soon and the other was stricken with a malady caused by the black arts of a native sorcerer.[8] In 1733 Segesser, though still remaining in Pimería, was succeeded at Bac by Padre Gaspar Steiger, a Swiss by birth, who served there three years. The sorcerers tried on three occasions to kill him, and the result was an illness from which he suffered all his life. He left Bac in 1736 and went to San Ignacio to take the place of Campos, who retired or died about 1735. Here Steiger died twenty-six years later.[9] Also in 1736 Jacobo Sedelmair came to Tubutama. José Javier Molina was at Dolores from 1737, being vicar in 1740; and José Torres is mentioned at Caborca in 1743. Other

[7] Suamca had as pueblos de visita S. Mateo, S. Pedro, Sta Cruz Quiburi, S. Pablo, and many rancherías, with 1,800 souls in all. Guevavi (S. Gabriel or S. Rafael?) had S. Marcelo Sonoita (very far west?); Aribac, 18 l. west; S. Cayetano (Tumacacori); and Jamac with 1,400 souls. Bac had S. Agustin, 5 l. N. W. with 1,300 souls. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 245–6. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 524–5, says Guevavi had many Spanish camps.

[8] Grashoffer's signature appears in *Suamca, Lib. Mision*, MS., in Dec. 1732, and Segesser's in *San Ignacio, Lib. Mision*, MS., on various dates of 1731–3. Keller's name appears on the Suamca books from 1732 to 1759, and also at S. Ignacio. The sorcerer is said to have tried his arts in vain upon Keller.

[9] *S. Ignacio, Lib. Mision*, MS., 33. Steiger was a native of Lucerne, Switzerland. He signed his name Stiger, and the Spaniards Estiger. These MS. records of the Pimería missions cited by me are fragments of the original mission registers of Tumacarori, Tubac, Pitiqui, Caborca, Bisanig, Magdalena, San Ignacio, Santa Ana, San Ildefonso de Cieneguita, Tubutama, Atí, Oquitoa, Cócospera, and Suamca. They cover the period from 1693 to 1845, under both Jesuit and Franciscan rule, and I have no need to speak of their great historic value. The originals were collected by M. Alphonse Pinart and from them my copies and extracts were made under the title, *Pinart, Coleccion de la Pimería Alta*, MS.

names appearing on the mission books, some of them probably those of mere visitors, were José Toral in 1736, Miguel Capetillo in 1734, Alejandro Rapuani in 1740, and Lorenzo Ignacio Gutierrez in 1740–1; all at San Ignacio. Also at Suamca José Torres Perea in 1741–3; Joaquin Felix Diaz, 1744; José Garrucho in 1744–8, and Miguel de la Vega in 1749–51.[10]

Padre Keller is said to have visited the Gila Valley in 1736 by way of Guevavi and Bac, and again in 1737. Many of the rancherías of Kino's time had now been broken up by Apache raids. Keller went down to the Casa Grande, and from a high rock saw where the Salado and Verde united to form the Rio de la Asuncion, and its junction with the Gila. All had, however, been discovered by Kino before, and named, except perhaps the Asuncion. He found the Cocomaricopas at war, and returned homeward by another way.[11] In 1737 Sedelmair also made a tour through the rancherías of the Pápagos, preaching, baptizing, gaining pagan recruits for Tubutama, and possibly reaching the banks of the Gila.[12] The bishop also came in 1737, and all the mission books of the north were brought to San Ignacio for his inspection.[13]

There is one mining excitement which is worthy of special mention here in connection with the annals of Pimería Alta from 1736 to 1741. I allude to the discovery of the famous Bolas de Plata mines, called also Arizona, which furnished the name to a modern state, though not within its limits. In 1736 or a little earlier an Indian, said to have been a Yaqui, discovered and revealed to a trader the existence of rich deposits of silver in the mountains between Guevavi and Saric at the source of the arroyo which forms

[10] *Pinart, Col. de Pimería Alta*, MS.; *Apost. Afanes*, 338, 342–4, 353; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 856–7; *Vildosola, Carta*, in *Sonora, Mat.*, 17.
[11] *Apost. Afanes*, 348–9.
[12] *Apost. Afanes*, 351–4.
[13] *S. Ignacio, Lib. Mision*, MS., 31, 38.

the eastern branch of the Rio Altar, or Tubutama.[14] The report soon spread throughout northern Sonora, and as was usually the case at each new rumor of rich diggings, many of the roving vagabonds called miners who were scattered in small parties over the province rushed to the spot. The strike proved to be very rich and the nature of the deposit peculiar, since the silver was found on or near the surface in *bolas,* or nuggets, of almost pure metal weighing from twelve pounds to over a ton, and perhaps in a few cases even more.[15]

The hill containing the treasure was called Cerro de las Bolas;[16] the mines were known as Bolas de Plata or Planchas de Plata; and the mining camp established there was named Real de Arizona. This name, very likely Arizonac in its original form, still applied to these mountains and also to the state whose boundary is a little farther north, was probably the aboriginal term applied to the hill, stream, mountains, or some other natural feature of the region.[17] It is

[14] Different authorities give the date vaguely from 1736 to 1739, and one as early as 1733; but apparently the original correspondence on the subject was dated in 1736, the discovery having been possibly a little earlier. Stone, *Sonora*, 26, says this find, or another similar one according to Jesuit records, was in 1730. Sedelmair, *Relacion*, 856–7, locates the mine eight leagues from Guevavi. According to *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 502, 582, it was on the stream two leagues north of Agua Caliente and 10 leagues south of Guevavi. According to *Apost. Afanes*, 232–8, the treasure was in a hill a league and a half long terminating in a cañada.

[15] Ward, *Mexico*, ii. 136–8, saw the original correspondence of 1736 on the subject, and had a certified copy of a royal decree of May 28, 1741, in which a nugget of 2,700 lbs. and another of 275 lbs. are mentioned. It also stated that over two tons of silver in *bolas, planchas, y otras piezas* had been taken from the mine. According to *Apost. Afanes*, one nugget of 3,500 lbs., and 10,000 lbs. in all were taken out. Most of the Spanish authorities mention this *bola* of 140 arrobas. Velasco, *Sonora*, 98, makes the date 1762, referring for the big nugget to the *Afanes* and to the *Memoria del Sec. del Gobierno, 1829.* Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, ii. 138–9, says the miners placed forges against the masses of silver to melt it into bars suitable for transportation. Mota-Padilla, *Conq. N. Gal*, 317, mentions a nugget of 160 arrobas on the authority of Fermin the finder and other truthful persons. Many of 20 and 22 arrobas were found. The author of *Sonora, Descrip. Suscinta*, 704, speaks of the 'prodigio que produjó la Arizona en la Pimería Alta, descubierto por un indio hiaqui que llamó la atencion de otros que hallaron diversas bolas de plata perfecta de varios estraordinarios tamaños.'

[16] Mota-Padilla calls it San Antonio, as does perhaps the *Sonora, Descripcion Suscinta.*

[17] A MS. map in my possession already referred to (see note 46 of chapter

said that the silver of Las Bolas was in some instances soft when first dug out, but became hard when exposed to the air. This peculiarity, doubtless imaginary and perhaps invented for the purpose, caused or enabled the presidio captain, who acted as mining judge in this district, to set up the claim that it was not to be classed as a mine proper, but if not as a deposit of hidden treasure, at least as a *criadero*, 'growing-place' or pocket, and that it consequently belonged to the king.

On this ground pending a decision he stopped for a time all work at Arizona. After some discussion in Mexico the viceroy seems to have decided in favor of the miners, and the embargo was raised. Later, however, in the decree of 1741, already alluded to, the king reversed the viceregal decision, declared the Arizona mine to be a *criadero de plata*, and ordered it to be worked for the account of the royal treasury. There is no evidence that Philip's revenues were ever increased from this source, and in fact nothing more is definitely known on the subject. It is, however, probable that by the time the royal order was enforced the superficial deposit of silver on the Cerro de las Bolas—rich but exaggerated, and of limited extent—had been exhausted, and the district abandoned. Had the nuggets still promised a bonanza, nothing could have kept the miners, either royal or private, away from Arizona; but the sterile nature of the region, the excessive expense of reducing ores, the hostilities of savages, and the unfortunate condition of the whole province during the following years were

xvii.) bears an inscription to the effect that the author D. Gabriel Prudhom 'fundó en la Pimería Alta el Puebló y Real del Arizonac,' in which *real* he made this map April 13, 1733; but strangely enough he has not located Arizonac on the map at all. Ward implies that the original correspondence used the name Arizona. It is also used in the *Apost. Afanes*, before 1754; in the *Descrip. Suscinta* about 1760; in the *Descrip. Geog.* of 1764; and by Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 270, about 1765. I have heard the suggestion that 'Arizona' is a corruption of the Spanish *narizona*, 'woman with a big nose'; this is ingenious, but much less probable than that the name was a native word. The terminations *ac* and *ic* were quite common in Pimería, the final '*c*' having been dropped later.

more than sufficient to prevent the working of the richest mines of the ordinary type.[18]

Don Agustin Vildosola became governor *ad interim* probably in the middle of 1741, receiving his appointment from the king at the end of that year.[19] Two new presidios, both named for the viceroy, were founded, one at Pitic, or San Pedro de la Conquista, on the site of the modern Hermosillo, to hold in check the Yaquis, Seris, Pimas, and Tepocas, and the other in the north at Terrenate, or San Bernardo Gracia Real, designed to protect the missions of Pimería Alta from Apache raids. The new ruler resided for the most part at Pitic.[20] Respecting the condition of affairs in connection with the government in 1742 we have three letters of the governor to the Jesuit provincial Mateo Ansaldo.[21] On August 14th he complains of reports circulated against him by malicious persons, partisans of Huidrobo, who have charged among other things that he was strongly opposed by the Jesuits, a statement which was false, as the visitador Luis María Marjiano, and the rector, José Toral, had been at great pains to certify. Then he has much to say

[18] According to *Apost. Afanes*, the district was depopulated before the decree arrived; the experts to be sent in the interests of the king from N. Vizcaya, receiving no advance of pay, declined to serve; and the treasure—very little of which could have been removed—remained untouched (1752). The men who made fortunes at Arizona had for the most part squandered their gains as was usual with Sonora miners. The author urges that 100,000 or 200,000 pesos spent by the king on this enterprise would be a paying investment. Ward says the royal order prevented individual enterprise and the district was deserted; an attempt to send a kind of colony failed, and the very name of Arizona was forgotten. Sedelmair says the deposit was soon worked out on the surface by the *vecinos*. According to the *Descrip. Suscinta*, Indian hostilities had much to do with the abandonment, and no work under the royal order was done to about 1760 at least.

[19] Though there are some slight indications, particularly in Vildosola's later letters, that he became governor in 1740, the date given by Velasco.

[20] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 222; *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 557, 607; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 521–2, with reference to a letter of Vildosola to viceroy, dated Oct. 8, 1741; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 289–90. On Jan. 18, 1741 (2?), P. Javier José Molina writes from Tecoripa to Gov. Vildosola urging a division of the *gobernacion*, giving to Sonora all above Álamos with a capital at Pitic or S. José de Pimas, and a force of 100 soldiers. *Sonora, Materiales*, 918–20.

[21] *Vildosola, Cartas, 1742.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii. tom. iv. 921–32; série iv. tom. i. 5–17.

in a general way of his great labors for the welfare of the province. He had made some entradas against the Apaches, this year more hostile than ever before; he had defeated and captured two large parties of Yaquis and allied peoples who had fled to the mountains and threatened a new revolt more destructive than the first—possibly alluding, however, to the plots for which Muni was put to death; he had opened several old and new mines of silver; and sent two expeditions to fish for pearls, without much success, but proposes another trial. His chief obstacle in the way of reducing all the natives, especially the Seris and coast tribes, to pueblo life, is the lack of authority and money to afford them a little aid during the first years of their civilization. Yet he hopes to restore the province to its old prosperity, and to be thus repaid for his ceaseless toil and bitter persecutions by the friends of his predecessor. Another trouble he has, in the extreme reluctance of the central government to reimburse sixty-six thousand pesos which he has spent in restoring order.[22]

The 6th of September he writes from Buenavista a long and for the most part unintelligible letter, complaining that many of the padres are unjustly prejudiced against him, and breathing bitterness against Huidrobo and his 'dogs' of friends, prominent among whom seem to be Captain Francisco Bustamante and Santiago Ruiz Ail. The letter is a disgusting exhibition of petty spite toward personal foes; of self-glorification for reforms which have saved the country; of whining and hypocritical cant; of excessive devotion to "our most sacred mother, the company," and "my beloved brethren, the missionaries;" of flattery for friends in power, and of calls upon God to forgive the sins of those who fail to appreciate the purity and greatness of the writer. The third letter of October 4th is of the same type, but its extravagant ravings make us chari-

[22] In this letter are some allusions to the revolt of 1740, but nothing which throws additional light on the details of that affair.

table, and suggest that on the subject of his grievances the writer is perhaps insane, though clear-headed enough on other matters. On Padre Keller is expended a large share of his fury, for some offence not clearly defined, but apparently his disapproval of the governor's treatment of the so-called traitor Muni, a *verdadero Huidrobiño*. Vildosola suggests the transfer of many padres from one mission to another as indispensable for the peace of Sonora.[23]

In 1744 the governor received from the viceroy an order to extinguish the two new presidios of Pitic and Terrenate. This order was based on royal instructions to cut down expenses, and on reports that the presidios were not needed; that the Spaniards between Sinaloa and Tecoripa could defend themselves by militia companies; and that the thirty men of San Felipe might as well be transferred to Tecoripa. On June 24th Vildosola protested against this order and declared his intention to disobey it until the viceroy could consider the accompanying statement to the effect that the measures ordered would infallibly cause the ruin of the whole province, and that the persons suggesting them must be foes to the Catholic faith and Spanish crown. His arguments were strong, and seem to have been effective, since the presidios were not abolished.[24] For 1745 the standard historical work of

[23] The names of the padres were: Francisco Javier Anaya, and Arriola, Yaqui; Gabriel Urrutia, for Cucurpe; José Ignacio Palomino, for Banamichi; Antonio Estrada; Felipe Seguer (Segesser?), rector, Tecoripa; José Roldan, Arivechi; Ignacio Duque, Pópulo; José Miquio, for S. Javier del Bac; Ign. Javier Keller, Sta María; Manuel Cartajena, for Onabas; Juan Antonio Arce, for Caborca; Roque Andonaiqui, for S. Ignacio; Gaspar Steiger, Dolores; Manuel Cordaveras, for Tecoripa; Buenaventura Gutierrez, Oposura; Juan Estanislao Nieto, Cuquiarachi; Nicolás Perera, Cucurpe; Carlos Boaxas (Rojas), Arizpe.

[24] Vildosola claims that the transfer of the Sinaloa force would leave the south exposed to great dangers. The white settlers up to Alamos are less than 600, scattered in ranchos and mines, poor and obliged to work for a living, with no time for military service, and withal very ineffective soldiers. The valor of the Indians is shown by the facts that the Mayos flogged 30 Spaniards in one of their pueblos, and that Huidrobo with his armed force, two companies from N. Vizcaya and 286 Indian allies, was once hard pressed at Álamos. Ostimuri has less than 400 of Spanish and mixed blood in the same condition as those below, so frightened as to have been several times on the point of leaving the country, surrounded by 25 pueblos of Yaquis, etc. Sonora has not over 600 Spaniards with 66 pueblos and many rancherías. Pitic

Villa-Señor y Sanchez contains a good deal of information, chiefly geographical and statistical, respecting Sonora and Ostimuri, which I have utilized as far as possible in different parts of my work.[25]

Vildosola's troubles increased, and his opponents multiplied, until in 1748 the viceroy, perplexed by contradictory reports of the opposing factions, sent José Rafael Rodriguez Gallardo as visitador general to make an investigation. Vildosola went to Mexico, and Diego Ortiz Parrilla was appointed to succeed him, arriving in 1749. Gallardo's instructions to Parrilla as to the line of policy to be followed are dated December 1749 and March 1750. In the first, after noting many local changes he had made or recommended in Sinaloa, he indicates his views of what is needed for Sonora, his plan involving no radical changes except so far as a change from disregard of the laws to obedience might be termed radical. It was deemed best not to attempt any removal of natives who had been settled for ten years in one place; to strictly enforce the passport system, and the laws against vagabondage; and to transport all persistent transgressors to the frontier presidios. Great care should be taken to prevent abuses by employers, who

is near the Cerro Prieto, the resort of all the fiercest barbarians, and 50 leagues from Tecoripa. The extinction of the presidio would leave this region without Spanish influence to become the breeding-place of revolutions. The northern presidios had all they could do to resist the Apaches, and could do nothing for the south or coast. The Spanish miners in three valleys were protected by Terrenate, and would at once quit the country if the presidio were given up. And finally it was hard to sacrifice all that had been gained at a time when the prospects were so favorable (!). He refers for support to his argument to his *consulta* of March 17, 1741; reports of Apache outrages at the Sanchez rancho in 1743, where over 40 persons perished; the petition of the Jesuit visitador and padres of the present year for aid absolutely needed; and another from *vecinos* of Pimería Alta. He also announces his intention of spending the coming winter in a vigorous campaign against the Apaches. *Sonora, Materiales*, 675–82.

[25] *Theatro Americano*, ii. 367–403. This author mentions the following presidios: Buenavista, with 32 men; Pitic, with 50 men; Corodeguachi de Fronteras, with 51 men; and San Felipe de Jesus Guevavi, with 50 men. The last is perhaps an error, for the Terrenate presidio had apparently not yet been moved across to Guevavi. Capt. José Gomez de Silva named at presidio of San Mateo in 1743. *Suamca, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 48. Apache raids in 1742, 1744. *Cherry's Rept., S. Juan*, 15, 16, 55.

should be made to pay up back wages, and not allowed to make large advances. The custom had become common for employers to get one of a band of laborers appointed as governor, and then through him to rule and punish the Indians without any subjection to the authorities or laws; which must be stopped. Weights and measures had been found unequal, even those officially sealed not corresponding to those of other provinces. Mining camps must not be founded without the proper formalities, and the establishment of a regular government. Rancheros must not live at long distances from the pueblos and thus enjoy vagabondage under pretence of owning a few cattle. The burning of straw in the fields should not be allowed. Hacendados must not take the law into their own hands in cases of theft. A few small pueblos by advice of the padres might advantageously be joined to larger ones. Such are the most important of the reforms suggested for the good of Sonora; all well enough, but amounting merely to a general recommendation that the laws be enforced.[26] The author speaks very highly of ex-Governor Huidrobo, implying that the country's misfortunes are largely due to the bad management of Vildosola.

The second document is devoted to more important matters. In it Gallardo calls attention to the critical state of the province and to the necessity of reducing the Seris, Guaymas, Upanguaymas, and Pimas Bajos, and of exploring Cerro Prieto and Tiburon Island, all of which cannot, as the orders from Mexico direct, be acomplished at once for want of force and money. The best way was to attack one nation at a time, the Seris receiving particular attention, and the tribes being, if possible, involved in quarrels with each other. The Guaymas, being now friendly, and hostile

[26] *Gallardo, Instrucciones que en virtud de Superior órden remitió el Lic. D. José Gallardo, al teniente coronel D. Diego Ortiz Parrilla, electo Gobernador y Capitan General de la Gobernacion de Sonora, año de 1749*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 860–86; also MS. Dated Horcasitas, Dec. 13, 1749.

to the Seris, should be treated kindly.[27] The Pimas also, as they were committing no hostilities beyond the stealing of cattle, should be dealt with gently until the Seris could be disposed of. With the latter people a very strict policy should be adopted. In the past captains had been content to punish the leaders, leaving the rest to revolt at the first opportunity. Now they should be reduced or annihilated, in but one more war. They might be 'extracted,' but if so they should be sent to New Spain and not allowed to return. Boats are ready at Yaqui for an entrada to Tiburon, but scarcity of water and lack of money have thus far prevented it. The Pápagos are a small cowardly tribe, and their lands being unfit for missions they should be 'extracted' to other lands. Many have already moved, and San Ignacio is more Pápago than Pima. Gallardo had been ordered to put a stop to 'sorceries' among the Pimas Altos, but found it a difficult matter by reason of false accusations for vengeance, false confessions from fear, and lack of qualified judges; he had, therefore, not inflicted the extreme penalty, but had issued a *bando* at Terrenate. He had also disobeyed orders to unite different pueblos, on account of objections from the padres or from other motives of policy.

Another plan had been to repeople the frontier pueblos with Indians from large towns of the Yaquis and Mayos, or with rebellious Pimas or Seris; but of course this had been found impracticable. Bad Indians could not be kept on the frontier without a soldier for each Indian; and to the removal of 'good' ones the padres objected, to say nothing of the manifest injustice of such an act. The visitador had ordered, however, the construction of proper houses for the Indians and of defensive works for each pueblo, the arrangement being that the neophytes should

[27] It would be well to found a mission at San José de Guaymas, and P. Agustin Arriola is named as a person well acquainted with this people. This shows that no permanent establishment had been kept up at Guaymas by the California missionaries.

work two days in the week for themselves, two for the *comunidad*, and two on the new buildings; but the padres and alcaldes would, he thought, require frequent stirring-up. There was not, says the writer, a single regularly established *real* or settlement in the province, or one having over ten permanently resident families. The population was scattered and constantly changing with the discovery of new mines. San Juan was nominally the capital, but had no prison or place for the records. The whole settlement of the country had been planned with too exclusive reference to the convenience of the native and mission pueblos. One *vecindario formal* had, however, been begun at San Miguel Horcasitas, and to it San Juan had been ordered joined.

The presidio captains had been very strict in keeping their pledges to the Apaches, who consequently were wont to send in an old woman with a cross to make a truce while the warriors went to attack some other point; this was to be changed. Vecindarios of Indians in connection with the presidios were desirable but very hard to establish. The orders from Mexico were that Apache campaigns be made more secretly, with less preparation and expense, and joining of different companies; but the truth was that in the past not more than fifty men had usually started, and less could do nothing.[28] Gallardo intended to go up to the

[28] The author of the *Apost. Afanes*, 429–46, gives a very full account of the Apaches and their modes of warfare, bounding the Apache country by Chihuahua, Janos, Fronteras, Terrenate, Gila, Moqui, N. Mexico, and El Paso. Captains Escalante and Anza were killed by these savages, and after the latter's death in 1739 they became more daring in their raids than ever before. The representations and petitions of the padres were regarded as exaggerated or attributed to timidity; but in 1747 they had some effect, and a grand united effort was ordered to be made by 30 men from each presidio. Unfortunately the troops from N. Mexico failed to carry out their part of the programme. The other five presidios joined their forces instead of entering Apachería separately as they should have done. The Apaches allowed them to enter and took advantage of the occasion to attack points left unprotected. The officers of Sonora and Chihuahua made a bad matter worse by a vain attempt to reach Moqui. Another expedition was undertaken in the autumn of 1748, when the soldiers with a force of militia and 500 Pimas and Ópatas marched from Fronteras, reached the Apache stronghold in the Sierra of Chiquisagui, or Chigagua, found it deserted, and captured only 10. Some

Colorado and make further explorations, but was prevented by Apache troubles; he regarded, however, Consag's trip of 1746 as conclusively proving California to be a peninsula, although he still regarded explorations in this direction as more important than any that could be directed toward Moqui. Presidio captains had instructions to visit from time to time the more distant missions, but for want of soldiers neglected the duty. The natives of the region round about San Javier del Bac were more gentiles than Christians, stealing horses to eat, and when caught swearing they took the animals from the Apaches;[29] yet Gallardo deemed it best to ignore their faults, since without their aid as auxiliaries the northern country would soon have to be abandoned. The writer closed this interesting document with the remark that to enforce all the minor formalities of the law in relation to mining operations would be to drive away all the poor miners struggling for an existence; and with a suggestion that the jurisdictions of Sonora and Sinaloa should be separated for the advantage of both.[30]

The visitador seems also to have moved the presidio of Pitic to San Miguel Horcasitas, and perhaps that of Terrenate to a site near Guevavi. The former change did not please the Seris at Pópulo, whose lands to some extent were taken and divided among the vecinos of the new town; and the discontent was not allayed when Governor Parrilla punished the complaints of the eighty families at Pópulo by arresting them all, and by sending them, or perhaps only their women, to be distributed over all parts of New Spain. Then Parrilla, in accordance with Gallardo's instruc-

bands came in a little later to make peace, in the continuance of which nobody had much confidence. The padres favored, as did Vildosola, the founding of a villa on the Gila as the best defensive measure; also that the troops be made wholly subject to the missionaries. Experience had taught that this was the only safe policy. See also *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 552–9; *Tamaron, Visita de Durango*, MS., 97–8.

[29] Strange that Kino did not rise from his grave to refute this charge.

[30] *Gallardo, Instrucciones*, 887–918, dated Matape, March 15, 1750.

tions, began his war of extermination at the head of seventy-five soldiers and four hundred Pimas. The result was very different from the annihilation proposed, since although the army crossed over to Tiburon Island, only a few Seris were killed, and some thirty women and children captured.[31]

Returning to the north, we find that in 1742 the scheme of Moqui reduction was again revived, that people, as it was said, refusing to be converted by anybody except the *padres prietos y de cuatro piques* as the Jesuits were called; and a royal cédula was obtained through the influence of the bishop intrusting the task to the society. Padre Keller accordingly made ready for a trip to Moqui and set out in July or September of 1743. From the Gila he went northward through an unknown country, and was soon attacked by Apaches, who though repulsed killed one soldier with a poisoned arrow and got away with most of the horses and supplies.[32] In the same year Sedelmair visited Sonoita in September and the Gila in November, but we have no details of the trip. In October 1744 he also started with a view of penetrating to Moqui, going up through the Pápago country to the Gila, dealing out his trifling presents with a liberal hand and everywhere welcomed. The Pimas gladdened the padre's heart with the information that the Moqui province was easily accessible and only three or four days off; but next day they changed their minds and refused to serve as guides. Sedel-

[31] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 290–1, says that after a campaign of two months Parrilla came back with 28 women, boasting that he had exterminated the accursed race, and comparing himself to Cæsar. The truth was that at Tiburon none of the soldiers could be induced to attack the Seris in their retreats, although the Pimas did take a few prisoners. Yet the same author says, p. 118, that the Seris were ousted from Tiburon and almost exterminated by Parrilla! According to *Apost. Afanes*, 366–8, though the soldiers would not attack, the Pimas killed every Seri on the island. The *Resúmen*, p. 220, has it that they found and killed only a few old men, the rest escaping to the main. See also *Velasco, Sonora*, 124; *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 557–9; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 560–1; *Nayarit, Frag. Hist.*, MS., 11–15.

[32] *Apost. Afanes*, 348–51; *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 848, 854; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 276–7; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 526–30.

mair then went down the Gila past the big bend to the Cocomaricopas, who were willing to guide him to the north, but also changed their minds next day, though promising to notify the Moquis of the visit. The devil was in it clearly, and after exploring the Gila, noting the Rio Azul, and going down to the Yumas on the Colorado, he returned in November to Tubutama.[33] Such is the version of the standard writers; but according to the statement of Sedelmair himself the trip was a much more important one geographically. He claims, doubtless truthfully, that he crossed the Gila near the Casa Grande, and thence went down the north bank, across the Asuncion, exploring for the first time the big bend, crossing over to the Colorado, discovering on its bank a fine spring of water named San Rafael Otaigui, and finally going up to the junction of another "blue river near the boundaries of the province of Moqui"—doubtless the modern Bill Williams Fork.[34] The padre in his narrative describes the Casa Grande and other groups of ruins, with the broken pottery so common in this region.

About this time the Spanish authorities manifested some signs of interest in the settlement not only of California but of Pimería as being the most practicable route for conquest in the north. A cédula of November 13, 1744, called for information on the subject; and ordered the extension of the missions to be encouraged in every possible way. Each mission was to have two padres, one of whom might occupy himself with tours of conversion and exploration; an escolta was to be given the journeying padres to be

[33] *Apost. Afanes*, 351–8. It seems that Sedelmair had instructions not to interfere at Moqui if he found the Franciscans at work. Sedelmair, *Relacion*, 846, says that they reached the Gila by way of Papalotería in 1744, which date is clearly an error as he goes on to describe another trip in that year. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 283–4, says he brought back 140 pagans for his mission. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 530–6, says he took his account from Villa-Señor and from P. Baltasar's papers. See also *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iv. 575; *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, 255–6.

[34] *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 846; *Id., Entrada*, 20.

entirely under missionary control; and finally one of the two presidios, Pitic or Terrenate, was recommended to be moved to the Gila or Colorado. This cédula, though favorable, dealt for the most part in generalities, or at least additional provisions were required in order that the Jesuits might put in practice the suggestions. The detailed report called for was given by the provincial Escobar in 1745 in a memorial, approving all the suggestions of the cédula except in relation to moving the presidios, neither of which could be spared, though it might be well to move Terrenate nearer to Suamca and to station a detachment of its force at Bac; but the provincial urges instead the founding of a new presidio of one hundred men on the Gila to keep back the Apaches, protect the proposed new conversions, open the way to Moqui, and ensure the reduction of California.[35]

Sedelmair also went to Mexico, probably at the request of the provincial, to solicit padres for the northern field, to give information respecting Pimería, and to aid in taking proper advantages of the king's favorable disposition. In his relation presented on his arrival early in 1746 he gives a résumé of what had already been done, a full description of the country and its people as observed by himself and others, and his own ideas respecting the territory and tribes not yet seen. He presents as motives for the foundation of the missions the fertility of the soil; the great number of Indians awaiting salvation; the mineral wealth awaiting development; and the desirability of a new base of operations from which to protect the old missions, to reduce the Moquis, to check the Apaches, to learn if California is an island, to push the reduction up to Monterey, and to solve the great geographical mysteries of the far north.[36]

[35] *Apost. Afanes*, 368–83; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 507–10, 536–46; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, ii. 115–20; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 286. Venegas tells us that while waiting for an answer to his memorial, Escobar directed new entradas to be made and each padre to send in a history of his mission.

[36] *Sedelmair, Relacion que hizo al Padre Jacobo Sedelmair de la Comp. de*

The result of Escobar's memorial was a cédula of the new king, Fernando IV., dated December 4, 1747, in which he ordered the viceroy in general terms to investigate the matter, and enforce such measures as he might deem necessary. So far as Sonora was concerned no practical result was reached.[37] In a letter of March 20, 1747, Sedelmair writes to his rector that he has been unable to make an entrada to the Colorado because the governor refused an escort, and that such an escort is becoming more and more indispensable, though there is little hope of anything being done by the present authorities in Sonora. Consag's voyage of the preceding year,[38] however, is deemed conclusive as to the peninsular character of California, lately called in question by reason of Campos' theories, and he believes there is now no obstacle to the conversion of "the whole continent as far as Japan, Yerdo, and Tartary." He has himself made a trip to the coast, and has brought back a whole ranchería of two hundred and ten gentiles to be settled at Atí.[39]

I have already alluded to an attempt to reach Moqui this year by the military force collected for an Apache campaign. No details are known save

Jesus, misionero en Tubutama, con la ocasion de haber venido á Mexico por el mes de Febrero del año de 1746 á solicitar operarios para fundar misiones en los rios Gila y Colorado que habia descubierto en dos entradas que hizo á la gentilidad al norte de su mision, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 843–59; also MS. It would seem most likely that Sedelmair was called to Mexico to consult with the provincial before his memorial was sent to the king; but the dates given indicate the contrary. The version in the *Apost. Afanes*, 372, is that Sedelmair consulted his superiors as to the best way of carrying into effect the cédula, advising that some well qualified Jesuit make out a full report and petition. The superior liked the idea and invited Sedelmair to do the work, whereupon he came to Mexico before the provincial made his report. It is not impossible that there is an error in the date of Sedelmair's *Relacion* as printed. See also *Cal., Hist. Chrét.*, 256–8; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Ch.*, i. 372–3. Gleeson says that Keller explored toward the Gila in 1745 and Sedelmair in 1746.

[37] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 517–20; *Clavigero, Stor. Cal.*, ii. 119–20.

[38] See for Consag's voyage, chapter xvi. of this volume.

[39] *Sedelmair, Carta* in *Sonora, Materiales*, 841–2; *Apost. Afanes*, 358–9; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 286. The last two authorities imply that the trip to the coast was in 1746, and say that it was made in search of a port about Caborca for the California vessels, a port which could not be found.

that the expedition was a failure in an exploring as in a military point of view.[40]

On October 13, 1748, Sedelmair started from his mission with fifteen soldiers,[41] and in ten days reached the Gila by way of Papaguería. Here he preached on the sin of polygamy to the Cocomaricopas, who laughingly assented to his doctrine, saying that their great trouble was to get one wife apiece. Passing down the Gila, past the Sierra of Sibupue, he noticed the 'painted rocks,' and listened to various traditions respecting these relics of antiquity. Near the place whence he had in 1744 turned off to the Colorado he found a warm spring, named Santa María del Agua Caliente, and from this point went down the river, for the first time on the northern bank, naming one place San Júdas Tadeo, and turning off so as to strike the Colorado about two leagues above the junction at a point named by him San José. Another locality near the junction, but south of the Gila, he called Loreto. The Yumas exhibited some timidity and much curiosity, stole some horses, and even threatened an attack. They were at enmity with the Quiquimas across the river, and with the Cocomaricopas. Their peculiar actions, the fear of being obliged to kill some of them, the illness of certain soldiers, and the bad condition of the horses prevented Sedelmair from going down to the mouth as he had intended, and he returned early in November. Next year he proposed another entrada, but could get no guard; and in June 1750 a Yuma messenger came down with *saludos* from his tribe to ask for another visit and get some presents.[42]

It was in November and December 1750 that Sedelmair made his next and last journey to the

[40] *Apost. Afanes*, 439–40.

[41] His own narrative has it 1749, doubtless a slip of pen or type.

[42] *Sedelmair, Entrada á la Nacion de los Yumas gentiles por el mes de Octubre y Noviembre del año de 1749* (*8*), in *Sonora, Materiales*, 18–25; also MS. The report is dated at Tubutama Jan. 15, 1750. *Apost. Afanes*, 360–1. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 559–60, says that trouble with the soldiers had much to do with the return; and Gallardo, *Instrucciones*, 909, that the padre was driven back by the Yumas.

Gila, going down the Colorado farther than before to the rancherías of the Quiquimas, or Quimacs, who not only prevented his advance to the mouth, but in their eagerness to get the horses forced a battle, in which several were killed, deeply to the missionary's regret. On the return he was guided across to Sonoita by a new route from the Yuma country without going up to the Gila. Soon after his return the Yumas brought down three horses that had been lost—an extraordinary proof of their honesty.[43]

Captain Fernando Sanchez Salvador, acting in an official capacity, the exact nature of which does not appear, but who had evidently travelled and observed much in the north, addressed four *consultas,* or *representaciones* to the king on the condition and needs of Sinaloa and Sonora, the last bearing the date of March 2, 1751.[44] In the first, which treats chiefly of Sinaloa, though including the Mayo and Yaqui districts, he urges the secularization of all the Jesuit missions, the subjection of the natives in religion to curates, and in government to the ordinary civil authorities, and the release of the padres who may find enough to do on the frontiers in the conversion of new tribes. He reminds the king of the original understanding that Indians were to become tribute-payers in ten years after conquest, claiming that the best interests of the country demand an enforcement of the laws, and going largely into details which need not be noticed here. It seems that curates were already in charge of Álamos, Bayoreca, and Rio Chico.[45]

In his second *representacion* Salvador advocates the

[43] *Apost. Afanes*, 362–4. Sedelmair estimated the Yumas at 4,000; the Yutcama across the river at 700; and the Quiquimas at 5,000.

[44] *Salvador, Copia de la Consultu que hace á S. M. D. Fernando Sanchez Salvador, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad y Capitan de Caballos corazas de las proas de Sinaloa, Sonora, costas del Mar del Sur, y fronteras de la gentilidad (Segunda Representacion, etc., etc.),* in *Sonora, Materiales*, 638–66; also MS.

[45] About this time the missions of Durango and Topia were secularized, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. Nothing was done in the matter, however, so far as Sonora was concerned.

establishment of a presidio and penal colony on the Tres Marías, to which not only white criminals and vagabonds may be sent and kept at work, but, what is still more important for the welfare of Sonora, where unruly Indians may be banished. The California vessels in their regular trips can transport prisoners to the island at very small expense, and once there they will not be able to escape, as they always do sooner or later if sent south by land. This colony and system once established, a radical change in Indian policy on the frontier should be made. Now the natives are allowed on frivolous pretexts to visit the presidios, and they make use of the privilege to discover weak points and to plan attacks. There should be no more of this trifling, and no more truces and pardons, which, as everybody knows, are only temporary expedients. Let the Indians understand that they can have peace or war, but let the raiders, malecontents, and evil-doers of all classes be imprisoned at the presidios until they can be sent to the Tres Marías, and thus may the country be rid gradually of its pests.[46]

The third document dwells on the importance of encouraging the settlement of the country by Spanish farmers and miners. In behalf of the former a more liberal land policy should be adopted, so that the missions cannot monopolize all the desirable spots; and for the latter steps should be taken to reduce the cost of quicksilver, sending it by water from Acapulco and delivering it at Álamos and Rosario at Mexico prices. The fourth and last of these interesting and ably prepared papers is devoted to the far north, to the region of the Colorado and of California—of the former as a most desirable field for settlement, and especially as the only medium for colonizing the latter. His views on the subject are for the most part similar to those of others of the time and need not be repeated here;

[46] It is stated that the Pimas and Seris have recently destroyed the Real del Aguage. In 1750 Gov. Parrilla urged the viceroy to furnish two vessels to run between Acapulco and Guaymas, but it was not done.

but one somewhat astonishing peculiarity should be noticed. He advances the theory that the Colorado before reaching the gulf throws off a branch to the westward, which flows into the Pacific between Monterey and Point Concepcion, and is doubtless identical with the Rio Carmelo of Cabrera Bueno! It will furnish an easy means of communication with the coast.[47]

Meanwhile a storm was gathering in the north among the Pimas Altos, where no special precautions had been deemed necessary. Several new padres were now at work in Pimería, without their arrival having left any trace in the records. According to a catalogue of 1750 there were nine Jesuits in Pimería Alta, distributed as follows: Sedelmair, visitador, at Tubutama; Steiger, superior, at San Ignacio; Tomás Tello at Caborca, Keller at Suamca, Garrucho at Guevavi, Francisco Paver at Bac, Juan Nentvig at a mission not named—probably at Tubutama with especial charge of Saric—Enrique Rhuen, or Ruhn, at Sonoita—formerly San Marcelo but now San Miguel in accordance with the wishes of the marqués de Villapuente, who at his death in 1739 had endowed this mission and that of Busanic—and Miguel Sola at Baseraca.[48] I add in a note the full list of the thirty-four missionaries in the other two provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa from the same catalogue.[49]

[47] His theory was perhaps founded on a report of the natives, who in 1748 told Sedelmair, when on the Colorado above the Gila, that if he crossed the river and went north-west, he would in two days come to the same river where it flowed from east to west.

[48] *Catalogus Personarum Soc. Jesu, 1850; Apost. Afanes*, 343, 359, 366, 448; *Alegre*, iii. 271, 291; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 77–8, 525–6, 561–2; *Keller, Consulta*, 28; *Lizazoin, Informe*, 686; and *Suamca, Lib. Mis.*, MS., where Rhuen signs his name thus.

[49] Sonora: Felipe Segesser, visitador, Ures; Cárlos Rojas, Arizpe, superior; José Roldan, superior, Ariveehi; José Toral, Huepaca; Nicolás Perera, Babiacora; Salvador Peña, Cucurpe; Francisco Loaisa, Pópulo; Francisco Pimentel, Teeoripa; Antonio Bentz, Comuripa; Guillermo Borio, Matape; Alejandro Rapicani (Rapuani), Batueo; Juan Zerquera, Onabas; José Franco, Onapa; Tomás Miranda, Sahuaripa; Buenaventura Gutierrez, Oposura; Tomás Perez, Guasava; Manuel Aguirre, Baeadeguaehi; Bartolomé Saens, Cuquiarachi.

Sinaloa: Diego Valladares, visitador, Mochicavi; Lúcas Ludovico Al-

The Pima revolt broke out in November 1751 at Saric, the native place of the leader, Don Luis, who had been made captain-general of the western Pimas for his services as commander of the native allies in the late Seri war and on other occasions. This chief used his high position to incite a rebellion which was to drive out the padres and the Spaniards. His plottings were so secretly conducted that he had aroused all the rancherías and pueblos, including the Pápagos and perhaps part of the Sobaipuris, without exciting any definite suspicions until a very few days before the outbreak. On the 20th or 21st of November San Luis entertained a party of his Spanish friends at his house until late at night, and then attacked them at the head of a large force which had been held in readiness, burning the house and killing the whole party of eighteen. Padre Nentvig escaped to Tubutama and gave the alarm.

At Tubutama Sedelmair and Nentvig with seven or eight settlers took refuge in the church and defended themselves for two days until two of the defenders were dead, both padres wounded, and their ammunition exhausted, when they were enabled, almost miraculously it would seem, to reach San Ignacio, where a sufficient number of settlers and soldiers were assembled to save their lives and the mission. Meanwhile the rebels had attacked Caborca and Sonoita, killed fathers Tello and Rhuen, and destroyed all the mission property, no particulars of these events being known save that a party of Spanish prospectors were among the victims. Neither have we any exact information as to what took place in the north, where Bac and Guevavi were perhaps plundered, although the padres escaped to Keller's mission of Suamca, which was

vares, superior, Sinaloa; Juan Lorenzo Salgado, superior, Huiribis; Ignacio Lizazoin, Guaymas; Agustin Arriola, Rahun; Lorenzo García, Torin; Miguel Fernandez Somera, Sta Cruz; Isidoro Fernandez Abad, Nabojoa; José Escalona, Camoa; Patricio Imaz, Conicari; Bartolomé Fentañez, Toro; Francisco Anaya, Tehueco; José Palomino, Guazave; Ignacio Gonzalez, Nio; Bernardo Mercado, Chicorato; José Garfias, Mocorito.

not attacked. When all the missions, pueblos, reales, and ranchos of the north-west had been destroyed, and a large number—possibly a hundred—of Spaniards had been killed, troops arrived under the governor and presidio captains; the progress of the rebellion was checked, and finally in 1752, after many embassies and very little fighting, peace was made and Don Luis promised for himself and people exemplary conduct in the future.[50]

As before there is historical record proper of events in the southern coast provinces of the modern Sina-

[50] Keller in *Suamca, Lib. Mis.*, MS., 49–50, says there were 119 persons killed besides the two padres. Sedelmair was wounded with an arrow, and Nentvig knocked down with an adobe. Gov. Parrilla was the one to blame from beginning to end. See also accounts in *Nayarit, Fragmento Hist.*, MS., 26–34; *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 94–5; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 202–3. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 291–3, says that the captains brought the padres to Suamca, captured and executed a relative of Luis, and would have done as much for Luis himself if the governor had not interfered and tried conciliatory measures, sending embassies from his head-quarters at S. Ignacio. Before the surrender of Luis, the Pápagos, seeing no prospects for more plunder, left the rebel ranks. Luis promised to rebuild churches, etc., but failed to keep his promise. The *Apost. Afanes* was written just after this rebellion broke out, and the author only knew what was contained in the governor's report to the viceroy on Jan. 14, 1752, together with a few other letters. He says the viceroy has determined on a new presidio of 50 men; that the governor is confident of success, though the latest reports are less encouraging; that two new padres—probably Espinosa and Pfefferkorn—have been sent; and that the souls of the two martyrs will doubtless have an influence with God to promote conversion. Keller, *Consulta*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 26–32, says that the northern district about Bac did not join Luis at first, and therefore the four padres and the presidio of Terrenate escaped. Capt. Juan Antonio Menocal was the officer who would have put down the revolt if not interfered with. Capt. Santiago Ruiz de Ail was comandante at Terrenate, and Capt José Diaz de Carpio was another prominent officer. This author's allusions are not sufficient to give a clear idea of Parilla's movements, but he claims that Luis had the best of the warfare and of the diplomacy, and submitted only when he had failed to form an alliance with the Apaches, and feared the wrath of the Sobaipuris. According to the *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 222, there were two leaders of the rebels, both named Luis, and it took Gov. Parrilla over a year to reduce the Pimas, partly by arms and partly by negotiations; after which he retired to Horcasitas and soon learned of his successor's coming. In *Sonora, Descrip. Suscinta*, 704, the following places are named as having been destroyed in the revolt: Jupe, near S. Miguel (Toape?), San Juan de Sonora, Autunes, Opodepe, S. Javier, Soledad, San Lorenzo, S. Juan Nacosari, and Arizona. Most of these places are in the south, indicating hostilities in that direction of which we have no record. In *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 504–5, 555–6, 583, the Pimas are said to have shown themselves less brave than the Opatas. Venegas, *Not. Cal.*, ii. 56, 77–8, notes a letter of Padre Taraval stating that Tello and Rhuen were killed by Seris. Mention also in *Och, Reize*, 73.

loa; but from the descriptive matter published by Villa-Señor in 1747,[51] and from the instructions of Visitador General Gallardo to the governor in 1749,

[51] From *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Amer.*, ii. 377, et seq.: Province of Chametla, or Rosario, from the Rio Cañas northward. Head-town, Real del Rosario, with an alcalde mayor. Many mines of silver and gold, but mostly abandoned on account of water and lack of facilities for working. Drainage is being effected, and some of the mines are rich enough to support the real and all the province of Acaponeta in New Galicia. The pueblo of Chametla has only five or six Indians left, supported by Spanish, mestizo, and mulatto residents of the ranchos. The only other pueblo is Esquinapa, inhabited by Mexican Indians, exempt from tribute on account of their services as guards. Tobacco, cotton, maize, and salt produced. Under two curates at Rosario and Chametla.

Province of Maloya, east of Rosario, on the slopes of the Sierra Madre de Topia, producing maize, honey, and silver. It has four pueblos of Mexican Indians, the largest with about 50 families; and the Real de Minas of Santa Rita. Under an alcalde mayor and curate.

Province of Copala, N. N. W. of Chametla. Head-town, villa de San Sebastian, where live an alcalde mayor and a curate, with a small population of Spaniards, mestizos, etc. It is on the slope of the Sierra, and at the foot are four pueblos of Mexican Indians; also some 'rancherías' of Spaniards. Mazatlan near the coast, inhabited by mulattoes who guard the port and live on maize and fish. North of S. Sebastian is the Real de Copala with several silver mines; and two leagues farther the Real de Charcas, near which are the Haciendas de Pánuco, where ore is worked. A curate serves both reales, and has besides two pueblos of mountain Indians speaking Mexican. North of Charcas is the Real de Cosela (Cosalá), and farther east the pueblo of Badiraguato. A newly erected curacy in the Villa de San Javier de Cabazan on the Rio Piastla.

Province of Culiacan: Between the Rio Elota and the villa, 30 l., is Real de Cosalá, mines not flourishing, many pueblos of Mexican Indians, several plantations where Spanish miners raise sugar-cane. A curate at Cosalá, whose curacy reaches to the Rio Tabala. At the Villa de Culiacan are an alcalde mayor and curate, and many families of Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes; much salt and fish. Four pueblos of Mexican Indians under Franciscans (?) there are Tacuchameta, Buya, Binapa, and Bayta. Badiriguato is also in this province with some sugar plantations and pueblos administered by Jesuits; also ranchos of Spaniards in the mountains.

Province of Sinaloa: On the river on which is San Felipe the capital, are the missions Noguera, Bacaburito, Bamoa, Guazave, Ocoroni, and Mocorito. On the Rio del Fuerte is the Villa de Montesclaros, with a few families and a curate; and on the river or near it are the missions Tehueco, Sivirijoa, Charay, Mochicahui, San Miguel, and Haomé (Ahome) near the fine port of same name. Above the villa N. E. are the mission pueblos of Toro, Baca, Toriz, Cuites, Temoris, Chinipas, Valleumbroso, Guazápares, and Tehueco; and on the branch river the missions S. Ignacio, Concepcion, and Jatebo; and N. ¼ N. E. Guadalupe, Sta Ana, and Loreto. Between Villa del Fuerte and Real de Álamos, 20 l., several haciendas of stock, maize, and sugar. Álamos surrounded by rich mines, five reduction works. At Álamos is a curate. Mayo River mission pueblos: Achogoa, Caurimpo, Navajoa, Tecia, Canamoas, Guadalupe, Mocoyaqui, Tepahue, and Batacosa. Between the Fuerte and Mayo, 20 l. from S. Felipe, is the Real de los Frailes, mines not so productive as formerly; 30 l. E. is the provincie of Batopilas. The Jesuit missions in Sinaloa are: Chinipas, Zerocahuy, Moris, Yecora, Guazápares, Tubares, Sinaloa, Bacoburito, Tehueco, Mochicahui, Nio, Bamoa, Chicorato, Mocorito, Guazave, Conicari, Camoa, Navajoa, Sta Cruz de Mayo, Bacuna, Torin, Caun, Toro,

to which I have already alluded, may be extracted a few items respecting the condition of the settlements in that region. Such information I append in a note.

Baca, Bethlen, Ocoroni, S. Juan Francisco Regis, Noguera, Loreto, Sta Ana, Lobera, San Ramon, and S. Juan Evangelista.

Province of San Ildefonso de Ostimuri: Mining reales, Rio Chico, capital, with alcalde mayor and curate; Todos Santos and San Miguel, each with curate; San Nicolás, Tacupeto, San Marcos, Nacosari, San Marcial, and San Joseph, for the most part abandoned. Jesuit missions: Bethlen, Ruan, Potan, Bocon, Cocorin; Moabas, Nuri, Zuaqueo, Yecora, Comuripa; Onabas, Tonichi. Onapa, Arivechi, Bacanora, Saguaripa, Las Juntas; Tecoripa, San Javier, Nacori, Matape (Oposura, Cumpaó, Guazavas, Oputu, Thesico de Guachi).

From *Gallardo, Instrucciones, 1749.* In the visita of Rosario, Chametla, and Maloya by Capt. Mata the reëstablishment of the pueblo of Cacalotan was ordered with the curate's consent. There was complaint about the manner of working the mines, but as there was a suit pending and no one was willing to work the mines if the present contractors leave them, it was decided not to interfere. The alcalde mayor should give new bonds. In the visita of S. José de Copala, Villa de S. Sebastian, and partidos of S. Javier and S. Ignacio de Piastla by José Tomás Loaiza, on complaint of padres of Sta Polonia and S. Ignacio it was ordered that the Indians should be required to give more attention to public buildings. The *justicia* José Blanquel replaced by Pedro Matías de la Peña, who has done better. Pintcles was the alcalde mayor. Pueblo of Sta Catalina of only six families joined to that of Jacobo. Ordered the enforcement of viceroy's order about election of pueblo governors and repartimentos of *tapizques*. In visita of Badiraguato and Santiago de los Caballeros, by Capt. Castañeda ordered Serrano the alcalde mayor to join the two pueblos of Bamapa and Soyotita to that of Cariatapa; tribute lists to be formed; scattered Indians to be brought in except such as had lived 10 years on a hacienda and were well instructed. In visita of San Miguel de Culiacan by Castañeda, ordered that pueblos of Bachibalato and Otameto should be joined to Culiacan, Olaguruto, or S. Pedro. Indians of Bachimeto to be brought from the coast by force and joined to the most inland pueblos, their old lands being rented for their benefit; vagrants to be collected and made to build houses and till the soil; pueblos of Tepuchi, Cominate, Yacobito, and Capizato to be united in one or two pueblos. More formalities to be observed at the Real de Cosalá.

CHAPTER XX.

LAST OF THE JESUITS IN SONORA.

1752–1767.

A War on Paper—Jesuits versus Governor—Investigations—Disculpation of the Missionaries—Rule of Governors Arce and Mendoza—War with the Seris—Mendoza Killed—Apache Warfare—Raids of Savages and Soldiers—Missions of Pimería Alta in the Last Years—No Progress—Padres, New and Old—Final Statistics—Rule of Cuervo and Pineda—From Bad to Worse—Campaigns—Recommended Reforms—Various Reports—Captain Cancio and his Letters—Elizondo's Expedition Coming—Résumé of Correspondence and Events—A Period of Suspense—Mission Statistics, 1760–7—Expulsion of the Jesuits—List of Jesuits Who Served in Sinaloa and Sonora.

The Pima revolt was followed by a bitter warfare of words between the Jesuits and Governor Parrilla respecting its causes and the manner of its suppression. Padre Keller opened the campaign with a *consulta* addressed to the viceroy,[1] in which he claimed that the revolt had been caused by the attentions and honors bestowed by the governor on Don Luis. The latter for his services in the Seri war had been made captain-general of the Pimas, given a special company, or body-guard of native warriors, and so flattered that he came home with the idea that he was sovereign of the whole country, owing no allegiance to Spanish officials and especially no respect to the missionaries. He moreover charged Parrilla with having blundered

[1] *Keller, Consulta del Padre Keler al Virey sobre el alzamiento de la Pimería, en 25 de Agosto de 1752*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 26–32. The author was at this time in Mexico. He has something to say on the subject also in *Suamca, Lib. Mis.*, MS.

most outrageously in his military operations, preventing all effective action by his subordinates, and leaving important points needlessly exposed; with having sent many ambassadors, who joined Luis or were killed by him according to their personal sympathies, thus giving the rebel chief all the time he wanted to obtain allies; and finally when Luis from fear of the Sobaipuris and failure to form an alliance with the Apaches, offered to submit, with having received him with open arms, restored him to all his titles and privileges, and left him with all his old arrogance and entire freedom from missionary control. Keller advised the viceroy to accept Parrilla's resignation for the good of Sonora.

The governor, on his side, charged the Jesuits with having provoked the revolt by their ill-treatment of the natives. He alleged that the padres had left the neophytes no time to till their *milpas* and provide for their own support; that they starved them; that their chastisements were unnecessarily frequent and severe, besides being administered illegally by servants; that the Indians had therefore come to feel an intense hatred of their masters and tormentors, being forced into revolt to escape an intolerable oppression. These charges were sent in to the government, supported by the testimony of many residents of Sonora, who swore to the general truth of the charges, and to a long list of particular instances of Jesuit cruelty and tyranny. Pending investigation Keller was removed by the provincial at Parrilla's demand, and was in Mexico when he wrote the formal charges given above; but the Indians of Suamca were so attached to their padre that he had to be restored to prevent another outbreak—at least so say the Jesuit writers.[2]

Padre Sedelmair also made a formal statement denying every charge of ill-treatment. He had, he said, built churches in seven or eight of his twelve pueblos,

[2] Don Luis himself took a very prominent part in giving and collecting testimony against the padres. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 296–8.

chiefly by the labor of Pápago gentiles, who coming in as skeletons had gone away fat, slow, and inefficient workmen, but accomplishing much by their numbers. He had reduced fifteen rancherías to pueblo life, the chief inducement being presents of food. He had baptized over one thousand adult gentiles, whom he fed gratuitously while they were learning the doctrina. Food was constantly given away to all natives who applied for it, and it had been his custom after mass of a Sunday to open the *dispensa* and distribute to all who presented themselves. He had never allowed any Indian to work without being fed; and for every one who worked there were three or four who ate. The very week of the revolt eight Indians came in from Sonoita and were given all the wheat their horses could carry; and even Luis had often partaken of the padre's food. In connection with the other priests he had furnished supplies for the Pimas in the Seri war and in other expeditions. He had not only given the neophytes time to work, but had given them seed and lent them implements; and on the theory of no time to work for their own support he would like to know how Parrilla could account for the large amount of grain sold yearly and the large stores found in some of the pueblos. Complaints about lands being taken from the natives had no foundation, save that outside gentiles coming in had been lent lands, and had in a few instances been dissatisfied when a change became necessary. Punishments had been mild, not exceeding ten blows, and always administered by the proper official; Luis himself had blamed the padre for his leniency; and one of the majordomos charged with special cruelty had been spared by the rebels when in their power. Luis was publicly praised in church for his services in the Seri war; and Parrilla had always been treated by the padres with the greatest respect. The Indians say they dared not complain for fear of not being believed and of still more cruel treatment; but Sedel-

mair does not deem himself responsible for their fears since he had given no cause for them. The charges were all falsehoods and calumnies.

The subject-matter of the quarrel was investigated both by the secular and Jesuit authorities, the Jesuit side of the case being presented in a report by the procurador, Miguel Quijano, to the viceroy.[3] In this *informe* the testimony of forty prominent residents of Sonora, including civil and military officials, ecclesiastics, and native chiefs, is given, all testifying against the truth of Parrilla's general charges of oppression. Of the special instances of cruelty alleged they were either wholly ignorant or knew them to be false. It would serve no good purpose to repeat here these special charges and the answers thereto, many of the former being trifling or absurd. In addition to this mass of testimony the Jesuit procurador calls attention to the joyous reception of Keller by his people, showing that he was not hated; to the fact that the rebels had not directed their ravages specially against the padres or the places where they resided; to the advantages of Parrilla in getting testimony, the padres having no authority save perhaps over the common Indians; to the testimony of several persons that they had sworn to the charges through fear, while some of the Jesuit's witnesses were afraid to let their names be known; to the ease with which Indians could always be found to testify against the padres, who were obliged to restrain and punish them at times; and finally to the bad character of native witnesses and their uniform readiness to swear to anything against an enemy—in fact the writer has known an Indian to swear most solemnly that his personal enemy "helped kill King David, and he saw the act committed." Evidence was also presented to show that Tello and Rhuen, the murdered missionaries, were particularly gentle in their treatment of the neophytes; and that

[3] *Quijano, Informe á Su Excelencia por el Padre Miguel Quijano*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 33–76. The exact date is not given, but it was after 1754.

Parrilla had been exiled from New Mexico as a rebellious and troublesome man.

It is true that all we know of this quarrel comes from Jesuit sources,[4] a fact that should of course render the student cautious in forming an opinion as to the merits of the respective parties; yet the reader who understands the condition of affairs in Sonora at the time, and to whom the very name of Jesuit is not a synonym for all that is bad, will probably not hesitate to decide in favor of the missionaries, who had by persuasion and gifts of food reduced thousands of natives to pueblo life, and all of whose interests were in the direction of peace, and consequently of kindness, against a Spanish and mixed-breed population of adventurous fortune-seekers, composed largely of the criminal classes of Mexico, and looking upon the padres as the only obstacle which kept from their grasp the fertile and well-irrigated mission lands, the stores of grain and herds of live-stock, the native women whom they wanted for mistresses, and the stalwart males to be their slaves. It is true the Jesuits were technically wrong in wishing to retain for themselves and their neophytes the benefits of past labor and hardships beyond the period which by the government had been deemed sufficient for the transformation of savages into tribute-paying citizens; but no formal demand had been made upon them to give up the missions, and the settlers' policy was apparently to provoke them to the commission of acts which should put them in bad repute with the government, and thus prepare the way for their removal. It is by no means unlikely that individual padres were betrayed by the peculiarities of their own temperament or irritated by the doings of their neophytes or foes into occasional acts of petty cruelty, as parents are sometimes cruel to their children; yet neither the missionary padres nor fathers in the flesh

[4] Oct. 9, 1752, the viceroy called a junta to consider the matter. Various measures, not specified, were adopted. *Robles, Diario*, iv. 33.

can be classed as cruel-hearted tyrants. Again the work of the padres was like that of most, perhaps all, missionaries, a failure, unless perchance their theories respecting future salvation should prove true, because they did not civilize the Indians, nor could they have civilized them even if not interfered with, since savages cannot be civilized under the tuition of superior races; yet it by no means follows that our sympathy should be taken from the missionaries who did all they could for the natives, and given to those who would have destroyed them by slavery and cruelty just as surely and much more rapidly than the padres did by kindness and religion.

This same question will come up later with much more complete evidence on both sides in the case of the Franciscans in Alta California; but there are three important points of difference that may be noticed in favor of the Jesuits. In California the padres had in each mission a military escort for protection, and by the aid of which in many cases they made converts by force; while in Sonora there were no escorts and consequently no force could have been used, neither were the temptations to cruelty so strong. Again in California there was at times a large foreign and coast trade, with opportunities for smuggling, almost exclusively in the hands of the friars, who were accused of overworking and ill-treating the neophytes with a view to pecuniary gain; but in Sonora there was no exterior commerce, and there is no evidence that the padres engaged in trade even with the settlers and soldiers, whom in any case it was for their interest to conciliate. Finally the Spanish population of Sonora as a mining country was much larger than that of California, and of a very much more troublesome class, the Indians being at the same time not only superior in numbers and intelligence, but much more unmanageable in case of trouble.

The tedious investigations of this quarrel growing

out of the Pima revolt lasted five or six years, and the result would seem to have been a general disculpation of the Jesuits from all charges of maleadministration of their trust. In the mean time the new presidio of Tubac had been founded in 1752;[5] a small garrison had probably been stationed at Altar; and in 1753 Parrilla had been superseded by Governor Pablo de Arce y Arroyo, who ruled about a year and a half.[6] During his term of office the Seris made overtures for peace and were kept tolerably quiet under a promise to grant so far as possible their demands, which were; the return of their women who had been scattered in the south, the restoration of their lands at Pópulo and Los Angeles, the re-transfer of the presidio from San Miguel to Pitic, and the appointment of Nicolás Pereira as their missionary. Some of the conditions it was impossible to fulfil, especially that concerning the women, to which the Indians attached most importance, and they soon resumed their hostilities.[7] Still earlier they had attacked the new mission of San José de Guaymas refounded in 1751 by Padre Lizazoin, forcing the padre to retire, killing eight converts, scattering the hundred families of the pueblo, and burning the church. For over ten years they seem to have kept the Spaniards out of Guaymas.[8]

[5] *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. tom. i. 212. This is the earliest appearance in the records of this name Tubac. The full name was San Ignacio Tubac, and it was possibly at this S. Ignacio instead of the mission that Parrilla had fixed his head-quarters for putting down the revolt.

[6] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 223; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 298. Arce was perhaps only governor *ad interim*. He was appointed in Dec. 1752. *Castro, Diario*, iv. 58. In *Pinart, Col. MSS.*, 7, it appears that a permanent garrison was established at Sta Bárbara de Altar in 1757. Horcasitas presidio founded in 1755. *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 578–9; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 237. Presidio of Bayorca, expense $20,715 per year. 1758, *Certificacion de Mercedes*, MS., 42. S. Miguel de Horcasitas, $20,065; S. Felipe de Jesus de Guevavi y Terrenate, $20,665; Sta Rosa Corodeguachi, or Fronteras, $20,665; and Pimería Alta (?), $20,665. *Id.*, 31–41. Officers named in the mission registers of Pimería Alta, chiefly at Altar: Col. Francisco Julian Alvarado, Capt. Bernardo Urrea, Lieut. Miguel Ignacio Urrea, Lieut. Miguel Ronquillo, Alf. Antonio Olguin, 1756–9. According to *Castro, Diario*, vi. 211–12, Col. Juan Antonio Bustillos y Cavallos, 'ex-governor of Sinaloa' (?), died in Mexico in Dec. 1757.

[7] *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 557–8; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 298; *Nayarit, Frag. Hist.*, MS., 15–21.

[8] *Lizazoin Informe*, 685.

SONORA AND SINALOA.

Juan de Mendoza became governor in 1755,[9] and at once began to wage a vigorous warfare on the Seris, who after a year were so hard pressed that they sued for peace, suspended hostilities, and asked for time to collect their scattered families for pueblo life. The time being granted, it was spent by Governor Mendoza in a tour of two months to Pimería Alta, and by the Seris in retiring with all their property to the Cerro Prieto—a complicated net-work of barrancas and mountains about half way between Guaymas and Hermosillo, affording extraordinary facilities for defence—where they could laugh at the Spaniards' ineffectual efforts. Mendoza led many expeditions against the stronghold, but the occasional killing of an isolated fugitive and the capture of some 'pieces of chusma,' or women and children, were the only successes achieved. At last, on November 25, 1760, the governor with a hundred men succeeded in cornering a band of nineteen Seris near Sacarachi, who bravely resisted for several hours, until their leader, El Becerro, fell. Mendoza rushed forward, and was killed by an arrow discharged by the dying chieftain.[10]

During the rule of governors Arce and Mendoza,

[9] His appointment was in January. *Castro, Diario*, v. 82.

[10] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 223. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 298, gives the only details of the governor's death. A document in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser. i. 214, states that Mendoza was killed by a band of Seris and Pimas who attacked the Real de Saracachi. See also *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 95–6. On the same day there were hostilities near Nacori, 60 leagues away. Mendoza himself in a letter to the visitador Cárlos de Rojas, dated Feb. 15, 1757, at Horcasitas, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 84–8, reports that he has killed no end of Christ's barbarian foes by the aid of his glorious patron San Joaquin. Aug. 29, 1757, a council in Mexico on Indian affairs in Sonora. *Castro, Diario*, vi. 170. One of his successful campaigns was directed against the fastnesses of the Cerro Prieto. Lorenzo José García was chaplain on one of the expeditions and writes to the visitador Lúcas Atanasio Merino on Nov. 23, 1760, describing it minutely. Three hundred and fifty men under the governor and captains Urrea and Anza (?) had come within sight of the Seris, but on account of the rough country, want of horses—300 having been lost—desertion of allies, and wet powder it was determined to return. The chaplain advised this retreat, was blamed by somebody, and wrote in his own defence. *García, Carta*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 104–20. Sixty families from Suaqui, eight leagues south of Tecoripa, took refuge in the Cerro Prieto in 1760. They afterward went to Belen, and returned to Suaqui in 1762. *Reyes, Descrip. de Misiones*, 740–1.

there were several entradas into Apachería from the northern presidios. In 1754 the Apaches killed the curate of Fronteras presidio on one of his tours.[11] In November 1756 Captain Gabriel Vildosola with fifty men from Frontreras and Terrenate and one hundred and forty Ópata archers marched north-eastward eighty-four leagues to where the Gila flowed out of the Sierra de Mogollon at a place called Todos Santos. Here he was joined by Captain Bernardo Bustamante with seventy soldiers and sixteen Tarahumares from Chihuahua, and the combined forces raided in detachments over the country lying between the Gila and San Francisco, killing a few '*gandules*' or 'bucks,' and taking an occasional piece of *chusma*. They noticed many ruined *edificios*, with fragments of pottery and other relics of antiquity, obtaining a very accurate idea of local geography, but were unable to penetrate the mountains, as they wished, by following the Gila above Todos Santos.[12]

Mendoza in his letter of February 15, 1757, speaks of two expeditions to Apache land, one of which was probably the one described by Sanchez, the other being under the governor in person, who marched to the Gila,[13] three hundred and sixty-two leagues out and around and back, in the midst of winter, punishing the incorrigible, encouraging the well-disposed, and

[11] *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 110–11.

[12] *Sanchez, Carta del P. Bartolomé Sanchez al P. Prior y Rector Juan Antonio Baltasar el año de 1757*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 88–94; also MS. The letter was written from Cuehuta March 6th. The following names should be preserved as this is the first definitely recorded exploration of the region, although the record is not sufficient to fix exact localities: Sierras of Pitaicachi, Embudos, Espuelas, Enmedio, and Animas, between Fronteras and Janos some 30 leagues south of the Gila; Sto Domingo, Peñol de los Janeros, Sta Lucía, Todos Santos, and Sierra de Mogollon (from a high peak they saw two branches from the north and south unite to form the Gila farther up in the mountains); Rio S. Francisco (impassable); Casita, S. Francisco Javier (both on Gila above S. Francisco); S. Simon, Sierra de S. Marcial, Sierra de Chichicagui; S. Bernardino, 15 leagues from Fronteras, 22 leagues from S. Simon, which is 20 leagues south of Gila; S. Luis, Guadalupe. From Todos Santos New Mexico was thought to be three days distant. The Sierra de Mogollon had been named for a governor of New Mexico who had been defeated here by the Apaches.

[13] *Mendoza, Carta*, in *Sonora Materiales*, 84–8. He mentions 30 'bucks' and 37 pieces of chusma as the fruits of this entrada.

preparing the way for future conquests. In July 1758 Sanchez writes again to describe another entrada just made under Vildosola, in which Lieutenant Juan B. Anza was also engaged. This time again they reached the Gila in nearly the same region as before, killing the usual *gandules* and capturing the *chusma;* but what more than all else attracted their attention was blankets and buffalo-skins which the Apaches said they had got seven days' journey northward where there were many cattle and cultivated lands, and where the people were not Apaches. This northern people was supposed to be the Moquis, and the padre announced the readiness of himself and of the soldiers to penetrate to that province if it were deemed best.[14]

Of subsequent operations against the Apaches down to 1767, the limit of the Jesuit epoch and of this chapter, there is not much to be said. The raids of the savages continued,[15] and the presidio forces combated them as best they could; but only one or two entradas are specially mentioned, and those are of the usual type with the usual results. In 1764 a prominent writer intimately acquainted with the country's affairs expressed the belief that campaigns in Apachería were utterly useless, since there were no towns or crops to destroy, and no property to seize, and a few women and children as captives were all that could be expected. The force should be employed in scouring the country between the presidios, to keep the inhabitants on the alert and succor threatened points. One year of such policy would do much to relieve the country—so thought, according to this writer, all who knew the country well except the presidio captains.[16] In October 1765, monthly campaigns by the three presidios alternately were agreed

[14] *Sanchez, Carta...al M. R. Padre Visitador José Roldan en el año de 1758*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 94–7. Dated Cuquiarachi, July 24th.

[15] Lizazoin, *Informe*, 687, writing in 1763, says the invasions of the Apaches are not so continuous as those of the Seris and Pimas, but even more disastrous on account of superior numbers.

[16] *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 613–16. See general account of Apache ravages in *Nayarit, Frag. Hist.*, MS., 21–5.

upon in a junta of captains, and two entradas were made with some results. One was in February and March 1766, by Captain Anza, who was now in command at Tubac. It was like a hundred other campaigns; forty captives in all were taken and distributed by lot among the captors; excellent reasons were given as usual why the success was not more complete—chiefly the rough country to which the savages retreated and the exhausted condition of soldiers and horses when they overtook the foe. During Anza's absence the Apaches drove off three hundred cattle from Bac.

In April of the same year the governor ordered a suspension of the campaigns on account of the withdrawal of a part of the force for the Seri war, against the protest of Captain Vildosola, the commander at Fronteras. Still the captain and his men marched to the south, and during their absence the presidio horses were stampeded, so that before offensive operations could be resumed new animals had to be obtained and trained. In May and June 1767 a correspondence took place between Vildosola and the governor, in which the latter found fault with the former's inaction and neglect to punish the Apaches; but the captain claimed that the savages were constantly coming in to demand peace and an exchange of prisoners, and that under such circumstances he could not lawfully attack them. It seems that the Indians made the exchange of prisoners a most effective way of entering the province. They came in fully armed, confident that the Spaniards would do nothing to imperil the lives of the captives; insisted on a particular spot of their own choosing for the exchange; and when it had been effected proceeded to their main business by scattering in small bands over the whole country to plunder on their roundabout way home, knowing well that only a few of the parties at most could be successfully interfered with. They often insisted also on a truce for a certain number of days to cover their retreat,

shrewdly supposing that the Spaniards would not break the truce except after red-tape formalities of proof which would give them all the time they needed.[17]

Of the missions and missionaries of Pimería Alta from the revolt of 1751 down to 1767, we know but little beyond the fact that San Ignacio, Tubutama, Caborca, Guevavi, Suamca, and Bac, with a few pueblos de visita, were reoccupied by the Jesuits and maintained a precarious existence to the last. A few neophytes were induced by the persuasions of the padres and by the hope of occasional protection from the presidios against the Apaches to remain faithful; the missions were moreover convenient places for the Pimas, Sobas, Pápagos, and Sobaipuris in which to leave their women, children, old, and infirm while living themselves in the mountains or perhaps aiding the Seris and Pimas Bajos in their ever increasing depredations; convenient resorts for food when other sources failed, and even well enough to live in occasionally for brief periods. The natives lived for the most part as they pleased, not openly rebellious nor disposed to molest the padres so long as the latter attempted no control of their actions, and were willing to take their part in quarrels with settlers or soldiers. Missionary work and progress were at a stand-still; the Jesuit establishments had only a nominal existence; the mission period of Sonora history was practically ended. But for the hostility between Pimas and Apaches the Spanish occupation of Pimería Alta would probably have been confined to the four garrisons of Fronteras, Terrenate, Tubac, and Altar, with a few bands of adventurous miners risking an occasional sortie beyond the protection of the presidios.[18]

[17] *Anza, Carta*, March 17, 1766, in *Sin. y Son., Cartas*, 108–12; *Vildosola, Carta* (March 29, 1766), in *Sonora, Materiales*, 186–9; *Id.*, June 8th, 10th, in *Id.*, 200–6.

[18] Mowry, *Arizona*. 18–19; *Memoir*, 4; in *Ind. Affairs, Rept.*, 1857, 297, has much to say of a map made by the Jesuits in 1757 copied by Capt. Stone

Padre Sedelmair may have returned to Tubutama for a time, but later he went south to Matape.[19] Soon after the revolt Alonso Espinosa and perhaps Ignacio Pfefferkorn were sent to Pimería. In or about 1756 a party of German Jesuits came to these missions, one of whom, Bernardo Middendorf, founded a new mission among the Pápagos which he soon left for Mobas in the south, his Indians having acted badly, stealing the padre's food and bringing him to the door of death with hunger, exposure, and grief. The Indians, not named, to whom padres Hawe and Miguel Gerstner were sent, refused to receive them and they had to retire, the latter settling at Saric. Och and Steiger served at San Ignacio, having also charge of Imuri and Magdalena. Och wished to attempt the reëstablishment of Sonoita, but his superior deemed it unsafe.[20] In 1763 according to the report of Padre Lizazoin, Espinosa was in charge of San Javier del Bac and wrote that nearly all his Indians except the old and sick had abandoned the mission; and the same state of things or worse existed at Tucson, which appears to have been one of his visitas. Pfefferkorn was at Guevavi and wrote that nearly all

from its original in Mexico, on which are lāid down over 40 towns and villages in northern Sonora and southern Arizona. The title of the map and its names were written in French, and it was dedicated by the society of Jesus to the king of Spain. Mowry gives the impression that he supposes these 'towns and villages,' or many of them, to be Spanish settlements, or at least mission pueblos; but the names given and doubtless all the rest, except the few missions and presidios mentioned in the preceding text and shown in my maps, were those of Indian rancherías which had at different times been visited by the Jesuits. It is not certain that in 1757, excepting the presidio soldiers, there was a Spaniard in any one of them, certainly none on the Gila and north of it. Modern publications generally, and especially the latest, such as *Hinton's Handbook* and *Hedges' Arizona as it is*, ascribe to the Spanish settlements of Sonora and Arizona an antiquity, number, and prosperity very much in excess of the facts in the case.

[19] *Apost. Afanes*, 260–1. Padre Baltasar is said to have sent to Europe in 1752 an account of late events in Pimería. *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 562.

[20] *Och, Reize*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*, 72–6. The author relates that when the party on their arrival were approaching Ures, the German padre at that place thought to have some fun at their expense, and stationed two companies of Indians in a wood, who at the proper moment rushed with yells upon the astonished missionaries. They were naturally terrified and their mules still more so, rushing into the woods and leaving the padres piled up one in a heap rather promiscuously; but the Indians were delighted with the sport.

the Pápagos had fled from Tumacacori and Calabazas, only the Pimas remaining. The Indians pretended to be influenced by fear of the Apaches, but it was feared this was but a pretext for robberies. Experience had taught that the submission of both Pimas and Pápagos was but "a slumbering flame covered with ashes."[21]

The abandonment of Tucson, where it would seem there had been a few settlers de razon, attracted the attention of the governor, who ordered some investigation to be made with a view to bringing back the Indians, making certain changes of location, or establishing new missions. Padre Manuel Aguirre, who was perhaps visitador, wrote several letters on the subject and made inquiries of Espinosa at Bac. Unfortunately the fragments of the correspondence are not sufficiently complete to show the state of things in the north nor exactly what changes were proposed; but it does not matter much since nothing was done. Aguirre was in favor of bringing in the Pápagos to the valleys of San Luis, Buena Vista, and Santa Bárbara, and called on the provincial for two new padres; the presidio of Tubac would guard against the retreat of the Pápagos; Terrenate would keep the Sobaipuris in their valley; Fronteras would attend to the Apaches; while Altar and San Miguel would be left for the Cerro Prieto foe. The governor, however, concluded that it was not advisable to send any padres nor to attempt the reduction of the Sobaipuris, fearing that an attempt to exercise any restraint would convert that people from friends into foes.[22]

Bishop Pedro Tamaron visited Sonora in 1760 on his grand diocesan tour, and while he did not reach Pimería Alta he included statistics of those missions in his report, which I give in a note. It is not unlikely that the date should be a few years later, agreeing with report rather than with the visit. For 1764

[21] *Lizazoin, Informe*, 686.
[22] *Aguirre* and *Pineda*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 124–38.

there is extant a report which gives the names of missionaries serving at the different establishments. The original mission records in my possession give the names of both the regular missionaries and of visiting Jesuits from other Pimería missions and from those of Sonora in the south, it being often impossible to distinguish clearly between the different classes. And finally we have the catalogue of the Jesuits serving at the time of the expulsion in 1767. I have united the information from these four sources in an appended note.[23] Jesuits whom we have met in

[23] *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 112–16; *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 566–84; *Pinart, Col. de Pimería Alta*, passim; *Compañia de Jesus, Catálogo.*

Suamca (Sta María), 30 l. N. W. Arizpe, pop. 114 Indians; Cocóspera (Santiago), 10 l. S., 133 Ind. P. José Barrera, in 1764, no record of Keller's retirement. Barrera—called Diego—still in 1767. According to the mission books the pueblos de visita were S. Juan Quiburi, Santiago Optuabo, S. Andrés Esqugbaag or Badz, S. Pablo Baibeat, S. Pedro Turisai, Sta Cruz Babisi. Padres whose names appear: Keller, 1751–9; Vega, 1751; Nentoig, 1753; Joaquin Félix Diaz, 1760; Francisco Alava, 1756–7; Juan Labora, 1757; Barrera, 1760–7; Miguel Elias Gonzalez (?), 1767–8.

Terrenate (S. Felipe Gracia [Real), presidio, 4 l. N. Suamca, 30 l. W. Fronteras, pop. 411 gente de razon, including garrison of 50 men under Capt. Francisco Elias Gonzalez.

Guevavi (S. Miguel), 20 l. N. N. W. Suamca, 111 Ind.; Calabazas, 1.5 l. N. W., 116 Ind.; Sonoita, 7 l. E. N. E., 91 Ind. [a visita of Tubutama in 1764]; Tumacacori, 8 l. N. N. W., 199 Ind. In this district there were also 172 gente de razon at Guevavi, Sta Bárbara, and Buenavista. Padre Jimeno in charge in 1764. Succeeded by Pedro Rafael Diez before 1767.

Tubac (S. Ignacio) presidio, 4 l. N. Guevavi, pop. 421 de razon, including 50 soldiers under Capt. Juan B. Anza. Tubac is in the curacy of Nacosari 80 l. distant, but has a chaplain, Bro. José Manuel Diaz del Carpio, brother of the captain's wife.

Bac (S. Javier), 26 l. N. Tubac, 399 Ind.; Tucson, 5 l. N., 331 Ind. Padre Espinosa in charge in 1764–7. No mention of any white population at Tucson.

Saric (Santiago), 30 l. S. W. Guevavi, 6 l. Bac, 212 Ind.; Aquimuri (Quiburi?), 4 l. E., 67 Ind.; Arizona, 5 l. N. E., 15 Ind., 45 gente de razon, here were the 'Bolas de Plata de Agua Caliente;' Busani, 3 l. N., 41 Ind. Padre Gerstner in charge 1764–7.

Tubutama (S. Pedro), 7 l. S. Saric, 368 Ind.; Sta Teresa, 5 l. W., 156 Ind. Had Sonoita as a visita in 1764, and Atí and Oquitoa down to 1757. Padre Vivas in charge 1764–7.

Atí (S. Francisco), 7 l. W. Tubutama, 142 Ind.; Oquitoa (S. Antonio), 7 l. W., 131 Ind. Down to 1757 both were visitas of Tubutama, and again in 1762 apparently after the death of P. José Haffenrichter. Names of padres appearing in the mission books: Pfefferkorn, 1757–61; Gerstner, 1757; Vivas, 1759–67; Haffenrichter, 1761–2; Francisco Javier Villaroya, 1763; José Nicolás Mesa [at Altar], 1763–8; Juan Gorgoll [perhaps not a Jesuit], 1763–87; Espinosa, 1765–6; Diez, 1767.

Altar (Sta Gertrudis), presidio, 7 l. S. Atí, pop. 285 de razon, including garrison of 50 men under Capt. Bernardo Urrea. Served by the padre of Atí.

Caborca (Concepcion), 13 l. W. Altar, 556 Ind.; Pitic (or Pitiqui), 2 l. E.,

Pimería Alta, but who in 1764–7 were serving in other parts of Sonora, were Garrucho, Nentoig, Och, Middendorff, Pfefferkorn, Sedelmair, and Villaroya.

On Mendoza's death in 1760 José Tienda de Cuervo became governor ad interim, ruled for two years, and was succeeded by Juan Claudio de Pineda in 1762.[24] Under these rulers, but not necessarily by their fault, matters in Sonora went on from bad to worse. The Apaches, as we have seen, kept up their depredations on the northern frontier; the Seris and Pimas of the south-west were also unceasing in their hostilities; many of the mission Indians were only nominally submissive; the *padres misioneros* had lost all real control over the neophytes through the interference of Spanish settlers and the growing arrogance and independence of native chiefs under the settlers' promptings; local troubles and petty revolts were of frequent occurrence; the savage raiders plundered and killed almost with impunity on account not only of the smallness of the military force, but of the presence in almost every pueblo of confederates who made known each movement and plan of the soldiers; Entradas to the Cerro Prieto and other strongholds of the foe were frequent but ineffectual, as no considerable number of the savages could ever be overtaken together. Meanwhile population was decreasing; missions, pueblos, mines, and ranchos were being abandoned; and officials of different grades and branches

269 Ind.; Bisani, 5 l. E., 241 Ind.; P. Antonio María Bentz (or Beroz), in 1764; P. Custodio Jimenez in 1767. P. Vega also on the registers of Pitiqui in 1766–7.

San Ignacio, 45 l. E. Caborca, 98 Ind.; Imuris (S. José), 3 l. N. E., 326 Ind.; Magdalena, 2 l. S., 107 Ind.; also 131 gente de razon at Sta Ana. In charge of P. Francisco Paver 1764–7, Steiger having died in 1762. Other names on the registers of S. Ignacio and Magdalena; Vivas, 1753–4; Espinosa, 1754–5; Bentz, 1756; Och, 1756–8; Francisco Gutierrez, 1756–7; Juan Antonio Zedano, 1756; Álava, 1756–7; Middendorff, 1756–8; Pfefferkorn, 1756; Gerstner, 1756–7; Mesa, 1767–8.

[24] According to the generally accurate *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 223–4, Cuervo's term began in 1761, and Pineda's in 1763; but Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 298–9, gives the former date as 1760, and P. Salgado writes to Pineda as governor in Oct. 1762. *Sonora, Materiales*, 120–4.

of the service were calling upon Mexico and Spain for aid, each giving his views as to the only practicable means for saving Sonora from impending ruin.

An anonymous writer of 1760, or thereabouts, deems the remedy to be a large reënforcement of troops, not less than three thousand, to become settlers later, and to be infantry instead of the cavalry hitherto sent.[25] In 1761 Governor Cuervo sent a large force to the Seri country, and the campaign was one of the most successful of its class; yet but little was really accomplished.[26] In November 1762 another expedition was fitted out, the first under Governor Pineda's orders.[27] The prominent men of Sinaloa and Sonora sent a *representacion* to the new governor—probably Pineda in 1762—on the great things that were expected of him; but they seem to have had no very clear idea of the measures that were to afford the desired relief.[28] In 1763 Padre Tomás Ignacio Lizazoin made a long report on the unfortunate condition of the province resulting from the 'inhuman cruelty' and ravages of Seris, Pimas, and Pápagos, which had caused the almost total abandonment of Pimería and Sonora provinces, the inhabitants having taken refuge in Ostimuri and Sinaloa. The padres dared not enforce proper discipline for fear of provoking a general revolt in the missions. Instances of attack and murder were given, and the writer laid great stress—his report was probably to the viceroy—on the great mineral wealth that was being lost. His

[25] *Sonora, Descrip. Suscinta*, 702–7. Horses required too much time in care, could not reach the mountain retreats, and were moreover the chief temptation to raiders. Expense can be no objection to a king who spends so much on a whim in S. America.

[26] Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 298–9, mentions a battle on Nov. 7th in which 420 Spaniards and Indians killed 49 Seris, and took 63 with 322 horses. According to *Sonora, Descrip. Geog.*, 562, the Pima allies suffered more than the Seris, as they deserved for their lying promises to the Spaniards.

[27] *Salgado, Carta*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 120–4. The padre writes that in spite of precautions the plans are known to the foe. The rations for this campaign were 1 almud of pinole for 25 men, and 1 vara of tasajo for 3 men per day. He writes from his Yaqui mission of Uiribis, and calls attention to a gathering of Indians between the Yaqui and Mayo at Cocoraqui on pretence of sowing, but really to be free from all authority.

[28] *Sonora, Materiales*, 207–18.

plan for relief was two-fold: First, as a temporary expedient two new presidios near Guaymas and Babispe should be established, made independent of the pueblos as in California, and otherwise modified to ensure effective service. Secondly, the province should be settled by Spaniards, there being plenty of 'lazy and useless' people in the large cities suitable for the purpose![29]

The anonymous author of the valuable work on Sonora in 1764 which I have so often had occasion to cite,[30] after giving a most complete description of the province and its condition, has but very little to say in his closing chapter of the best method of freeing Sonora from her scourges, beyond recommending a general policy of trust in God and dry powder. The Seri and Pima confederates, however, should be removed to some country beyond the sea; the right to do this cannot be questioned, and the expense would be more than repaid by the revival of mining and agricultural industry. Padre Salgado, an old veteran who had spent twenty-four years in this field, wrote to the governor in August 1764 attributing a part of the prevalent evils, in the Yaqui district at least, to the scandalous conduct of the Spaniards and residents of *color quebrantado*, who lived "sin Dios, ley ni Rey." In former times the so-called white settlers had been subject to the pueblo justices, and should be made so again, since their lawless conduct results from the great distance of Spanish judges.[31]

[29] *Lizazoin, Informe*, 683–702. The only difficulty is that of transportation, for which vessels should run between Acapulco and Guaymas. These vessels would more than pay their cost by the transportation of soldiers and supplies, and by the increased product of the mines; but if the government will not pay for them, doubtless the merchants of Mexico will do it, if allowed to hold an annual fair at Yaqui or Guaymas.

[30] *Sonora, Descripcion Geográfica, Natural y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora por un amigo del servicio de Dios y del Rey Nr. Sr., año de 1764*, in *Sonora, Materiales*, 489–616; also MS. On Seri and Pima troubles of 1764, see *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 181–3; *Galvez, Informe*, 139–40.

[31] *Salgado, Carta* (Aug. 23d), in *Sonora, Materiales*, 140–1. In another letter, *Id.*, 130–3, Salgado contradicts the rumors of an inpending revolt of the Yaquis, who he says are behaving splendidly. On June 10, 1765, Juan José Montaño writes to the governor, *Id.*, 142–4, from Oposura to complain

To Don Pedro Gabriel de Aragon, who wrote from Álamos on September 6, 1765, the salvation of the country seemed to depend on the establishment of a new presidio south of the Yaqui instead of in the north, he insisting that the greatest interests and the greatest dangers lay in Ostimuri, and that the fatal mistake in the past had been too exclusive attention to the sterile north.[32] The presidio was, however, established at San Cárlos de Buenavista.

In January 1766 the Indians of Suaqui, or most of them, ran away and Captain Lorenzo Cancio, comandante at Buenavista, was ordered by the governor to investigate and report upon the matter. This duty, among his first in Sonora, Cancio performed with great zeal, presenting a voluminous report from which little more appears than that the fugitives had been enticed away to join the Seri foe.[33] It is to Cancio's letters that we must look for a very large part of all that is known of Sonora history for several years. The Mexican authorities were now somewhat aroused to the importance of energetic measures; a military expedition under the immediate command of Colonel Domingo Elizondo and under the general supervision of the visitador general, José de Galvez, was determined on; and Cancio was the man who superintended the preparations for the expedition and who was intrusted with the Jesuits' expulsion, of which more hereafter. He was not only a zealous and able officer, but a graceful and industrious writer. If the events noted by him are for the most part of a

of constant depredations of Apaches and Seris, and of the mission's destitution and defenceless condition. He attributes many of the disasters to the people's carelessness in going unarmed and not keeping together; has fined some of them 12 to 25 pesos for this.

[32] *Aragon, Carta,* in *Sonora, Materiales,* 182–6.

[33] *Cancio, Noticias sacadas de los autos que formó D. Lorenzo Cancio sobre la fuga que hicieron los Indios del pueblo de Suaqui,* in *Sonora, Materiales,* 145–81. The writer seems to feel called upon to record in detail and with all possible legal formality and circumlocution, every step taken and every word uttered from the time he received the governor's order to the final delivery of the papers. P. Francisco Javier Gonzalez was now missionary at Suaqui, and the fugitives numbered perhaps 300 men.

trivial nature of no great interest to the reader of history, it was not his fault, but because there were no more important matters to be recorded.[34]

July 21, 1766, Cancio addresses the viceroy explaining the nature of the Sonora warfare and the reasons why three hundred regular soldiers cannot restore quiet, although they could easily defeat the combined forces of the foe in a pitched battle. The runaway Sububapas of Suaqui have committed many hostilities, even attacking the presidio of San Cárlos; but being repulsed they have come to Belen and made peace with Captain Vildosola, falsely claiming to have had nothing to do with the attack. The writer has no faith in the peace and will undertake a decisive campaign in September.[35] In June a military junta in Mexico had authorized Governor Pineda to raise 'flying militia companies' for service in the province; but Pineda in view of the submission of the Suaquis, the approach of Elizondo's army, instructions to be economical, and lack of direct orders from the viceroy, hesitated and consulted Cancio, who on September 11th replies, enclosing the resolutions of the junta which had been sent to him by Galvez. He urges the immediate formation of the companies, the submission of the rebels being too sudden and voluntary to be real, and there having been no movement of the Mexican troops as late as July 26th—in fact the timber not yet having been cut of which the transport vessels were to be built![36] On the 22d Galvez wrote to Cancio that he could not rely on the treasury to defray expenses, but could get two

[34] *Cancio, Cartas*, in *Sinaloa y Sonora, Cartas*, 158–334. The letters are 40 in number dated from 1766 to 1769, and chiefly directed to Gov. Pineda. He often addresses the governor in the most familiar terms, and seems to have done always very much as he pleased, calling on Pineda to ratify his acts as a matter of course. His letters are often amusing as well as important.

[35] *Cancio, Cartas*, 164–9. The viceroy replies on Sept. 13th, saying nothing in particular.

[36] *Cancio, Cartas*, 158–63. The writer dwells on the good that may be done by the militia in preparing for a grand blow when the troops shall come. But Sonora and Ostimuri are so depopulated that they should not be called upon for militia recruits save as volunteers.

hundred thousand pesos from merchants in Mexico and Spain, with which sum he hoped to reconquer Sonora and to found thirty Spanish settlements on or near the Yaqui. In his reply of October 31st the captain states his belief that instead of founding new settlements it would be better to reënforce old and abandoned ones, add Spaniards to the Indian pueblos, and encourage intermarriage. Besides the Yaqui district was in better condition and needed settlers less than any other. But this matter of colonization is a secondary one that can be attended to later; the first thing is to conquer the Seris and Pimas, and that scourge removed prosperity will surely return. One half the sum mentioned will suffice for the conquest; as to colonization it will be well to go slowly and try experiments. Transport vessels are now being built on the Rio Santiago, arms have been received at Horcasitas, and two flying companies are being organized.[37]

March 3, 1767, Cancio reports the murder of the curate of Bayoreca at Los Cangrejos.[38] March 23d Bernardo de Urrea advises the governor from Altar that in his opinion either Belen or Pitic would be a better base of operations than Guaymas;[39] yet the latter place was chosen, and work was immediately begun there on soldiers' quarters, warehouses, water-

[37] *Cancio, Cartas*, 158–79. The troops sent from Mexico should be dragoons, and 200 in number; 200 soldiers will be taken from the 6 presidios, the full force being left at Fronteras, and the rest being replaced by militia temporarily; the two flying companies will furnish 100 men; 200 Indians should be taken along, chiefly to be shown how the Spaniards can fight, for they generally do nothing and boast much. Supplies for 6 months will be stored at Pitic under a militia reserve. From August to February is the best time for operations, which should be conducted in several divisions so as to force the foe to concentrate. Provisions can be obtained from missions and ranchos, but bakers must be brought, and money which as a curiosity will have a good effect, also clothing, tobacco, soap, and strong shoes. There is not a man on the coast who can make any part of a ship, and the few pearl-fishing craft here will be of little use as transports. The writer names about 20 wealthy men who can and probably will contribute either money or cattle. A copy of this letter was sent to Gov. Pineda on November 21st.

[38] *Cancio, Cartas*, 181–3. 'What a sound this will have in Mexico,' says he; 'instants are centuries till this region is protected.' Many of his letters on petty details I have not noticed.

[39] *Sonora, Materiales*, 192–4.

tanks, surveys of the port, and storing of supplies. Cancio made one or two personal visits to assure himself that the work was being properly done, and his letters from April to June are almost exclusively occupied with the details of this matter.[40] Writing on July 5th he has heard by private letters that Elizondo and his troops were at Tepic in May, but that the vessels could not get out of the Rio Santiago before the rise of water in September. The colonel had however detained the California *barco* and Osio's *lancha*, and was awaiting permission from the viceroy to embark with at least two hundred men, who might therefore be expected to arrive any day.[41]

Captain Antonio Casimiro Esparza writes to the governor the 2d of October from Bacanora, describing one of the typical Apache raids and the steps taken to punish the savages, all so vague as to be useless. He also complains of the people's carelessness despite their danger, and will if permitted oblige all the men to appear daily at review as at mass, to go always armed, and to keep their horses ready. This will cause dissatisfaction and some will have to be put in the stocks; but in no other way can the savage bands be pursued at once without the usual delay of search-

[40] *Cartas*, 184–205. Lieut. Oliva was Cancio's assistant, and Capt. Bergosa commanded one of the flying companies. Gov. Pineda seems to have done some active service, for April 19th, 27th, Cancio warns him not to go on with his small force, as Padre Salgado writes that it is unsafe and the province cannot afford to lose another governor. The Indians made a dash into Guaymas on May 10th, and drove off a few horses. The crops were good except in Ostimuri and the Indians were restricted in their sales. The pearl-craft were impressed into the transportation service. June 3d, Cancio answers a letter from Mexico of Jan. 5th, announcing the departure of Corbalan, the comisario de guerra, and complimenting both Cancio and Vildosola. The former thanks the writer, but is evidently uneasy about the praise awarded to Vildosola, who as he mysteriously hints is not worthy of much confidence and knows but little of Indian-fighting. Lieut. Lumbreras seems to have been in command at Guaymas. The captain neglected nothing, and June 25th assured the governor that the privies for the army were being constructed in the most approved style.

[41] *Cartas*, 205–8. He is very anxious that all be ready for the troops' reception, as it would have been long ere this had his advice been followed! He complains of the system of Corbalan, now at San Antonio, in paying out moneys. Sept. 26th, Juan José Echeveste writes from Mexico a most melancholy letter expressing anxiety about the expedition, which probably cannot leave Matanchel before the middle of November. *Sin. y Son., Cartas*, 124–8.

ing for and repairing arms, making balls, preparing supplies amid the lamentations of women and a scene of inevitable confusion.[42] Cancio states that he has enlisted one hundred and thirty Yaquis, paid them two reales each, and caused them to shout "Viva el Rey." For these allies he must have two hundred and fifty fanegas of *pinole*.[43] October 14th he writes of impending trouble with the Yaquis, those of Bacum and Vicam having deserted their pueblos. The curate of Bayoreca, Francisco Ildefonso Félix, is accused of having incited this revolt, by telling the Indians the Spaniards were coming to take away their property.[44] November 19th he recommends changes in Indian governors, because the Jesuits had always selected the most severe and cruel for the position, and now the Indians should be led to expect kinder treatment. There was a prevalent idea among the natives that the troops were coming to kill them, and it was feared some trouble might occur when the vessels first came in sight. Finally on December 16th Cancio closes the correspondence of the year with some unimportant remarks on the progress of the work at Guaymas.[45]

The preceding résumé of correspondence, vague as it is, gives an idea not only of all that is known, but probably of all there was to know of Sonora history at this epoch. It was an epoch of suspense and expectation for all classes. The Indians were in doubt whether the great military expedition of which they

[42] *Esparza*, in *Sin. y Son., Cartas*, 124–8.

[43] *Cartas*, 220–2. As the next crops will be a failure in Yaqui district, much of the pinole must be bought elsewhere.

[44] *Id.*, 222–4. He proposes to reconnoitre the Rio Mayo, for the Mayos and Fuerteños will be sure to follow the Yaquis in a revolt. Oct. 28th, he writes to Joaquin Alcaide that the men of Ostimuri must reconnoitre all exposed places four times a month, and must also protect the country during the coming campaign. *Id.*, 225–7. Nov. 10th, he sends a memorial of the militia captain Estévan Gandarilla asking for the privileges granted to his rank in the Spanish army—that is, immunity from the jurisdiction of civil authorities. Cancio favors the claim as the militia captains are usually the best gentlemen of the province and their chief incentive is the desired immunity. *Id.*, 229–31.

[45] *Id.*, 231–9. He also hints that somebody does not know so much about something as somebody would have somebody suppose—perhaps referring to Capt. Vildosola of whom he was very jealous.

heard so much was to benefit or annihilate them, many suspecting that no expedition was coming at all; but there are some indications that during the period of suspense they were less hostile than before. All Spaniards looked forward to Elizondo's arrival as the panacea that was to cure all the ills of the province by crushing the savages. This scourge once removed, the Jesuits fairly out of the way, and a military force in readiness to hold rebellious neophytes in check, the settlers and miners looked forward to a renewed era of prosperity and ease. Meanwhile they did nothing but wait.

There is little to be said of the Jesuit missions and missionaries in the last years. The padres' authority and influence were well nigh gone, save over a few women, children, and infirm old men; they were regarded with ever increasing jealousy and hatred by the settlers; and many of them, especially the German element of new-comers, became discouraged and fretful, remaining to perform mechanically the routine of mission duties only in obedience to superior orders. Like all other classes they were waiting for a change, which in their case came, before the arrival of troops from Mexico, in a radical and unexpected form—their expulsion from the province and from America. Statistics from the bishop's visita, the descriptive list, and the Jesuit catalogue, corresponding to those already given for Pimería Alta, are appended in a note, in which I include the province of Sinaloa proper and Ostimuri, and to which I add Tamaron's statistics of the southern coast provinces from Culiacan to Rosario.[46] From

[46] *Tamaron, Visita*, MS.; *Sonora, Descrip., Geog.*, 566–84; *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo.*

Rectorate of S. Francisco Borja. Onapa, 33 Ind.; Taraichi, 14 l. E., 50 Ind. P. Miguel Almela in 1764, who went to Opodepe and was succeeded by P. Antonio Castro before 1767.

Arivechi, 5 l. N. Onapa, 112 Ind.; Ponida, ½ l. N., 131 Ind.; Bacanora, 10 l. N. W., 163 Ind.; also 449 de razon including valley of Tacupeto. P. José Roldan, 1764–7.

Sahuaripa (S. Miguel), 5 l. N. Arivechi, 140 Ind.; Teopari (S. José), 14 l. N. E., 121 Ind., besides 46 in ranchería of S. Camilo, 7 l. E. [also in 1764 Sto

the items thus presented we learn that in the territory corresponding to the modern Sinaloa and Sonora during the last years of the Jesuit era there was a population of gente de razon—of Spanish, negro, and mixed blood—amounting to thirty-two thousand souls,

Tomás, including Ind. of Chamada; and S. Juan de Dios Chipafora rancho 8 l.]; also 52 Span. in district. P. Tomás Perez in 1764, retired and succeeded by Bartolomé Saenz before 1767.

Mobas (Concepcion), 7 l. s. Rio Chico, 121 Ind.; Nuri (Sta Ana), 5 l. N. E., 70 Ind. P. Bernardo Middendorff, 1764–7.

Onabas (S. Ignacio), 11 l. N. Mobas, 520 Ind.; Tonichi, 5 l. N., up river, 372 Ind.; Soyopa (S. Francisco), 14 l. N., 221 Ind. P. Enrique Kürtzel, rector, 1764–7.

Comuripa (S. Francisco Javier), 8 l. S. E. Rio Chico, 180 Ind.; Buenavista, 12 l. S., 299 Ind. P. Benito Antonio Romero, 1764–7.

Tecoripa (S. Fran. Borja), 20 l. N. W. Comuripa, 210 Ind.; Suaqui, 10. l. S., 391 Ind.; S. José de Pimas, 16 l. W., 190 Ind. P. Francisco Javier Gonzalez, 1764–7.

Matape (S. José), 30 l. N. Tecoripa, 114 Ind.; Nacori (Sta Cruz), 3 l. S. W., 108 Ind.; Álamos (Asuncion), 7 l. N. W., 113 Ind.; also 3 Spanish settlements, Rebeico, Nacori, and Mazatan, with a pop. of 256. P. Jacobo Sedelmair, 1764–7.

Rectorate of Santos Mártires. Batuco (S. Fran. Javier), 4 l. E. Matape, 210 Ind.; Tepuspe, 1.5 l. S., 163 Ind. Also 4 Spanish settlements, Realito, La Mesa, Chihuahua, and Todos Santos, with a pop. of 301. P. Alejandro Rapicani, 1764–7.

Oposura (S. Miguel), 8 l. E. Aconchi, 205 Ind.; Cumpas, 10 l N., 116 Ind.; Terapa, 5 l. S., 57 Ind. Also 7 Spanish settlements: Conadepa, 10 l. N.; Jamaica, 8 l. N.; Yecora, 6 l. N.; Toiserobabi, 3 l. N.; Tombabi, 5 l. E.; Pinipa, 2 l. S.; Tepachi, 12 l. S. [Tecori, Jonivavi, and Nacosari in the printed report], with a pop. of 1,266. P. José Garrucho, 1764–7

Guazava (S. Fran. Javier), 18 l. E. Oposura, 205 Ind.; Opotu, 11 l. N., 221 Ind. and 27 Yaquis. P. Juan Nentoig, in 1764–7, rector; also, in 1767, P. Ramon Sanchez.

Bacadeguachi (S. Luis Gonzaga), 5 l. E. S. E. Guazava, 208 Ind.; Nacori (Asuncion), 9 l. W., 208 Ind.; Mochopa, 12 l. S., 183 Ind. P. Manuel Aguirre in 1764; P. José Liebana in 1767.

Baseraca (Sta María), 24 l. N. Bacadeguachi, 546 Ind.; Guachinera (S. Juan Bautista), 5 l. S., 200 Ind. P. Joseph Och in 1762–4; P. Pio Laguna in 1767.

Babispe (S. Miguel), 5 l. N. Baseraca, 259 Ind. Visita of Baseraca in 1764; P. Javier Pascua in 1767.

Nacosari (Rosario), real, 50 l. S. W. Babispe, pop. 165. Had a curate, but he deserted and went to Fronteras.

Rectorate of San Francisco Javier. Cuquiarachi (S. Ignacio), 17 l. N. of Nacosari, 115 Ind.; Cuchuta (S. Fran. Javier), 5 l. S. E., 73 Ind.; Tehurichi (Asuncion), 8 l. S., 82 Ind. P. Bartolomé Saenz in 1764, succeeded by P. José Neve before 1767.

Fronteras (Sta Rosa Corodeguachi), presidio, 59 l. W. Janos, 3 l. N. Cuquiarachi, garrison of 50 men under Capt. Gabriel Antonio Vildosola, pop. 484; curate of Nacosari here.

Arizpe (Asuncion), 30 l. S. W. Fronteras, 393 Ind.; Chinapa (S. José), 6 l. N. E., 296 Ind.; Bacoachi (S. Miguel), 8 l. N. E., 92 Ind. Also in the reales of Chinapa, Basochuca, and Bacanuchi, a Spanish pop. of 291. P. Cárlos de Rojas, visitador, 1764–7.

Banamichi, 20 l. E. Cucurpe, 158 Ind.; Guepaca, 5 l. S., 129 Ind.; Sino-

living in fifty or more settlements—villas, presidios, and mining camps, with the attached ranchos and haciendas; served in part by some fifteen secular clergy, and also by Jesuits acting as curates. In care of the curates, and chiefly in the south, were six thousand Indians living in over forty native settlements. There were also twenty-five thousand neophytes living in one hundred and twenty pueblos, forming fifty

quipe (S. Ignacio), 5 l. N., 134 Ind. Also Spanish settlement of Motefore, pop. 296; 531 Spanish in valley of Sonora. P. Francisco Javier Villaroya in 1764–7.

Aconchi (S. Pedro), 8 l. E. Opodepe, 205 Ind.; Babiacora (Concepcion), 7 l. s., 294 Ind. P. Nicolás Pereira in 1764–7.

Ures (S. Miguel), 12 l. W. Batuco, 236 Ind.; Sta Rosalía, 12 l. s., 53 Ind. Also in Gavilan and other ranchos 125 Spaniards. P. Francisco (or Andrés) Michel, 1764–7.

Horcasitas (S. Miguel), villa, capital of Sonora, garrison of 50 men, founded in 1750, pop. 488 de razon; Real de S. José de Gracia, 7 l. s., pop. 152; Hacienda of Pitic, 15 l. s. W.; abandoned pueblos of Pópulo and Los Angeles.

Opodepe (Asuncion), 16 l. N. Horcasitas, 413 Ind.; Nacameri, 5 l. s., 113 Ind. Also 153 Spaniards in the two pueblos. P. Francisco Loaiza in 1764, who retired and was succeeded by P. Miguel Almela before 1767.

Cucurpe (Stos Reyes), 16 l. s. W. S. Ignacio, 141 Ind.; Saracachi, 7 l. N. E., 109 Ind.; Toape, 7 l. S. W., 173 Ind. Also 188 gente de razon in district including the real de Saracachi. P. Ignacio Pfefferkorn, 1764–7.

Rectorate of Dolores, or Pimería Alta, see p. 563 of this volume.

Rectorate of S. Ignacio de Yaqui. Pueblos on the Yaqui and Mayo rivers. Bacum, 1,900 Ind.; Cocorin, 3 l. below, 2,530 Ind. P. Julian Salazar 1764–7.

Torin, 6 l. below Bacum, 3,645 Ind.; Vicam, 2.5 l. s. s. W., 3,618 Ind. P. Lorenzo García, 1764–7.

Rahum, 1 l. W. N. W., 2,684 Ind.; Potam, 3 l. s. s. W., 2,458 Ind. P. Juan Blanco, 1764–7.

Huiribis, 1.5 l. N. W. Rahum, 1,436 Ind.; Belen, 2 l. N. W., at mouth of river, 1,054 Ind.; Guaymas, 18 l. W., Indians transferred to Belen, 550. Belen was a cabecera after 1764. P. Maximiliano Le Roi, 1764–7; P. Lorenzo Salgado, 1767.

Conicari, on Rio Mayo, 196 Ind.; Mocoyahui, 8 l. N., 596 Ind.; Camoa, 5 l. s., 200 Ind.; Tesia, 6 l. s., 388 Ind. P. Vicente Rubio, 1764–7. P. José Ronderos at Camoa, 1767.

Nabojoa, 10 l. s. Tesía, 309 Ind.; Cohurimpo, 3 l. s., 630 Ind. P. Lúcas Merino, 1764–7.

Mayo (Sta Cruz), at mouth, 200 Ind.; Echohoa, 8 l. N., 1,156 Ind. P. George Fraideneg, 1764–7.

Tepahue, on Rio Cedros, 8 l. N. W., Rio Mayo, 211 Ind.; Batacosa (cabecera after 1764), 10 l., 109 Ind. P. Francisco Ita, 1764–7.

Los Àlamos, real, with lieutenant-governor and curate; good mines; pop. 3,400 de razon.

Bayoreca, real, 33 l. N. W. Àlamos, pop. 1,004, Spanish and mixed.

Rio Chico, real, 26 l. N. Bayoreca, pop. 1,400; with a curate.

Trinidad de Plata, real, 25 l. N. E. Rio Chico; with 3 other reales, Concepcion, Guadalupe, and S. Antonio; pop. 715; mine rich; assistant curate.

Soyopa, or S. Antonio de la Huerta, real established in 1759, pop. 300; 14 l. N. Rio Chico; gold placer mines; curate.

Rectorate of ——— (province of Sinaloa). Mocorito, 190 Ind.; Bacubi-

missions under as many Jesuit missionaries. Of gentile population no reasonable estimate is possible.

The names of the Jesuits expelled in 1767 are given in the statistical note. Of the expulsion so far as it particularly concerned these provinces there is little to be said. Captain Cancio, appointed by the

rito (S. Pedro), 10 l. s. w., 110 Ind. PP. Francisco Alava and Fernando Berra in 1767.

Sinaloa (S. Felipe), villa, pop. 3,500; Jesuit serving as curate; P. José Garfias rector in 1767.

Chicorato, on Rio Sinaloa, 156 Ind.; S. Ignacio de Sta María, 4 l. E., 137 Ind.; Ohuera, 8 l. s. w., 111 Ind. P. Juan Antonio Cedano, 1767.

Ocoroni, 8 l. N. w. Sinaloa, 636 Ind.; Bamoa, 8 l. s., 522 Ind. P. Miguel Fernandez Somera in 1767.

Nio, 4 l. s., down river, 800 Ind. P. Ignacio Gonzalez, 1767.

Guazave, 2 l. s. Nio, 651 Ind.; Tamazula, 2 l. s., 589 Ind. P. José Palomino, 1767.

El Fuerte (S. Juan de Montesclaros), villa 28 l. w. Sinaloa, 1,886 pop., with a curate; Real de Sivirijoa, rich gold and silver mines.

Vaca, on Rio Fuerte, 145 Ind.; Huites, 5 l. N., 208 Ind. P. Sebastian Cava, 1767.

Toro, 4 l. s. Vaca, 216 Ind.; Chois, 10 l. E. Vaca, 204 Ind.; Biamena, 8 l. E., 461 Ind. P. Juan Francisco Acuña, 1767.

Tehueco, 15 l. s. Toro, 612 Ind.; Sivirijoa, 4 l. s., 700 Ind.; Charai, 11 l. s. 920 Ind. P. Javier Anaya, 1767.

Mochicavi, 4 l. s., 1,600 Ind.; S. Miguel, 4 l. s., 660 Ind.; Ahome, 8 l. s., at mouth of river, 501 Ind. P. Antonio Ventura, 1767.

Province of Chinipas (largely in Chihuahua), Batopilas, real, pop. 227.

Navogame, 265 Ind.; Chinatun, 238 Ind.; Sta Rosalía, 290 Ind.; P. Blas Miner, in 1767.

Baburigame, 2 days N. Navogame, 300 Ind.; Real de S. Juan Nepomuceno, 8 l. w., 55 Ind., 36 Span.; Cinco Llagas, 12 l. s., 155 Ind.; Basonopa, 12 l. w., 150 Ind.; Sta Rosa, 7 l. w., 73 Ind.; Tenoriba, 1.5 days w., 121 Ind.; S. Andrés [cabecera in 1767, P. Luis Martin], 2 days N., 287 Ind.; Sta Paciencia de Cristo, 3 days N., 110 Ind.; Gueachic, 12 l. N., 176 Ind. P. Javier Weis, 1767.

Satevo (Sto Angel), 4 days N. Baborigame, 220 Ind.; Concepcion, 16 l., 217 Ind. P. Wenceslao Kolub, 1767.

Tubares (S. Ignacio), 10 l. N. E. Satevo, 250 Ind.; S. Miguel, 10 l. E., 210 Ind. P. José Félix Sebastian, 1767.

Serocagui (S. Fran. Javier), 2 days N. E. Tubares, 139 Ind.; Cuitceo, 8 l. N., 293 Ind.; Churuc, 8 l. N. E., 231 Ind.; Guapaleina, 12 l. E., 118 Ind., 15 Span. P. Nicolás Sachi, 1767.

Guazápares (Sta Teresa), 15 l. E. Serocagui, 300 Ind.; Temoris, 3.5 l. s., 195 Ind.; Tepochi, 11 l. N., 85 Ind. P. Pedro Pablo Macida, 1767.

Chinipas (Sta Inés), 18 l. w. Guazápares, 146 Ind.; Guadalupe, 10 l. N., 177 Ind. P. Juan Cubedu, visitador, 1767.

Santa Ana, 19 l. N. Chinipas, 280 Ind.; Loreto, 10 l. N., 599 Ind. P. Manuel Klever, rector, 1767.

Batopililla (S. José), 24 l. E. Sta Ana, 388 Ind.; Barboruco, 2 days w., 211 Ind. [Cabecesa, in 1767.] P. Francisco Slesac, 1767.

Moris (Espíritu Santo), 20 l. N. Batopilillas, adjoining Ostimuri, 145 Ind. P. Juan Steb, 1767.

Yecora (S. Ildefonso), 55 l. N. Moris, 118 Ind.; Maicoba, 14 l. E., 271 Ind. P. José Wazet, 1767.

Southern coast provinces (including a portion of Topia). Masatan, 253

government comisionado for the purpose, proceeded during August and September to carry out his orders as rapidly and secretly as possible by removing the Jesuit padres from all the missions and sending them to Guaymas. The majordomo of each establishment was put in charge and made responsible for a short time until the arrival of the regularly appointed comisarios, who took possession by inventory and held all the property subject to the order of the government. The padres sent to Mexico in the aggregate some thirty thousand dollars, but with this exception the society retained nothing whatever. The few curates in the country were instructed to take charge of the spiritual interests of the natives

Ind.; Sta María, 2.5 l. s., 175 Ind.; S. Juan, 3 l. s., 130 Ind.; Otatitlan, 2 l. s. w., 55 Ind.; Cacalotlan, 2 l. n., 41 Ind.; Sta Cruz, 4.25 l. s., 293 Ind. A few settlers. All under a curate of Masatan.

Plomosas, real, 14 l. n. e. Masatan, pop. 422, assistant curate; Rosario, real, 5 l. s. s.w. Masatan, pop. 2,459, curate and several clergy; good buildings, mine failing; Chametla, 5 l. s. Rosario, 2 l. from sea, on river, pop. 500 Ind., 357 Span.; Escuinapa, 8 l. e. Rosario, 110 Ind., 90 Span.

San Sebastian, villa, 500 Span. and 2,000 in ranchos and haciendas, assistant alcalde and curate; Mazatlan, 6 l. s. w., 4 l. from sea, 8 l. from port, 966 mulattoes, assistant curate; Jacob, 5 l. s. e., 500 Ind.; Sta Catarina, 6 l. w. 80 Ind.

Copala (S. Juan), real, 10 l. n. S. Sebastian, pop. with real de Arrona, 766; 543 in reales of Pánuco and Charcas; also curates; Guasima, 6 l s., 101 Ind.; S. Pablo, 28 Ind.; Carrizal, 7 l. n. e., 74 Ind.; Sta Lucía, 10 l. n., 98 Ind.

Jan Javier, villa, 40 l. n. w. Copala, 35 l. w. Rosario, pop. 876, curate and alcalde; Cabazan, 2 l. w., 106 Ind.

San Ignacio, pop. 374, 100 Ind.; Ajoya, 12 l. s. e., 442 Ind.; Sta Polonia, 15 l. s. e. up river, 92 Ind.; S. Juan, 3 l. s., 192 Ind.; S. Agustin, 6 l. w. down river, 215 Ind.

Cosalá, real, 27 l. w. S. Ignacio, pop. 1,897, curate; S. Juan Bautista Coristaca, 10 l. s., 152 Ind.; Abnia, 18 l. s. s. w., 235 Ind.; Tabala, 16 l. n. e., 115 Ind.; Tecuichamona, 18 l. s. w., 123 Ind.; Binapa, 18 l. s. w., 122 Ind.

Alaya, 8 l. n. w. Cosalá, 220 Ind., some Span., rich mines of El Cajon, pop. 414 in two adjoining valleys, curate; Otatitlan, 12 l. n. n. e., 68 Ind.; large river between three pueblos and Cosalá.

Culiacan (S. Miguel), villa, 35 l. n. Cosalá, pop. 1,583, alcalde mayor; pop. of 633 in ranchos and haciendas; rich mine of Palo Blanco; Navito, 20 l. s. w., 80 Ind.; Aguilá, 18 l. s., 58 Ind.; Imala, 7 l. n. e., 63 Ind.; Tepuche, 5 l. n., 40 Ind.; Jacobito, 12 l. n., 24 Ind.; Bachigualito, 3 l. w., 123 Ind.; Olaguarato, 4 l. w., 162 Ind.; S. Pablo Culiacan, 4.5 l. w., 83 Ind.; S. Pedro, 5 l. w., 335 Ind.; Nabolato, 10 l. w., 322 Ind.; Bachimeto, 11.5 l. s. w., 94 Ind.; Otameto, 12 l. n. w., 20 Ind.; Capirato, 12 l. n. w., 210 Ind.; Camarito, 13 l. n. w., 201 Ind.

Badiraguato, 26 l. n. w. Culiacan, 104 Ind., curate; Cariatapa, 7.5 l. e., 98 Ind.; Morirato, 10 l. e., 89 Ind.; Guatenipa, 13.5 e., 149 Ind.; Bamupa, 18 l. n., 39 Ind.; Soyatita, 28 l. n., 159 Ind.; S. Javier, 7 l. s. w., 70 Ind.; San Benito, 12 l. n. w., pop. 910 Span., curate; Sta Cruz, 5 l. n. n. e., 55 Ind.

until further provision should be made, but it is to be feared that the duty was not very thoroughly, however faithfully, attended to. Of the acts and words and feelings of the padres on reception of the wholly unexpected order to give up their missions, their neophyte subjects, the results of all their toils, the homes where many of their number had grown old, we know absolutely nothing, since for some unknown reason the Jesuits themselves have kept silence, and it was the policy of the government to observe the strictest secrecy.

August 9th Cancio writes to the governor that the Jesuits of the Fuerte, Mayo, and Yaqui have assembled at Santa Cruz as ordered except Padre Cava, who is sick, and Anaya, who has shown no sign of obedience, and for whom an officer has been sent. Cancio with twelve of the padres is now at Camoa en route, perhaps for Guaymas, where he will remain five or six days on account of sickness and hot weather. Again on October 3d he writes that on September 19th he despatched nineteen padres from Las Cruces in two *lanchas* under a sergeant and eight soldiers; but they came back with the story that they could not enter Guaymas on account of the tide. The zealous captain kept the padres on board, put the masters in the stocks, and himself paced the beach as sentinel all night. At last, on the 22d, he got a receipt for the nineteen Jesuits from Lieutenant Lumbreras in command at Guaymas. October 24th the Governor approved Cancio's management of the whole business. December 20th Cancio speaks of rumors that the Jesuits confined at Guaymas leave the quarters at night to hold interviews with the Indians, talking of independence from Spain and English interference. While he thinks the rumors may not be well founded, he has ordered redoubled vigilance, for the Jesuits might do great harm in the country's present critical condition.[47]

[47] *Cancio, Cartas*, 208–41.

The exiles seem to have sailed from Guaymas early in 1768 and from America late in the same year. Only thirty of the fifty lived to reach Spain in July 1769. Father Baegert gives some details of their sufferings for nine months in the wretched 'cattle-sheds' at Guaymas, on the voyage of forty-eight days to Matanchel, and on the painful march across the country to Vera Cruz.[48] No friars or curates came in 1767 to take the place of the banished missionaries, though there was some correspondence on the subject. I append an alphabetical list of the Jesuits who served in Sinaloa and Sonora from the beginning. For the earlier and later years, as for the northern missions, the list may be regarded as practically complete; but for the intermediate period and the southern districts there are doubtless some omissions.[49]

[48] *Baegert, Nachrichten*, 299–301; *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo.* Nentoig, Perera, and Pedro Diaz were among those who died before leaving America. Of the others we have met in Pimería, Paver died in Spain in 1770, Sedelmair in 1779, Garrucho in 1785, and Espinosa in 1786. Ignacio Gonzalez died in Sinaloa in 1767.

[49] The dates are those when the padres are shown by the records to have been in the country. In most cases they give no indication of the respective terms of service. Names marked with a * were serving in other parts of Mexico in 1767. Dates in parentheses are approximately correct.

Abad, Isidoro Fernandez, 1750.
Acuña, Juan Francisco, 1767.
Adame, Laurencio, 1609.
Águila, Vicente, (1606)–1641.
Aguirre, Manuel, 1750–64.*
Álava, Francisco, 1756–7.
Albieuri, Juan, 1633.
Almela, Miguel, 1764–7.
Álvarez, Lúcas Lud., 1750.
Anaya, Fran. Javier, 1742–67.
Andonaiqui, Roque, 1742.*
Angel, Juan, (1619–21).
Anzieta, Juan B., (1678)–1681.
Arce, Ignacio, 1730.
Arce, Juan Antonio, 1742.
Armas, José, 1730.
Arriola, Agustin, 1742–50.*
Avendaño, Juan, 1730.
Azpilcueta, Martin, (1630)–1636.
Balestra, Angel, (1619)–1644.
Baltasar, Juan Ant. 1757.
Barrera, Diego José, 1760–7.
Basaldua, 1710.
Basilio, Tomás, 1617.
Bastiromo, Melchor, (1699)–1701.
Benavides, Martin, (1697)–1700.
Bentz, Antonio Ma., 1750–66.
Berra, Fernando, 1767.
Beyerca, (1695).
Blanco, Juan, 1748.*
Bonifacio, Luis, (1609)–1640.
Borio, Guillermo, 1750.
Bueno, Pedro, (1646).
Burgesio, Martin, (1618–20).
Búrgos, Juan Muñoz, 1677–94.
Calderon, José, 1730.*
Calvo, Juan, (1609).
Campos, Agustin, 1693–1735.
Canal, Gerónimo, (1644)–1653.
Cañas, Cristóbal, 1730.
Capetillo, Miguel, 1734.
Cárdenas, Juan, (1619–21).
Cárdenas, Lorenzo, (1630).
Carranco, (1696).
Cartagena, Manuel, 1742.*
Castaño, Bartolomé, (1618–46).
Castellanos, Pedro, (1688).
Castini, Pedro Juan, (1618–44).
Castro, Antonio, 1767.
Castro, Francisco, 1593–1627.

Cava, Sebastian, 1767.
Cavero, Juan Fern., (1678)–1690.
Cedano, Juan Ant., 1756–67.
Celestri, Cárlos, (1688).
Cervantes, Andrés, (1678).
Cervantes, Baltasar, (1640).
Clericis, Alberto (1609).
Clever—see Klever.
Collantes, José, (1632)–1644.
Contreras, Pedro Ruiz, 1697–8.
Copart, Juan B., (1678).
Cordaveras, Manuel, 1742.
Cortés, Jacinto, (1668–71).
Covarrubias, José, (1678).
Cruz, Diego de la, (1616).
Cubedu, Juan, 1767.
Dávila, Luis, 1678.
Diaz, Joaquin Félix, 1744–60.
Diaz, Manuel, 1701.
Diez, Pedro Rafael, 1767.
Duque, Ignacio, 1742.
Echajoyan, Juan, 1730.
Egidiano, Andrés, (1660)–1637.
Escalona, José, 1730–50.
Esgrecho, Felipe, 1688.
Espinosa, Alonso, 1754–67.
Fentañez, Bartolomé, 1750.
Fernandez, Juan, (1720–30).
Flores, Lorenzo, (1640).
Fraideneg, George, 1767.
Franco, José, 1750.
Gallardi, Luis Ma., (1720)–30.
García, Lorenzo José, 1750–67.
Garfias, José, 1750–67.
Garrucho, José, 1744–67.
Gerstner, Miguel, 1756–67.
Gil, Adan, (1699)–1700.
Godinez, Miguel, (1618)–1644.
Gomar, Antonio, (1618)–1700.
Gomez, Marcos, 1632.
Goñi, Pedro Matias, 1677–8.
Gonzalez, Andrés, 1730.
Gonzalez, Francisco, (1699)–1702.
Gonzalez, Fran. Javier, 1764–7.
Gonzalez, Ignacio, 1750–1767.
Gonzalez, Manuel, (1688)–1730.
Gonzalez, Miguel Elias, 1767.
Gorgoll, Juan, 1763–7. (?)
Grashoffer, Juan B., 1731–2.
Gudiño, Diego, 1730.
Guerrero, Cayetano, 1730.
Gutierrez, Buenav., 1742–50.
Gutierrez, Francisco, 1756–7.
Gutierrez, Lorenzo Ign., 1740–1.
Guzman, Diego, 1615.
Haffenrichter, José, 1761–2.
Hardenas, Juan, (1624–44).
Hawe, (1756).
Hidalgo, Tomás, (1671).
Imaz, Patricio, 1750.
Ita, Francisco, 1764–7.
Januske, Daniel, 1693–1716.
Jimenez, José, (1678).
Jimeno, Custodio, 1764–7.
Kappus, Marcos Ant., 1694–1716.
Keller, Ignacio Javier, 1742–59.
Kino, Eusebio, 1684–1711.
Klever, Manuel, 1767.
Kolub, Wenceslao, 1767.
Kurtzel, Enrique, 1764–7.
Labora, Juan, 1757.
Laguna, Pio, 1767.
Lauria, Cristóbal, 1730.
Le Roy, Maximiliano, 1764–7.
Leal, Antonio, 1688–1701.
Liebana, José, 1767.
Lizazoin, Ignacio, 1750–63.*
Loaiza, Francisco, 1750–64.
Lombardo, Natal, 1678.
Loyola, Marcos, (1688).
Macida, Pedro Pablo, 1767.
Maires, (1701).
Marciamares, Luis Ma., 1730.
Marjiano, Luis Ma., (1722–3).
Marras, Daniel A., (1673)–89.
Martinez, Juan, (1678).
Martinez, Manuel, 1632.
Masquina, Diego, (1678).
Mendez, Antonio, (1678).
Mendez, Pedro, (1592)–1635.
Mendivil, Pedro, 1740.
Mendoza, Juan, (1646).
Meneses, Juan, (1690).
Mercado, Bernardo, 1750.
Mercado, Nicolás, 1701.
Merino, Lúcas, 1760–7.
Mesa, José Nic., 1763–8.
Mesa, Pedro, (1678).
Michel, Francisco Andrés, 1764–7.
Middendorff, Bernardo, 1756–67.
Miguel, Domingo, 1688.
Miner, Blas, 1767.
Ming, Guillermo, (1760).
Minutili, Gerónimo, 1706.
Miquio, José, 1742.
Miranda, Tomás, 1750.*
Molarja, Ignacio, (1653).
Molina, José Javier, 1737–45.
Montepio, Egidio, 1646.
Montoya, Francisco Jav., (1700).
Navarro, Gonzalo, (1671)–1678.
Nentoig, Juan, 1750–67.
Neve, José, 1767.
Nieto, Juan Estan., 1742.
Och, Joseph, 1756–64.*
Oliñano, Francisco, (1618–20).
Ordaz, Manuel, (1697).
Oro, Nicolás, 1730.
Orobato, Juan B., (1592–1600).
Osorio, José, (1678).

Oton, (1619–21).
Paez, Melchor, (1656)–76.
Palomino, José Ign., 1742–67.
Pantoja, Pedro, (1639).
Paredes, Blas, (1618)–1636.
Paris, Francisco, (1646)–1653.
Pascua, Javier, 1767.
Pascual, Juan, (1618)–1632.
Paver, José Fran., 1750–67.
Pecoro, Fernando, 1681.
Peña, Salvador, 1750.*
Perea, José Torres, 1741–3.
Perera, Nicolás, 1730–67.
Perez, Martin, 1591–1626.
Perez, Tomás, 1750–64.*
Pfefferkorn, Ignacio, 1756–67.
Pimentel, Francisco, 1750.
Pistoya, Gerónimo, (1678).
Polici, Horacio, (1695).
Prado, Nicolás, 1681–97.
Proto, Pedro, (1728).
Rapuani, Alejandro, 1740–67.
Reuter, Francisco, (1678).
Rhuen, Enrique, 1750–1.
Ribas, Andrés Perez, 1604–20.
Rio, Miguel Marcos, (1646)–53.
Rojas, Cárlos, 1742–67.
Roldan, José, 1742–67.
Romero, Benito Ant., 1764–7.
Ronderos, José, 1767.
Rubio, Vicente, 1764–7.
Sabanzo, Antonio Diego, (1678).
Sachi, Nicolás, 1767.
Saenz, Bartolomé, 1750–67.
Saeta, Francisco Jav., 1695.
Salazar, Julian, 1764–7.
Salgado, Juan Lorenzo, 1740–67.
Salvatierra, Juan Ma., 1680–90.
Sanchez, Bartolomé, 1757.
Sanchez, Manuel, (1678).
Sanchez, Ramon, 1767.
Sandoval, Luis, (1678).
San Martin, Juan, 1730.
Santaren, Hernando, (1592)–1600.
Santiago, Alonso, (1592)–1594.
Sebastian, José Félix, 1767.
Sedelmair, Jacobo, 1736–67.
Segesser, Felipe, 1731–50.
Sepúlveda, Francisco, (1678).
Sierra, Álvaro Flores, (1670)–73.
Silva, Pedro, (1678).
Slesac, Francisco, 1767.
Sola, Miguel, 1750.
Somera, Miguel Fern., 1750–67.
Soto, Francisco Jav., (1678)–88.
Steb, Juan, 1767.
Steiger, Gaspar, 1733–62.
Tapia, Gonzalo, 1591–4.
Tapia, José, (1676–8).
Tello, Tomás, 1750–1.
Tomás, Gaspar, 1678–81.
Toral, José, 1730–50.
Torices, Francisco, (1632).
Torres, José, 1743.
Ugarte, Martin, 1604–24.
Urquisa, Antonio, 1678.
Valladares, Diego, 1750.
Vandersipe, Diego, (1618)–51.
Varela, Gaspar, (1619)–36.
Varela, Juan, (1619)–36.
Varilla, Gaspar, 1696–1701.
Vega, Miguel, 1749–67.
Velarde, Luis, 1702–30.
Velasco, Juan B., (1592)–1613.
Velasco, Pedro, 1607–(1621).
Ventura, Antonio, 1767.
Victoria, Alonso, (1678).
Villafañe, Hernando, (1592)–1634.
Villafañe, Nicolás, 1678.
Villalta, Cristóbal, 1604–23.
Villanuño, 1649.
Villaroya, Francisco Jav., 1763–7.
Vivas, Luis, 1753–67.
Wazet, José, 1767.
Weis, Javier, 1767.
Zambrano, Pedro, (1631).
Zamora, Marcos, 1730.
Zerquera, Juan, 1750.

CHAPTER XXI.

NUEVA VIZCAYA, OR DURANGO AND CHIHUAHUA.

1701–1767.

GOVERNMENT AND LIST OF RULERS—PRESIDIOS AND INDIAN WARFARE—RIVERA'S TOUR—BERROTARAN'S REPORT—PRESIDIAL CHANGES—MISSION ANNALS—REPARTIMIENTOS—THE JESUIT COLLEGE—SECULARIZATION OF THE DURANGO MISSIONS—STATISTICS—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—LIST OF MISSIONARIES—THE FRANCISCANS—SECULARIZATION—CUSTODY OF PARRAL—MISSIONS AT JUNTA DE LOS RIOS—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AND LIST OF BISHOPS—TAMARON'S VISITA AND REPORT—STATISTICS OF POPULATION—LOCAL ITEMS IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH—SAN FELIPE EL REAL DE CHIHUAHUA AND MINES OF SANTA EULALIA.

FROM 1701 to 1767, the period covered by this chapter, there was no other change in the boundaries than the separation of Sinaloa and Sonora in 1733–4 as elsewhere related, and none whatever in the political, military, or ecclesiastical government of Nueva Vizcaya. The capital was still Durango, but the governor and captain-general was permitted to have his headquarters for most of the time at Parral, more conveniently located for the supervision of Indian affairs. Juan Bautista Larrea was governor from 1700, and Juan Felipe Orozco y Molina lieutenant-governor to 1714, there being no record respecting intermediate rulers if there were any such. Ex-governor Pardiñas was exiled from New Spain in 1703 for engaging in contraband trade. Manuel de San Juan y Santa Cruz ruled from 1714; Martin de Aldai from 1720; José Sebastian Lopez de Carbajal from 1723; Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia from 1728; Juan Francisco de Vertiz y Ontañon, about 1737; Juan Bautista de

Belaunzaran, with Manuel de Uranga as lieutenant-governor, in 1738–48; Alonso Gastesi, ad interim, in 1752–4; and José Cárlos de Agüero in 1760–8. It is not unlikely that there were two or three other rulers not named in this list. The actions of these successive chiefs gave rise to no important controversies or scandals so far as can be known.[1]

There were five presidial garrisons at the beginning of the century: Pasage, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, Conchos, and Janos, besides small detachments of troops at Durango, Santa Catalina, and various other points at different times. Of Casas Grandes as distinct from Janos nothing more is recorded. For the first fifteen years savage hordes from the Bolson de Mapimi constantly infested the line of travel northward to Parral in spite of the protection afforded by the presidios of Pasage and Gallo. Disasters were frequent and sometimes serious, though few particulars are known. Haciendas were repeatedly plundered and destroyed until the country was nearly abandoned. Caravans of traders and travellers required a strong military escort, and even when thus protected were several times defeated with heavy loss. The Indians sometimes fought desperately when cornered, but generally avoided a conflict with the soldiers unless the advantages were all on their side, reaching their inaccessible retreats in the mountains with the loss of a few men after every raid. In 1704 a junta of high officials experienced in northern warfare was held in Mexico and resolved on a systematic series of campaigns in the regions between Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila.[2]

[1] On the succession of rulers, government, and Indian affairs see: *Berrotaran, Informe; N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 5–12, 14–21, 39–47, 194; *N. Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 150–1, 338–49; *Rivera, Diario; Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 73, 98, 202–3; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 60–2; *Id., Not. Chih.*, 23; *Instruc. Virreyes*, 99–100; *Maltratamiento de Indios*, MS., no. 9; *Certif. de Mercedes*, MS., 40–3; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 340–50, 422–3; *Castro, Diario*, v. 114; *Nayarit, Frag.*, MS., 3–4; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 114; *Lizazoin, Inf.*, 687–8; *Robles, Diario*, iii. 458; *Cedulario*, MS., i. 217; *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 167; *Arévalo, Comp.*, 30; *Gaceta de Mex.*, v. 180.

[2] Record of the junta de guerra in *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 5–12. The

The result of these movements after a number of years seems to have been that the country was restored to a condition of comparative security, though danger was never entirely averted even in the vicinity of the larger towns.[3] Meanwhile the line of presidios was strengthened by the reoccupation of Mapimi in 1711, and the stationing a garrison at San Bartolomé which soon became a regular presidio. From 1715 also Governor San Juan claimed not only to have afforded adequate protection by military measures, but to have established an Indian pueblo on the Rio Nazas with the most beneficial results. He advocated the forming of other similar towns as the best means of securing permanent peace; and he also favored a reëstablishment of the presidios in new positions on the frontier in fertile spots where villas would take their places in a few years.[4] Governor Aldai had been a famous Indian-fighter, and during his rule in 1720 some of the worst of the hostile bands came voluntarily to live in peace near Cerro Gordo. In 1725 Brigadier-general Pedro de Rivera made a tour of inspection, visiting each presidio. His diary was published,[5] but contained nothing of his official acts or recommendations. In accordance with

members were Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, governor-elect of N. Mexico, Gregorio de Salinas y Baraona, captain and ex-governor of Coahuila, Juan Ignacio de Vega y Sotomayor, Martin de Sabalza, and Captain Juan de Salaiza. A guard of 10 men was to be left in each of the presidios, and all the rest, 230 in number, should march in detachments from different directions to the haunts of the hostiles.

[3] According to *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 202–3, the savages committed depredations in the outskirts of Durango in 1735, killing two persons and taking three captives for torture. At Canatlan, San Juan del Rio, and Casco within two years no less than 40 were killed.

[4] Undated petition of Gov., or Ex-gov., San Juan, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 14–21.

[5] *Diario y Derrotero de lo caminado, visto, y Obcervado en el discurso de la visita general de Precidios, situados en las Provincias Internas de Nueva España, que de órden de Su Magestad executo D. Pedro de Rivera, Brigadier de los reales exércitos. Haviendo transitado por los Reinos del Nuevo de Toledo, el de la Nueva Galicia, el de la Nueva Vizcaya, el de la Nueva Mexico, el de la Nueva Estremadura, el de las Nuevas Philipinas, el del Nuevo de Leon. Las provincias, de Sonora, Ostimuri, Sinaloa, y Guasteca. Ympresso en Guathemala, por Sebastian de Arebalo, año de 1736.* Folio, 38 l., with MS. notes. It is a detailed diary of the route, with slight descriptive details of the places visited.

the latter, however, a new reglamento was issued in 1729, affecting, so far as Nueva Vizcaya was concerned, only minor details of presidio management, and not the number or position of the presidios.[6]

While the main route and the Spanish establishments thus became comparatively safe, it was yet necessary for the troops to undertake one or more expeditions each year to protect some threatened point or bring out fugitive and threatening neophytes from their mountain retreats. Captain José de Berrotaran, in command at Mapimi and Conchos for thirty-five years, made a report to the viceroy in 1748 on the campaigns made by himself and the other captains during that period, which document is the best authority extant not only on Indian affairs but on the succession of rulers.[7] It would serve no good purpose to catalogue the various expeditions mentioned, one being very much like another, and many similar campaigns being chronicled in other parts of this work. After 1743 it appears that the southern garrisons had no service in the field, and a proposition was made to save expense by suppressing them. Berrotaran opposed this policy, claiming that peace was maintained only by the presence of the soldiers; though he approved some changes of sites, and also favored the policy of founding towns of Indians and Spaniards, he having been successful in 1728 in founding the pueblo of Cinco Señores with one hundred and twenty Tarahumara families brought out from the barrancas of the Sierra.

In 1751 five of the seven presidios were suppressed, Gallo, Mapimi, San Bartolomé, Cerro Gordo, and

[6] Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 60–1, implies that the 7 presidios were established by this reglamento; but they had all existed before. The force at Janos was 47 men, at each of the other posts 33 men, a reduction from the former force. In Durango a pestilence of measles is recorded in 1728, also a severe snowstorm and epidemic in 1736–7.

[7] *Berrotaran, Informe acerca de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d series, i. 161–224, dated Mexico, April 17, 1748. The other presidio captains whose services are to some extent recorded in this report were Francisco José and Juan B. Lizaola, Martin and José Aldai, Juan de Salaiza, José de Beasoain, Antonio Rodela, and Antonio Becerra.

Conchos; leaving Pasage in the south and Janos in the north-west, besides Paso del Norte belonging to New Mexico in the north-east. In 1752, however, a new presidio was founded at Guajuquilla with a double garrison to take the place of Conchos, San Bartolomé, and Cerro Gordo;[8] and in 1760 the presidio of Belen was founded near the junction of the Conchos and Rio del Norte, to be transferred in 1766 to a new site at Julimes. The marqués de Rubí made a tour of inspection in 1766, and his diary, kept by the engineer Nicolás Lafora, is similar to that of Rivera in 1725, containing little beyond local items.[9] Meanwhile nothing is known in detail of either savage raids on the northern frontier from Janos to El Paso, or of campaigns against the Apaches. With a few unimportant exceptions of local happenings we have only the general complaint in all reports, secular, missionary, and ecclesiastical, that each establishment was constantly exposed to destruction at the hands of the cruel foe, and that the Apaches often acted in secret concert with renegade Tarahumares and natives of other tribes nominally converted.

There are no missionary annals proper extant for this period, not even the monotonous local particulars so abundant in earlier times; yet most that has been said of the padres' troubles and triumphs in the last part of the seventeenth century might doubtless be repeated in a general way for the first half of the eighteenth. The period of true prosperity had passed; but the decadence arising from savage raids, neophyte apostasy, and controversy with ecclesiastical and secular authorities, seems to have been somewhat less

[8] According to García Conde in *Soc. Geog. Mex., Bol.*, v. 269; *Escudero, Not. Chih.*, 23, General Hugo Oconor made a tour of inspection about 1750, and his report seemed to have caused the changes. The authors named are apparently in error, however, when they speak of the presidios of Janos, Galeana, Carrizal, Norte, Coyame, S. Elceario, and S. Cárlos, besides the flying companies of Jimenez, Namiquipa, Conchos, and S. Pablo as established at this period.

[9] *Lafora, Viage á Santa Fé de Nuevo Mexico, 1766.* MS.

rapid and disastrous than in the coast provinces. Later in this chapter I present some local statistics showing the condition of the different establishments in 1767. In a *consulta* of 1744 the governor discoursed at length to the viceroy on the condition of the mission and pueblo Indians, showing that very little had been accomplished toward reducing the natives to well-ordered, christian, civilized, and Spanish-speaking communities. The system of repartimientos was deemed to be a necessity, and should be of great benefit to the laborers as well as the employers; but irregularities had practically made it a curse. Four per cent of the community was the repartimiento allowed by the king; but in reality on requisitions from captains, alcaldes, and other subordinate officers many of the pueblos were nearly depopulated at the time of planting. The Indians were cheated in the matter of time, left free from all control in respect of religion and morals, and forced to go long distances for their wages, which were paid in such articles as the agents happened to have rather than in such as the laborers needed. Thus they were forced into the mountains in quest of food not existing at their homes; and from being fugitives they readily became rebels. The governor favored an increase of the repartimientos from four to thirty-three and one third per cent; but at the same time insisted that the system should be subjected to strict and wholesome regulations, which should apply not only to employers in mines and haciendas but to missionaries, military officials, and native alcaldes and governors. Doubtless many similar complaints were made without any practical results.[10]

I have before me a report on the condition of the Jesuit college at Durango, from 1742 to 1751. Spiritually and in the matter of education the institution with its eight resident padres had accomplished satis-

[10] Sept. 1, 1744, governor of N. Vizcaya to viceroy, in *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 39–47; also MS., in *Maltratamiento de Indios*, no. 9.

factory results. It had entertained without charge all sick and indigent travellers who had presented themselves; religious exercises had been regularly performed in honor of the different saints, though sometimes on credit, the sums of money promised not always being paid; and the padres had often been cheered by miraculous interventions which are minutely described. Yet in temporal affairs the college was represented as on the brink of ruin, there being no hope of succor from human sources. Buildings were dilapidated; live-stock had nearly disappeared; a debt of $27,000 had been incurred; and drought had raised the price of food to fabulous rates. The seminary at Parral, according to Alegre, had been abandoned in 1745.[11]

As early as 1746 the Jesuit provincial had proposed to give up the Durango missions, that is those of the Tepehuana and Topia districts, to the bishop. Only slight fragments of the ensuing correspondence for six years are extant; but it appears that the bishop was greatly troubled by a lack of curates to replace the missionaries, and there were bitter complaints that the Jesuits had not taught their neophytes to speak Spanish, thus greatly increasing the difficulties of the clergy. There was also trouble about the division of property. The bishop proposed to divide it into three portions, two for the church and one for the Indians by whose sweat and blood it had been accumulated; while the Jesuits protested, unsuccessfully as it would seem, that the 'sweat and blood' of the missionaries should be taken into the account. Finally the secularization was accomplished in 1753, when twenty-two establishments, all that existed in Durango, with five of Tarahumara Baja in

[11] *Anua del Colegio de Durango, 1742–51*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. iv. 48–59; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 284. See *Braun, Carta...sobre la apostólica vida, virtudes, y santa muerte del P. Francisco Hermano Glandorff*, Mexico, 1764, 8vo, 33 pages, on the life of one of the prominent Jesuits who died at Tomochic in 1764, after 40 years of service. The author also served in Chihuahua.

Chihuahua, were turned over to the church. Father Och, who visited this region in 1756, tells us that secularization was an end of all prosperity on account of the bad character and inexperience of the curates, some of them mulattoes. Some establishments were abandoned within three months; and the church property went rapidly to ruin. Och said mass at an abandoned mission, where the natives not only attended in person but brought three hundred skulls, that their dead friends might share the benefit. There is reason to suspect that this Jesuit somewhat exaggerates the destruction caused by the transfer.[12]

In 1705, according to Berrotaran, there had been seventy-one mission pueblos under the Jesuits in Nueva Vizcaya, a number increased to seventy-five in 1748.[13] In 1751 fifty-one Jesuits were serving, sixteen in the college and at Parras, Parral, and Chihuahua, and thirty-five at the same number of missions in the three districts of Tarahumara, Tepehuana, and Piastla as Topia was then called.[14] In 1753 twenty-two of the establishments were secularized as just mentioned. In 1763 there remained fifteen missions, or about fifty pueblos, all in Tarahumara Alta.[15] And finally, at the time of the expulsion in 1767, nineteen padres were serving at nineteen missions, while an equal number were stationed at the college and residencias.[16] Of circumstances connected with the expulsion from Chihuahua nothing whatever is

[12] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 287–9; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, ii. 120; *Casati, Dictámen del Padre Provincial sobre la entrega de 22 misiones, 1750; Instruccion de Virreyes*, 98–9; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 169; *Och, Reize*, 68–71; in the *Memoria de las 22 misiones cedidas por la Compañía de Jesus á la Mitra de Durango, á fines del año de 1753*, in *N. Vizc., Doc. Hist.*, iv. 60–1, the establishments are named as follows: Topia; S. Ignacio de Piastla, S. Juan, Sta María de Utias (Otais), S. Gregorio, Otatitlan, Tasula (Tamazula), Baridaguato, Coriantapan. Tepehuana; Cinco Señores, Papasquiaro, Zape, Las Bocas, S. Pablo, Guexotitlan, Sta Cruz de Herrera, Sta María de las Cuevas, and Satevo.

[13] *Berrotaran, Informe*, 206–7.

[14] *Catalogus Personarum Soc. Jesu.* The distribution is indicated in the local items in note 23, as is also that of the catalogue of 1767.

[15] *Tamaron, Visita*, MS.

[16] *Comp. Jesus, Catálogo.* Those expelled may be identified by the date in the list in note 17.

known. Seven of the exiles died on the way to Europe. I append an alphabetical list of one hundred and eighty-seven Jesuits who served in Nueva Vizcaya from the beginning. It is doubtless much less complete than the lists for Sonora and Baja California.[17]

[17] The dates show when each padre is known to have been in the country, but not always when he came or departed.

Abee, Juan Isidro, 1767.
Acacio, Juan, 1616.
Acebedo, Diego, 1616–64.
Agreda, Antonio, 1751.
Agustin, Juan, 1598.
Ahumada, Luis, 1615.
Alavez, Luis, 1602–16.
Álvarez, Juan, 1616–23.
Álvarez, Luis, 1750.
Arias, Antonio, 1717.
Arista, ——, 1755.
Arrieda, Rafael, 1751.
Arteaga, Francisco, 1678.
Arteaga, Manuel G., 1678.
Ascarza, Domingo, 1767.
Ayerve, Floriano, 1609.
Bañuelos, Francisco, 1678.
Barrio, Fernando, 1678.
Barrionuevo, Francisco, 1674.
Basilio, Jacome Antonio, 1652.
Basurto, Joaquin, 1751.
Betancur, Juan, 1615.
Boltor, Juan, 1678–1729.
Braun, Bartolomé, 1751–67.
Bravo, Cristóbal, 1678.
Caamaño, Fernando, 1751.
Cardaveraz, Diego, 1751.
Carmona, Mateo, 1767.
Cartagena, Manuel, 1751.
Castillo, Andrés, 1678.
Castillo, Rodrigo, 1645–68.
Castro, Diego, 1616.
Celada Francisco, 1678–1707.
Cepeda, Nicolás, 1645.
Chaves, José, 1751.
Cisneros, Bernardo, 1608–16.
Conte, Juan, 1616.
Contreras, Diego, 1678.
Contreras, Gaspar, 1615–53.
Corro, Ildefonso, 1767.
Cuervo, Pedro, 1767.
Cuesta, Pedro, 1678.
Cueto, Gonzalo, 1609–33.
Diaz, Cosme, 1767.
Diaz, Gabriel, 1630.
Dominguez, Tomás, 1615.
Donazar, Joaquin, 1751.
Escalante, Pedro, 1665–78.
Escameta, Bartolomé, 1759.
Escobar, Cristóbal, 1746.
Espadas, José, 1767.
Espinosa, Juan Agustin, 1594.
Estrada, Gerónimo, 1630–78.
Estrada, Ignacio, 1717.
Ferrer, Nicolás, 1678.
Figueroa, Gerónimo, 1639–68.
Flores, Manuel, 1767.
Fonte, Juan, 1598–1616.
Foronda, Juan Ortiz, 1690.
Franco, Lázaro, 1767.
Fuente, Antonio, 1767.
Fuentes, Juan, 1751.
Gamboa, Juan Manuel, 1675.
Gera, Lorenzo, 1751.
Giron, Luis Tellez, 1751.
Glandorff, Herman, 1751–63.
Godinez, Comelio, 1650.
Gomez, Alonso, 1610.
Gomez, Luis, 1615–52.
Gonzalez, Andrés, 1616.
Gonzalez, Claudio, 1767.
Gonzalez, Javier, 1767.
Gonzalez, Juan Manuel, 1767.
Gonzalez, Miguel, 1751.
Gravina, Pedro, 1616–35.
Guadalajara, Tomás, 1678.
Gualde, Pedro, 1742.
Guendulain, Juan, 1725.
Guerra, Vicente, 1767.
Guevara, José, 1678.
Gustambide, Pedro, 1742.
Heredia, Juan, 1630.
Hidalgo, José Antonio, 1751–67.
Hierro, Cristóbal, 1751.
Hierro, Juan Manuel, 1751.
Ibarra, Arias, 1717.
Iranzo, José, 1767.
Isassi, Francisco, 1751.
Jatino, Leonardo, 1664.
Jimenez, Diego Pedro, 1632–78.
Kauga, Juan Francisco, 1751–67.
Kiylt, Antonio, 1767.
Larios, Diego, 1615.
Lartundo, Juan, 1767.

Of the Franciscan establishments even less is known than of those under the Jesuits, though evidently the experience of the two orders was much the same during this period. Arlegui, whose standard chronicles were published in 1737, gives a few details for the first years of the century. He mentions the murder of the friars Ramiro Álvarez and Diego Evia by the Indians of San Bernardino de Milpillas in 1702, and the con-

Lomas, José, 1609–18.
Lopez, Andrés, 1605.
Lozano, Francisco Javier, 1751–67.
Maez, Vigilio, 1646–50.
Mallen, Juan, 1616.
Mancuso, Luis, 1717.
Maten, Santiago, 1767.
Medina, Ignacio, 1662.
Medrano, Francisco, 1678.
Mendoza, Francisco, 1662–78.
Miqueio, José, 1751.
Moranta, Gerónimo, 1602–16.
Moreno, Cristóbal, 1751.
Morillas, Juan Sebastian, 1751.
Muñoz, 1645.
Murillo, Dionisio, 1751.
Nájera, Gaspar, 1616–64.
Nava, Juan José, 1751.
Navarrete, Francisco, 1717.
Nortier, Juan, 1767.
Nuñez, Juan Antonio, 1751.
Och, Joseph, 1756.
Orena, Antonio, 1678.
Orozco, Diego, 1602–16.
Osorio, Diego, 1645.
Palacios, Rafael, 1767.
Palma, Blas, 1751.
Pangua, Diego Diaz, 1615.
Pascual, José, 1639–52.
Pastrana, José, 1751–67.
Pereira, José, 1767.
Perez, Francisco José, 1750.
Plaza, Francisco, 1678.
Prado, Martin, 1678.
Prieto, Sebastian, 1751.
Ramirez, Francisco, 1594.
Ramirez, Gerónimo, 1596–1621.
Retes, Pedro, 1751–3.
Rico, Felipe, 1751.
Rinaldini, Benito, 1743–51.
Rios, Antonio, 1751.
Rivas, Andrés Perez, 1616.
Rivero, Ramon, 1767.
Robledo, José, 1751–9.
Robles, Cristóbal, 1661.
Robles, Pedro, 1678.
Rodero, Gaspar, 1717.
Rodriguez, Estévan, 1664.
Ruanova, Felipe, 1751–67.
Ruiz, Alonso, 1600–18.
Saenz, Diego, 1678.
Salazar, José, 1751.
San Clemente, Gerónimo, 1609.
Sanchez, Manuel, 1690.
Sanchez, Mateo, 1751.
Santander, Hernando, 1599–1616.
Sarmiento, Juan, 1665–78.
Serrano, Francisco, 1635.
Serrano, Juan Domingo, 1753.
Sola, Miguel, 1767.
Soto, Bernabé, 1662.
Steffel, Mateo, 1767.
Sterkianowski, Antonio, 1767.
Suarez, Pedro, 1638–62.
Sugosti, Ignacio, 1742.
Tarda, José, 1674–8.
Texeiro, Antonio, 1751.
Tobar, Hernando, 1608–16.
Torija, Juan, 1751.
Treviño, Bernardo, 1751–3.
Trujillo, Gaspar, 1751.
Tutiño, Andrés, 1602–16.
Ugalde, Pedro, 1753.
Urizar, Miguel, 1751.
Urroz, Antonio, 1767.
Urtasum, José, 1767.
Uveis, Francisco, 1751.
Uvirs, Miguel, 1751.
Vadillo, Francisco, 1767.
Valdés, Francisco, 1678.
Valdés, Miguel, 1767.
Vallarta, Martin, 1751.
Valle, Juan del, 1608–16.
Valle, Juan del, 1740.
Vazquez, Nicolás, 1751.
Vega, José Honorato, 1767.
Vera, Francisco, 1610–78.
Villar, Gabriel, 1648–78.
Vivanco, Manuel, 1767.
Yañez, Luis A., 1751–67.
Ydiaquez, Antonio, 1751.
Yta, Sebastian, 1615.
Zapata, Juan Ortiz, 1662.

sequent transfer of the convent to San Francisco de Lajas the next year, this being the twenty-eighth convent of the Zacatecas province. Arlegui records several instances of attacks upon parties of travellers, in which friars were terrified, robbed, and once even wounded, but not killed. Indeed he claims that the Franciscans were often spared by the savages when they had no pity for members of other orders Several cases of miraculous rescue in response to prayer are recounted. About 1703, according to the same authority, the bishop attempted to secure the secularization of twelve Franciscan doctrinas; but by sending a representative to Spain the friars obtained from the council of the Indies an order of restoration.[18] All of the southern missions were, however, turned over to the secular clergy before 1763, when Bishop Tamaron mentions seven or eight of them as being under curates; but I have found no record whatever of the transfer or even its date.

In the north, or the modern Chihuahua, the custodia of San Antonio del Parral was formed by a bull of Clemente XI. in 1714, and put in operation by the provincial council of San Luis Potosí in 1717. Padre Antonio Mendigutia was the first custodian, and his jurisdiction extended from San Bartolomé to Casas Grandes.[19] In 1714 the natives living near the junction of the Conchos and Rio del Norte asked for missionaries, their country having been visited several times in former years. Accordingly in 1715 padres Gregorio Osorio and Juan Antonio García, with a guard of thirty soldiers under sergeant major Juan Antonio Transviña Retis, went to the Junta region and began the work of conversion. Five or six friars soon came to join the pioneers, and six missions were founded, including eleven pueblos. For about ten years all went well; but then the Indians became dissatisfied at the neglect of the government to accede

[18] *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 92–3, 201–8, 250–2.
[19] *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 13; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 124–5.

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to their petitions regarding irrigation works, and finally revolted in a quiet way, causing the friars to retire in 1725. The abandonment continued, except for occasional temporary visits when the natives were always friendly, until 1753. In this year the reoccupation of the Junta missions was ordered, and though there were some delays in the matter of obtaining proper military escorts, it would seem that very soon the object was accomplished.[20] I find no definite record of the reoccupation; but Tamaron in 1763 reports the missions as in existence, though the natives were at that time rebellious, making objection to the presidio lately founded in their country. The presidio as we have seen was soon removed to Julimes. In these years the Franciscans had in Nueva Vizcaya twelve missions with 4,000 neophytes. They also received the old Jesuit missions in 1767.

On the promotion of Bishop Legaspi, Manuel de Escalante Columbres y Mendoza was appointed in 1700 to the see of Durango. He had been four times rector of the university of Mexico, and to his name was attached a long list of ecclesiastical titles. Taking the green hat in Mexico on July 26, 1700, he took possession of his office on September 29, 1701, and held it until 1704, when he was made bishop of Michoacan. Bishop Escalante was especially noted for his charity, having pledged even his pontifical robes in that sacred cause. Ignacio Diego de la Barrera, who had been doctor of canon law and advocate of the audiencia,

[20] *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 131–72, containing many details of the original founding in correspondence, with Retis' diary of his expedition; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 424–5; *Mosaico Mex.*, vi. 163. Berrotaran, *Informe*, 177–9, mentions a difficulty about irrigation works in 1720, when Capt. Lizaola went to investigate and make promises; see also *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 312–13, 319–20. Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero*, mentions the revolt in 1725, in which two friars are said to have been taken prisoners. The mission pueblos of the Junta de los Rios were: Santiago de la Ciénega del Coyame, Nra Sra Begoña del Cuchillo Parado, Loreto, S. Juan Bautista, S. Francisco de Asis de la Junta, Nra Sra de Aranzazu, Guadalupe, S. José, S. Antonio, and S. Cristóbal. The friars were: Osorio, García, Raimundo Gras, Antonio Aparicio, Francisco Lipiani, Luis Martinez Clemente, and Andrés Baro.

became bishop on May 7, 1705, and died in office September 20, 1709. Barrera distinguished himself by attempting to establish a collegiate seminary, which however by his successor was incorporated with the Jesuit college. This successor was Pedro Tapiz, a native of Andosilla, Spain, who had been abbot and vicar-general. He took possession by proxy February 21, 1713, and died April 13, 1722. Three days after his death he was appointed bishop of Guadalajara. The next incumbent was Benito Crespo, knight of Santiago, dean of Oajaca, and formerly rector and professor in the college of Salamanca. His appointment was dated March 22, 1723; and on January 20, 1734, he was transferred to the diocese of Puebla. Bishop Crespo made three extensive tours through Nueva Vizcaya and the coast provinces, and was the first to visit New Mexico. His confirmations numbered forty-six thousand, and he built many churches in Durango.[21] Martin de Elizacoechea, a native of Azpilcueta, Navarre, educated at Alcalá, and who had held high positions in Spain and Mexico, having been proposed for the see of Cuba, was next made bishop of Durango, which office he held from September 6, 1736, to March 8, 1747, when he was promoted to the see of Guadalajara. This bishop's term was marked by a controversy and law-suit between him and the bishops of Guadalajara and Valladolid respecting the tithes of cattle straying across the diocesan boundaries to graze. On April 9, 1747, the appointment was made in favor of Pedro Anselmo Sanchez de Tagle, a native of Santillana, educated at the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, and who had been senior magistrate of the inquisition in Mexico. He took possession August 27, 1749, and ruled until September 26, 1757, when he was made bishop of Michoacan. At the same time Pedro Tamaron was made bishop of Durango,

[21] *Crespo, Memorial Ajustado*, is an argument in a law-suit between this bishop or his successor and the Franciscan authorities, arising from the appointment of a vicar in New Mexico and other acts not approved by the missionaries.

taking the office in 1758. He was a native of Toledo, Spain, and came to America in 1719 in the suite of the bishop of Caracas, where he completed his studies. His rule ended with his life on December 21, 1768, his death occurring in Sinaloa. Tamaron issued several series of instructions for priests and friars; and he spent much of his time in tours of inspection. In obedience to royal orders he kept a full record of his travels and observations, which record for 1759–63 is one of the most valuable sources of information extant, being utilized in this and other chapters, especially for local items and statistics.[22]

From the elaborate report of Bishop Tamaron's episcopal tour of 1759–63, confirmed but only very slightly modified by comparison with several other general accounts pertaining to the period covered by this chapter, I extract the local items appended in the form of notes.[23] From the statistics thus presented

[22] For list of bishops and ecclesiastical affairs generally in 1701–67, see: *Concilios Prov.*, 142, 333–5, 346, 372–5; *Iglesias y Conventos, Rel.*, 317–18; *Ramirez*, in *Ilust. Mex.*, i. 22–4; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, ii. 54–6; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 143–4; vii. 207–8; viii. 375; ix. 269; *Robles, Diario*, iii. 257; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d series, iv. 119–20, 171–209; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 593; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 228; *Arévalo, Compendio*, 13, 37; *Apostólicos Afanes*, 381; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 108; *Iglesia de Dur., Espejo, Jurid.*, passim; *N. España, Breve Res.*, MS., ii. 317–19, 346; *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., passim; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 337–9; *Providencias Reales*, MS., 71–2; *Castro, Diario*, vi. 230; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 298; *Buelna, Compend.*, 57.

Padre Matías Blanco is described as a distinguished theologian and professor in the college of S. Pedro y S. Pablo of Durango. He left some works in print and MS., dying in 1734. In 1702 some Franciscans from Querétaro held a mission, or revival, in Durango, causing much commotion. Income of the diocese in 1728, $60,000. In 1736, $22,000 for bishop's share. In 1767, $50,000, bishop's share $12,519. Tithes from 1756 to 1767 were $460,303.

[23] *Rivera, Diario y Derrotero* (1725); *Guendulain, Carta* (1725); *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro* (1745), ii. 339–67; *Berrotaran, Informe* (1748); *Tamaron, Visita* (1759–63), MS.; *Lafora, Viage á Sta Fé* (1766), MS.; *N. España, Breve Resúmen* (1767), MS., ii. 346. Also the following, chiefly referring to the cities of Durango and Chihuahua: *Santos, Chron. Hist.*, ii. 465–6; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 59–63, 98–9, 107–9; *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iii. 13; iv. 119–20, 195, 316–17, 462; *Arévalo, Comp.*, 94–5, 174; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 229, 314–15, 517; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, i. 270; ii. 220; iii. 178; *Iglesias y Conventos, Rel.*, 322–4; *Diccionario Universal*, ix. 72.

Durango, capital city, residence of the governor—or in late years of the lieutenant governor—of Nueva Vizcaya; also cathedral town of the bishopric of Guadiana, or Durango. Population, 8,937. Four convents or monastic institutions of different orders, a hospital, and several churches and chapels; branch of the royal treasury; secular and ecclesiastical cabildos; fine water-

it appears that in southern Nueva Vizcaya, that is the modern Durango with parts of Sinaloa on the west and the Parras and Saltillo districts of Coahuila on the east, there was a Spanish and mixed population of about 46,000 souls. Only a small percentage of this gente de razon was of pure Spanish blood; and it would seem that the number must have included many laborers in the mines and haciendas who were full-blooded Indians. Nine thousand of this population lived in the capital city of Durango; while the rest were distributed in some thirty-six settlements, including two villas, one presidio, and fourteen reales de minas, besides many large haciendas which were practically small towns. There were about forty towns, or communities of Indians so called, represent-

works built by Bishop Crespo about 1728, at his own expense of about $7,000. Many descriptive details of the city with its buildings, institutions, and surroundings, are given in the authorities cited. The cathedral curate had charge of three visitas: San Juan Analco, in suburbs of Durango, with 610 Tlascaltecs; Tunal, 2 l. s. w., 328 Indians; Santiago, 3 l. s., 221 Ind.

Nombre de Dios, villa; not apparently in the bishopric of Durango, as it is not mentioned by Tamaron. Lafora in 1766 found 'a few Spaniards, some mulattoes,' and 800 Mexican Indians under an alcalde mayor and curate.

Mezquital (S. Francisco), 20 l. s. w. Dur.; formerly a Franciscan mission, pop. 257 gente de razon, 121 Ind.; also hacienda of Sta Elena, 4 l. w., pop. 193. The curate has charge of six visitas: Sonora, 20 l. w., 96 Ind.; Jaconosta, 20 l. s., 57 Ind.; Sta María, 35 l., 264 Ind.; Tenaraca, 40 l. s. w., 165 Ind.; Ocotan, 50 l. s. w., 165 Ind.; Jicara, 55 l., 79 Ind.

Guazamota (Sta María), 70 l. s. w. Dur., 50 l. from Mezquital, on the borders of Nayarit; a Franciscan serves as curate; 153 Ind. Visitas: S. Bernabé, 4 l. N., 59 Ind.; S. Antonio, ½ l. N., 190; S. Lúcas de Galpa, 2 l. s., 299 Ind. All very destitute and liable to destruction.

Lajas (S. Francisco), 50 l. s. Dur., 60 l. N. Guazamota; Franciscan curate; 220 Ind. Visitas: Milpillas, 1 day N. E., 52 Ind.; Tagicaringa, 1.5 days w., 39 Ind.; Ylametech, 1.75 days w., 69 Ind.

Pueblo Nuevo (Concepcion), 2 l. w. Lajas, 40 l. s. w. Dur.; formerly belonged to Jesuits; P. Nicolás Vazquez in 1751; 348 Ind. Under the curate is the mining camp of San Diego del Rio with a population of 246, and many silver mines.

Guarizame (S. Pedro), 40 l. N. Pueblo Nuevo, 40 l. w. Dur.; Jesuit mission to 1753; 193 Ind. Visita, Tumazen, 8 l. N., 114 Ind.

Otais (Sta María), 4 l. N. Guar., 74 l. w. Dur.; secularized in 1753; 221 gente de razon, 125 Ind.; P. Juan Fuentes in 1751. Visita, Bassis, 12 l. E., 50 l. w. Dur., a real de minas discovered in 1763 and causing a great rush, chief mine called Tajo; pop. 2000.

San Gregorio, 2 days from Otais; secularized in 1753; 91 Ind.; gente de razon at S. Javier, 4 l. w., 99; La Huerta, 10 l. N., 84; S. Juan 20 l. w., 52; Rincon, 128; Sta Efigenia, 35. Visita, Soyupa (Soibupa), 7 l. w., 114 Ind. P. Mateo Sanchez in 1751.

Los Remedios (formerly S. Ildefonso?), 3 days s. Soyupa; secularized 1753; 146 de razon, 108 Ind.; P. Miguel Gonzalez in 1751. Visitas, S. Juan, 6 l. s.

ing the old mission pueblos, now under secular curates, with an aggregate population of eleven thousand. Thus the nominally civilized and christianized inhabitants numbered somewhat less than sixty thousand; the number of gentiles in the mountains of Durango cannot be even approximately estimated, but was comparatively small.

Again I append in a note similar local statistics for

w., 106 Ind.; Sta Catalina, 6 l. N. w., 105 Ind.; also valleys of Palma and Amaculi, pop. 123.

Valle de Topia (S. Pedro), 43 l. from Soyupa, formerly Franciscan mission; 142 Ind., 78 de razon, also 47 at the Topia mine 8 l. north. Visitas: Canelas, real de minas, 14 l. w., pop. 395; Sianori, mines, 20 l. w., pop. 432; Tabahueto, mines, 20 l. N., pop. 115.

Tamazula (S. Ignacio), 3 days S. from Sianori and Canelas; P. Manuel Cartagena in 1751; secul. 1753; 225 Ind. Visita, Agua Caliente, 2.5 l. N. E., 115 Ind.; 820 de razon in ranchos.

Zape, secul. 1753, 78 Ind. Visita, Guanasevi, real de minas, 5 l. N.; mines of La Paz 20 l. E.; gold mine of Merced 3 l. w., pop. of all 805.

Santa Catalina, 48 l. N. w. Dur., 14 l. s. Zape; P. Pedro Retes in 1751; secul. 1753; 65 Ind., 948 de razon.

Papasquiaro (Santiago), 12 l. s. w. Sta Catalina; P. Antonio Rios in 1751; secul. 1753; 101 Ind.; the whole parish has a pop. de razon of 2,728. Visitas: Atotonilco, 3 l. N., 261 Ind.; S. Nicolás, 3 l. s. w., 115 Ind.

Canatlan (S. Diego), 12 l. N. w. Dur.; formerly a Franciscan mission; 133 Ind.; also many haciendas with a pop. of 2145.

San Juan del Rio, 24 l. N. Dur.; formerly Franciscan mission; curate has 4 assistants; 363 Ind., 2588 gente de razon. Visitas: Avinito, real de minas, 10 l. N. E. S. Juan, pop. 1,230; Pánuco, mines ½ l. from Avinito, pop. 1,469; Coneto, mines, 12 l. s. S. Juan, pop. 736 in 1761, but greatly reduced before 1765.

Cuencamé, real de minas, pop. with haciendas of Atotonilco and Saucillo, 2,148. The curate has 6 lieutenants. Visitas: Santiago, near Cuencamé, 100 Ind.; Oguila, 1.5 l. E., 166 Ind.; El Peñol, 10 l. w., 447 Ind.; Cinco Señores, 15 l. N., once a Jesuit mission, P. Felipe Ruanova in 1751, 22 Ind. In the adjoining haciendas, a pop. of 898.

Pasage, presidio, 3 l. N. N. w. Cuencamé, 25 soldiers, pop. 509 in district.

Parras (Sta María), 60 l. E. Cuencamé, 1,559 Ind., 3,813 de razon. Visitas: Patos, hacienda, 20 l. E., owned by Marqués de Aguayo, pop. 1,201; 300,000 sheep. Álamo, Tlascaltec town, 20 l. w., 455 Ind., 270 de razon. Morfi, *Diario*, 384–99, gives some particulars about this district, which was very productive, but cursed by land monopolists. Most of the land was owned in 1778 by three non-residents.

Saltillo, villa; no statistics, as it was not in the bishopric of Durango, but in that of Guadalajara. With its haciendas it probably had a population of not less than 5,000. In 1726 there were over 700 Tlascaltecs.

Mapimi, formerly a presidio, 60 l. w. Parras, pop. 1,260. It had been resettled in 1716, after long abandonment.

El Gallo, a presidio until 1751, 20 l. N. E. Mapimi, pop. 546. Pop. 800 in 1766, according to Lafora.

El Oro, real de minas, 41 l. N. Gallo, pop. 1,082. Visitas: Sta Cruz, 3 l. s. w., Jesuit mission until 1753; P. Cristóbal Moreno in 1751, 148 Ind.; 28 de razon on hacienda of Encino; Indé, real de minas, 6 l E., pop. 866; Hacienda

northern Nueva Vizcaya, or the modern Chihuahua.[24] Here there were twenty-three thousand Spanish and mixed gente de razon, living in sixteen settlements with adjoining haciendas and ranchos, including two villas, four reales de minas, and three presidios. The christianized native population of twenty-seven thousand was divided in three classes: five thousand living in Indian pueblos under parish priests as in Durango; four thousand in twelve missions, or twenty-three pueblos, under Franciscan missionaries; and eighteen

de Mimbres, 7 l. E. N. E. Indé, pop.—with ex-presidio of Cerro Gordo, and other haciendas—1,032; Tizonazo, 8 l. S., formerly Jesuit mission; P. Manuel Vivanco in 1751, 217 Ind.; Hacienda S. José de Ramos, 18 l. S. W., pop. 742.

Las Bocas, 19 l. N. El Oro, 15 l. S. S. Bartolomé, formerly Jesuit mission; P. Juan Fran. Kauga in 1751, 251 Ind., 296 de razon in parish. Visita, San Gabriel, 2 l. W. Bocas, 102 Ind.

[24] Valle de San Bartolomé, pop. 1,833 (pop. of district in 1766, including 21 haciendas, 4,751), curate; also Franciscan convent. Presidio removed in 1751. Visita, San Francisco de Conchos, 20 l. N. E., 289 Ind.; Conchos, ex-presidio, pop. 1,330.

Atotonilco, Franciscan mission, 10 l. E. S. Bartolomé on Rio Florido, 280 Ind.

Guajuquilla (Nra Sra de las Caldas), new presidio founded in 1752, 5 l. E. Atotonilco. Garrison, 65 men; pop. 1,400 (?). In 1766 according to Lafora 26 men had been withdrawn, and the pop. besides soldiers was 195.

Parral (S. José), real de minas, 7 l. N. N. W. S. Bartolomé, 20 l. W. Conchos, pop. 2,693. Curate, Franciscan convent, and Jesuit college. Parral was often the residence of the governor and captain-general, who left a lieutenant at the capital.

Santa Bárbara, real, called also a villa, 6 l. W. Parral, pop. 1,020.

Tarahumara Baja: Santa Cruz del Padre, 30 l. N. N. W. Sta Bárbara, formerly Jesuit mission, P. Cristóbal Moreno in 1751; 348 Ind., 767 gente de razon in curacy. Visitas: S. Felipe, 10 l. E. N. E., near R. Conchos, 242 Ind.; La Hoya (Olla?), 4 l. N. N. W., 218 Ind.; S. José, 10 l. N., 129 Ind.

Huexotitlan (S. Gerónimo), 10 l. S. Sta Cruz, formerly Jesuit mission; P. Benito Rinaldini in 1751, 112 Ind. Visitas: Guadalupe, 5 l. N., 30 Ind.; S. Ignacio, 5.5 l. N., 120 Ind.; S. Javier, 1.5 l. S., 170 Ind.; Ciénega de los Olivos, 6 l., pop. 740 de razon in vicinity.

San Pablo, 7 l. S. W., S. Javier, 240 Ind., with two adjoining rancherías, Baguirachi 130, and Tecorichi 282 Ind. Formerly Jesuit mission; P. Lázaro Franco in 1751. Visitas: S. Mateo, 4 l. N., 264 Ind.; S. Juan, 2 l. W., 45 Ind., and an adjacent Spanish settlement, pop. 287.

Tarahumara Alta: Satevo, 40 l. N. Parral, 448 Ind., 760 de razon. Formerly Jesuit mission; P. Juan Ant. Nuñez in 1751; Visita, Sta Ana de la Hoya, 5 l. N., 100 Ind.

Babonayagua (Santiago), 3 l. N. Satevo, 203 Ind.; Franciscan serving as curate; 109 gente de razon. Visitas: Guadalupe, 5 l. N., 100 Ind.; Concepcion, 6 l. N., 90 Ind.

San Lorenzo, 28 l. W. Chihuahua, 8 l. S. Cuziguariachic, 589 Ind., 345 de razon. Formerly Jesuit mission. Visitas: Cuevas, 6 l. E., 747 Ind.; P. Felipe Rico in 1751; Sta Rosalía, 3 l. E., 246 Ind.

Coyachic (S. Ignacio), Jesuit mission, 8 l. S. S. Lorenzo, 30 l. E. (W. ?)

thousand in the fifteen Jesuit missions, or fifty pueblos, of Tarahumara Alta. Thus the total population of so-called civilized beings in Chihuahua was about sixty thousand as in Durango, though the Spanish population was only half that of the southern province.

Near the Franciscan mission of Nombre de Dios mines were discovered in the first years of the century, about 1703–5, which proved to be among the richest in the new world. Contradictory statistics extant make the product of silver before 1800 from fifty to one hundred millions of dollars. Two reales

S. Felipe el Real, 3 l. w. Cuziguariachic, 283 Ind. Visitas: Cuziguariachic, 4 l. s. (?), 290 Ind.; Napabcchic, 7 l. w. (or 8 l. N.), 210 Ind. In 1725 these three pueblos had 614 Ind., showing a gain of 169. P. José Hidalgo in 1751; Francisco Vadillo, 1767.

San Francisco de Borja (Tehuacachic), Jesuit mission, 15 l. s. E. Coyachic (16 l. from Carichic), 415 Ind. Visitas: Sta Ana, 4 l. s. w., 453 Ind. (in 1725, Yequatzi, 3 l. E.); Teporachic (or Teopari), 5 l. E. (or 6 l. N.), 110 Ind.; Saguarichic (or Soguarachi), 3.5 l. N. (or 3 l. W.), 302 Ind. There were in all 417 families in 1725. P. Luis T. Giron in 1751; Mateo Steffel in 1767.

Nonoava (Nra Sra Monserrate), Jesuit mission, 12 l. s. Borja, 750 Ind. Visita, Umariza, 8 l. s. (or N.), 420 Ind. Population of the two in 1725, 1,070. P. Antonio Ydiaquez in 1751; Pedro Cuervo in 1767.

Sisoguichic (Nombre de María), Jesuit mission, 20 l. N. N. W. Nonoava, 332 Ind. Visitas: Bacoina, 3 l. w., 326 Ind.; Guasarori, 12 l. s., 114 Ind.; Vacaino, 18 w., 319 Ind.; total, 1,091. In 1725 there were 1,960, the two visitas being called Guacuina and Gacayba, under P. Juan Francisco Rexis. P. Martin Vallarta in 1751; Ildefonso Corro in 1767.

Gueigachic (Nra Sra del Pópulo), Jesuit mission, 50 l. W. Sisoguichic, 460 Ind. Visitas: Pamachic, 6 l. N., 621 Ind.; Guagueibo, 6 l. W., 208 Ind.; Sameichic, 8 l. E., 229 Ind. P. Bart. Braun in 1751; José Iranzo in 1767.

Tonachic (S. Juan Bautista), Jesuit mission, 50 l. W. Gueigachic, 400 Ind. Visita, Tecabonachic, 18 l. s. W., 278 Ind. P. Santiago Maten, 1767.

Horogachic, or Norogachi (Nra Sra del Pilar), Jesuit mission, 18 l. N. Tonachic, 1,525 Ind. Visitas: Papahichic, or Paipachi, 6 l. s., 1,084 Ind.; Tetaguichic, 10 l. w., 910 Ind.; Paguichic, 8 l. N., 345 Ind. In 1725, 1,220 Ind. P. Lorenzo Gera in 1751; Antonio Sterkianowski, 1767.

Carichic (Jesus), Jesuit mission, 40 l. N. Horogachic, 12 l. s. Cuziguariachic, 507 Ind. Visitas: Bacaguerachic, or Bocarinachic, or Bucaguarachi, 5 l. s., 564 Ind.; Teguerichic, 15 l. s., 276 Ind.; Pasigochic, or Pangochic, 4 l. w., 263 Ind.; Tagirachic, 3 l. w., 184 Ind.; in 1725, 2,034 Ind. P. Luis Yañez, in 1751–67.

Temaichic, or Tameichi (S. José), Jesuit mission, 14 l. s. Pasigochic, 16 l. E. Cuziguariachic, 180 Ind. Visitas: Álamos, 10 l. E., 243 Ind.; Pachera, 4 l. N., 304 Ind.; Pichachi, or Pichachiqui, 7 l. w., 265 Ind.; in 1725, 991 Ind. P. José Miqueo in 1751; Antonio Kiylt, 1767.

Tomochic (Concepcion), Jesuit mission, 20 l. E. Temaichic, 368 Ind. Visitas: Tresiachic, 9 l. N., 404 Ind.; Caburichic, 18 l. s., 344 Ind.; Peguachic, 9 l. w., 164 Ind. In 1725, Temotzi, with visitas, Aleasachi and Culiachi, with 2,112 Ind. under Padre Glandorff. P. Glandorff to 1764; P. Juan Manuel Gonzalez in 1767.

Papigochic (Purísima), 75 l. E. Tomochic, Jesuit mission, 328 Ind. Visitas: Paguirachic, or Pugiburachi, 3 l. s., 221 Ind.; Muguriachic or Moleachic, 3 l.

de minas, or mining towns, were founded a few leagues apart and named respectively San Felipe and Santa Eulalia. The former in 1718 was made a villa under the title of San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, this being the first appearance of the name Chihuahua since applied to the state, having been probably the Indian name of a ranchería in the vicinity. Notwithstanding its position on the distant frontier, exposed to constant inroads of the savage

w., 93 Ind. In 1725, 500 families. P. Sebastian Prieto in 1751; José Vega, 1767.

Santo Tomás, Jesuit mission, 50 l. w. Chihuahua, 4 l. N. Papigochic, in valley of the Basuchi, 631 Ind., 40 de razon. Visitas: S. Miguel, 1 l. w., 228 Ind.; Cocomorachic, 12 l. w., 910 Ind.; in 1725, 1,770 Ind. P. Blas Palma in 1751; Rafael Palacios, 1767.

Matachic (S. Rafael), Jesuit mission, 5 l. s. w. Sta Tomás, 200 Ind. Visitas: Tegolocachic (S. Gabriel), 4 l. s., 143 Ind., 11 de razon; in 1725, 638 Ind. P. Felipe Ruoanova in 1767.

Temotzachic (S. Javier), Jesuit mission, 3 l. N. Matachic, on Yaqui River, 616 Ind. Visita, Tepomera, 3 l. w., 510 Ind., 105 de razon. In 1725 there were 980 Ind. P. Juan Manuel Hierro in 1751; Bartolomé Braun, 1767.

Chinarras (Sta Ana), Jesuit mission, 6 l. N. E. Chihuahua, across river from S. Gerónimo, 74 Ind. In 1725 seven families under P. Antonio de Arias. P. Dionisio Murillo in 1751; Claudio Gonzalez, 1767.

Cuziguariachic (Sta Rosa), real de minas, 30 l. w. Chih., pop. 1,353, under curate. Visita, Cieneguilla, 7 l. E., pop. 546, with rancho of Laguna, 8 l. N.

Bachiniva (Natividad), Franciscan mission, 5 l. w. Cuziguariachic, 100 Ind. Visita, Cosiquemachic, 79 Ind.

Namiquipa, Franciscan mission, 20 l. N. Cuziguariachic, 12 l. N. E. S. Buen., 42 Ind., 70 de razon. In 1763 the fiscal was killed by the Indians and the padre Ignacio Fernandez died of fright. Visita, Cruces, 6 l. s. w., 86 Ind.

San Buenaventura, Spanish settlement, 60 l. N. E. Chih., pop. 479, and 118 in the Cármen hacienda. Exposed to attacks of savages, and guarded by 30 soldiers from Guajuquilla.

Janos, presidio, 30 l. N. S. Buen., garrison of 50 men, pop. 434 (455 in 1766), under a chaplain curate. District swarms with Apaches.

San Andrés, Franciscan mission, 10 l. N. Cuziguariachic, 183 Ind., 210 de razon. Visitas: S. Bernabé, 10 l. N. w., 210 Ind.; S. Buenaventura, 6 l. w., 394 Ind.

Santa Isabel, Franciscan mission, 8 l. s. S. Andrés, 20 l. w. Chih., 285 Ind. Visitas: S. Bernardino, 6 l. s., 88 Ind.; Sta Cruz, 7 l. s., 319 Ind.; Concepcion, 7.5 l. w., 61 Ind.

Chihuahua (San Felipe el Real), villa, chief town of the province in population and commerce, surrounded by rich mines, but in constant danger from the Apaches. Population 4,652, 55 at Sacramento rancho, 115 at Fresnos, and 37 prisoners and 12 Ind. at Encinillas, 18 l. N. Curate, 4 priests, and 13 presbyters. Jesuit college and Franciscan convent. Cabildo with one corregidor, 2 alcaldes, one procurador, 3 deputies for trade and mines, assayer, etc. Lafora in 1766 says the town was visibly declining on account of non-productiveness of mines and Indian raids; pop. 400 families.

Santa Eulalia, real de minas, 5 l. E. Chih., pop. 4,755, under a lieutenant corregidor and assistant curate. Bishop Tamaron in 1760 blessed the first stone of a fine church.

Nombre de Dios, Franciscan mission, 1 l. N. Chih., 100 Ind. Visitas: S.

Apaches, the new town was for many years the most flourishing Spanish settlement in all the North Mexican States. Before 1767, as we have seen, it had a population of nearly five thousand, while Santa Eulalia had the same number in its immediate vicinity, including many haciendas. The grand cathedral which is still shown to visitors as the city's chief attraction is said to have been built at a cost of nearly a million by a tax of one real on each mark of silver produced by the Santa Eulalia mines, amounting to about one and a half per cent. Most authorities represent the edifice as having been completed in 1789; but others say it was built in twelve years, from 1738 to 1750. In the *Gaceta de Mexico* of November 1728 I find that the audiencia in that year approved the offer of the miners to pay half a real on each mark of silver for the building of the parish church; and it is to be noted that Bishop Tamaron, speaking of the church in 1760, describes it as "de fábrica sumptuosa, which might anywhere be a fine cathedral," not implying that it was incomplete. The bishop also blessed the corner-stone of a fine church at Santa Eulalia, which may indicate that the tax in favor of Chihuahua was no longer collected.

Gerónimo, 4 l. E., 121 Ind.; Chuviscar, 4 l. W., 123 Ind., with sitio of S. Juan Alamillo, 8 l. N., pop. 28.

Santa Cruz Tapacolmes, Franciscan mission, 9 l. S. Julimes, 20 l. W. Conchos, 69 Ind.; visita, S. Pedro, 7 l. S., 74 Ind.

Julimes, Franciscan mission, 22 l. N. Chih., 52 Ind. Visita, S. Pablo, 4 l. S., 36 Ind. In 1766 the presidio of Junta de los Rios was transferred to Julimes el Viejo, according to Lafora.

Junta de los Rios, 4 Franciscan mission pueblos, under 3 padres, not visited by Bishop Tamaron on account of the Indians being in revolt in 1760. The missions were: S. Juan Bautista, near the Conchos, 5 l. from the junction, 309 Ind.; two visitas, Mezquites and Conejos, having been joined to the cabecera; S. Francisco, W. of the Conchos at the junction, 167 Ind.; Guadalupe, across the Conchos from S. Francisco, 194 Ind.; S. Cristóbal, 1 l. down river from Guadalupe, 117 Ind., its visita Puliques, 10 l. below, having been abandoned.

Belen, or Junta de los Rios, presidio, midway between S. Francisco and Guadalupe. Founded in 1760, much to the displeasure of the natives; garrison of 50 men, pop. 138. Transferred as stated above to Julimes in 1766.

CHAPTER XXII.

TEXAS, COAHUILA, AND NEW MEXICO.

1701–1800.

A Glance at New Mexico—Coahuila, or Nueva Estremadura—Government and Rulers—General Progress and Statistics—Local Items—Chronological Record—Military and Mission Affairs—Texas, or Nuevas Filipinas—Operations of St Denis—Ramon's Expedition—Missions Refounded—Governor Alarcon—Founding of Béjar and San Antonio—French Invasion—Expedition of Governor San Miguel de Aguayo—Villa of San Fernando—Reduction of Military Force—Querétaro Friars Transfer their Missions—French Boundary Question—Succession of Governors—Apache Warfare—Penitent Lipanes—Troubles of the Friars—Missions of San Javier—Rábago's Excesses—Contraband Trade—San Sabá Presidio and Mission—Zeal of Conde de Regla—A Massacre—Parrilla's Campaign—Rule of Oconor and Ripperdá—Northern Establishments Abandoned—Bucareli and Nacodoches—Querétaro Friars Retire—Efforts of Mezières—Morfi's Work—Local Affairs—Condition of the Province—Last Decades of the Century.

For the earlier periods I have given a brief sketch of New Mexican history; but now that the time of exploration, of conquest, of mission-founding, of revolution, and of reconquest was past, annals of the province afford scanty material for a résumé. The country had fallen into the condition of monotonous non-progressive existence that sooner or later came upon most Spanish provinces. One governor succeeded another at intervals of a few years, most rules being marked by quarrels and complicated legal investigations. The friars toiled faithfully according to their methods and lights to keep their mission communities in the narrow path. The missionary force varied from forty to twenty-five during the

century; the neophyte population from fifteen thousand to ten thousand; while the Spanish and mixed population increased from perhaps five thousand to twenty thousand. The mission Indians, though baptized and complying with certain religious obligations, were practically not changed by their nominal conversion, and were still strongly addicted to their old idolatries. Hardly a year passed without rumors of impending revolt; but no great disaster occurred. Early in the century Zuñi was abandoned for a time but recovered; while the Moquis in despite of entreaties and force persisted in maintaining their religious independence, even in the later years when drought, pestilence, and raids of savages had reduced their numbers from seventeen thousand to less than one thousand, though many individuals of this nation were baptized from time to time. Shortly after 1767 several of the missions adjoining Spanish settlements were put in charge of secular curates; and after the ravages of small-pox in 1780–1 the missions were reduced against the wishes of the friars to nineteen by consolidation. Controversies were frequent, but not very bitter. Santa Fé, La Cañada, Alburquerque, and El Paso acquired a Spanish population of over two thousand each. Trade was carried on both by Spaniards and Indians with the northern gentiles; and each year a great caravan of traders went to Chihuahua to exchange products of the north for needed articles of merchandise. Meanwhile attacks of savage foes on the frontier posts were frequent; and there were few years in which a campaign, generally ineffective, was not made by the presidial forces. Some bands of Apaches, Comanches, and Navajos were generally on the war-path, while others found it advantageous from time to time to make treaties of peace. Warfare against the savages was more actively waged under Governor Anza after the organization of the Provincias Internas; and finally the Comanches, after defeat in several campaigns, became allies of the

Spaniards against the Apaches. Details of New Mexican annals for the century are given in another volume of this series.[1]

The province of Coahuila, also called Reino de la Nueva Estremadura, extended northward across the Rio Bravo to the Rio Medina, which was generally regarded as the boundary between that province and Texas, known also as Nuevas Filipinas.[2] In 1785 the district of Saltillo and Parras was detached from Nueva Vizcaya and added to Coahuila, making the southern boundary practically the same as on modern maps. In 1691–2, as we have seen, Domingo Teran de los Rios was governor of Coahuila and Texas, and was succeeded perhaps by Francisco Cuervo y Valdés. In 1702 or a little later Martin de Alarcon became governor,[3] and his authority was extended over Texas on the reoccupation of that province in 1716. His successor, the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, ruled both provinces in 1719–22; as did possibly his successor, Fernando Perez de Almazan, in 1722–6; but later each province seems to have had a separate ruler.[4] The rulers of Texas will be named later in this chapter; for Coahuila I find no record of their names—except that Clemente de la Garza was governor in 1738—until 1753, when Pedro Rá-

[1] See *Hist. N. Mex. and Ariz.*

[2] The boundary line is not a very satisfactory one, as the Medina is a branch of the San Antonio, and there is no indication that the southern bank of this stream near the gulf was ever deemed a part of Coahuila. A map of about the middle of the century, copied from the *Archivo General*, in *Prieto, Hist. Tamaulipas*, and given in *Hist. Mex.*, iii., this series, makes Nuevo Santander extend up to the San Antonio; but nothing else appears in support of such a division. Again Morfi, in 1778, *Diario*, 452, says the Nueces was the line between Texas and Santander; but this view is also unsupported. As a matter of fact there were no exact bounds, as none were needed. Coahuila and Santander had settlements on the Rio Grande; Texas on the San Antonio; and there was no settlement between. Why the Medina rather than the Nueces or Hondo was generally spoken of as the bound it is hard to determine.

[3] *Alarcon, Relacion*, MS., 306, etc. In 1704 Gregorio de Salinas y Baraona is named as ex-governor. *N. Viz., Doc. Hist.*, iv. 6.

[4] According to *Guerra de N. Esp.*, ii. 711, the separation was in 1720. Yoakum, *Hist. Tex.*, i. 77, following a document in the Béjar archives, tells us that separate governors were appointed in 1727.

bago y Teran held the office, as he had done perhaps for many years. In 1756 Angel Martos y Navarrete took the place; and about 1760 changed places with Governor Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui from Texas. The end of Barrios' term does not appear; but after him ruled Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola,[5] succeeded in 1778 by Juan de Ugalde, and he apparently by Pedro Fueros in 1783, who was still governor in 1789.[6]

From 1776 Coahuila and Texas belonged to the Provincias Internas, the organization and changes of which government are noted in another chapter; and from 1786 Colonel Ugalde held the military power as comandante de armas.[7] Also in 1786 the two provinces were attached to the intendencia of San Luis Potosí; but of political rulers after Fueros under the new system I find no record. In judicial matters these provinces were transferred in 1779 from the audiencia of Mexico to that of Guadalajara; and ecclesiastically in the same year from the see of Guadalajara to the new one of Nuevo Leon.[8]

Coahuila in this century was in every way more prosperous than Texas, obstacles in the way of progress though of similar nature being somewhat less formidable. The province was often raided by savages, but they came from a distance and their ravages were local. The natives as neophytes were not perhaps less fickle and lazy and vicious than those of Texas, but they were more completely under control of the friars, and the Tlascaltecs in several establishments were comparatively models of industry. Many settlers of Spanish and mixed blood were of the usual worthless character; but there were exceptions, and in several districts haciendas, ranchos, and even a few mines were prosperously maintained. No serious derelictions are recorded against provincial or presidio rulers; nor do they seem to have been often involved in controversies

[5] *Morfi, Diario*, 415, 418.
[6] *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 76; *Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Cal. Man.*, 86.
[7] *Instruccion formada en virtud de real órden.*
[8] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 291.

with the missionaries. But it was only in comparison with one or two other provinces, and taking into consideration the difficulties encountered by a small and indolent population constantly exposed to the attacks of savage hordes, that Coahuila could be called flourishing; and mission work was almost a complete failure. The number of mission Indians was about 1,800 in 1786, and 1,600 seven years later; but two thirds of the number were Tlascaltecs. The total population of neophytes and gente de razon, including the families of the soldiers, was estimated in 1780 at about 8,000, but was nearly doubled by the addition of the Saltillo and Parras district in 1785. I append some items of local information respecting the different establishments.[9]

[9] Monclova, Santiago de, villa and presidio, capital, founded 1687. Presidio sometimes called San Francisco. Garrison of 35 men, and population of 400 families—150 Spanish—in 1744–5. Annual cost of presidio about 1758, $13,057. By the reglamento of 1772 the presidio was transferred to the Rio Grande, about 20 leagues above S. Juan, with 43 men; but I have no record of its annals at the new site except the visit of Gen. Croix in 1778. The villa consisted in 1778 of low adobe buildings; public edifices insignificant.

San Miguel de Aguayo, adjoining Monclova on the north, founded as a mission in 1675. Arricivita says it was sacked by the Tobosos in 1702, which may be an error. Adjoining San Miguel, and forming a separate *barrio*, and practically a part of the town of Monclova in later years, was San Francisco de Nueva Tlascala, founded with Tlascaltecs about 1690. The natives, and to a less extent the Tlascaltecs, became of mixed Indian, negro, and Spanish blood before 1778, when there was a good church at S. Francisco, under a curate. Tithes had yielded $80,000 above expenses. A barefooted friar took charge of S. Miguel in 1781. In 1786 S. Miguel had a population of 192, and S. Francisco of 470. One hundred and eighty-one and 399 were the figures in 1793.

San Fernando de Austria, or de Rosas, villa, founded in 1753, in the valley of Las Animas, 13 (or 3) l. s. w. of the presidio of Monclova, 22 l. w. of S. Juan Bautista. Seventy-six families in 1778. Two ranchos of Patiño and San Ildefonso near by.

Agua Verde, presidio, 3.5 l. from the Rio Grande, 10 l. N. W. of Monclova presidio, visited by Gen. Croix in 1778. This was apparently one of the four presidios—Monclova, Cerro Gordo, S. Sabá, and Sta Rosa—transferred to the Rio Grande by the reglamento of 1772.

Santa Rosa, villa, 26 l. s. w. of the presidio of Monclova, near the Rio Sabinas. Visited by Croix and Morfi in 1778. Some ranchos and mines in the vicinity. Here seems to have been the presidio of Sacramento, founded in 1736, and having a garrison of 50 men in 1744–5. No record of the change from presidio to villa. Perhaps it was in 1772, and this was the presidio called Sta Rosa.

San Antonio de la Babia, presidio, 32 l. N. N. W. of Sta Rosa, 16 l. E. of N. Vizcaya boundary. Visited by Croix in 1778. This was another of the four presidios transferred in 1772, the other two being beyond the limits of Coahuila.

Nadadores, Nra Sra de la Victoria, or Santa Rosa, mission, founded about

There is but little to add in the form of chronological annals. At the beginning of the century the Querétaro friars obtained a military guard soon constituting the regular presidio of San Juan Bautista, under the protection of which they maintained near the Rio Grande several missions for many years. At times there was much prosperity in respect of agriculture and stock-raising. Sometimes one or more of the missions, as in 1715, were abandoned on account of Apache raids. Sometimes the neophytes ran away; but others were found to take their places. The records are very meagre so far as details are concerned. In 1729 there was, as Berrotaran tells us,

1677, 7 l. w. of Monclova villa. Soon abandoned by natives, whose place was taken by Tlascaltecs. Population 305 in 1786, under a Franciscan of the Pachuca college since 1781. Population 309 in 1793. Nothing is heard of S. Buenaventura after 1745, when it is mentioned by Villa-Señor.

San Juan Bautista, or presidio del Rio Grande, founded in 1702; continued with garrison of 43 men by reglamento of 1772. A badly constructed, ugly town in 1778. The captain had civil jurisdiction over three missions, a villa, and several ranchos. Chaplain got $1,500 per year in fees.

San Juan Bautista mission, adjoining the presidio; founded 1699, but transferred to this site in 1700. Down to 1761 the baptisms by the Querétaro friars were 1,434; burials 1,606. Population in 1778, 35. In 1786 the mission had 75 Indians, 30 stone houses, 4,200 sheep, 380 cattle. Fertile fields and extensive irrigation works. Good church and buildings. Population 63 in 1793.

San Bernardo, near the presidio of S. Juan, founded in 1703, and the site changed several times. Baptisms numbered 1,618 down to 1761. In 1777 deemed the richest mission in Coahuila. An irrigation canal 20 l. long brings water from the river. Fine church nearly completed, but described as a wretched affair in 1786. Population in 1786, 146; 5,000 sheep, 250 cattle, 270 horses, 40 stone houses. One hundred and three Indians in 1693. A mission of San Francisco Solano, transferred to S. Ildefonso Valley in 1703, and to the Rio Grande, 3 l. from S. Juan, in 1708, was finally moved to the San Antonio River in Texas in 1718.

Peyotes, Nombre de Jesus, mission, 11 l. from the Rio Grande, founded in 1688, and on later site perhaps in 1698. The poorest of all the missions, sometimes had no padre. Thirty-five Indians in 1777; 59 in 1786; 56 in 1793.

San Pedro de Gigedo, villa, adjoining Peyotes mission; founded about 1753 or later with 'delinquent mulattoes' and other settlers. Under spiritual care of the mission. Two hundred and seven inhabitants in 1786.

San Francisco Vizarron, mission, near Peyotes, and 10 l. from the presidio; founded 1737. Nearly ruined when the barefooted friars took charge. Baptisms, 1781–7, 285. Population in 1786, 108; in 1793, 82.

San Bernardino de Candela, mission, near the border of N. Leon, 24 l. from Monclova; founded in 1690 with Tlascaltecs and natives, the latter disappearing later. Tlascaltec population in 1786, 488; in 1793, 448.

San Cárlos, villa, adjoining S. Bernardino; founded in 1774, or possibly transferred here from a short distance where it had been established a little earlier. Population 381 in 1786. Served by padre of the mission.

an exploration of the Rio Grande from San Juan up to the Conchos junction. Cavo says that two presidios were founded in 1736, thirty and fifty-five leagues respectively distant from Monclova. One of them was Sacramento, or Santa Rosa; but I know nothing of the other. The historian Villa-Señor y Sanchez includes in his work much information about the condition of Coahuila in 1745. In 1771–2 the Querétaro Franciscans gave up their missions to the Jalisco friars. According to Arricivita they had baptized in Coahuila and Texas 10,244 natives, burying 6,434, and leaving to their successors 1,064. The reglamento of 1772 transferred the presidios of Monclova and Santa Rosa, with San Luis from the San Sabá in Texas, to the vicinity of the Rio Grande, to form with San Juan and with the garrisons of Texas and Nueva Vizcaya a line of frontier defences against the savages. In 1777–8 the province was visited by the Caballero de Croix, commander of the Provincias Internas; and in Padre Morfi's diary of the expedition we have an excellent description of all the establishments. From this time an earnest effort seems to have been made to render the military service more effective, and with much success, especially under the direction of Colonel Ugalde, who both as governor and comandante de armas made many successful campaigns against the Apaches in both provinces. We have no definite record of mission affairs while the Jalisco friars were in exclusive charge; but it was clearly a period of rapid decadence and not of progress. In 1781, however, all the missions were turned over to the barefooted Franciscans of the Pachuca college; and these zealous workers in the face of great difficulties seem to have effected a marked improvement as is shown in the reports of 1786–7 by padres Arze y Portería and García. The viceroy Revilla Gigedo included in his report of 1793 a full account of the Coahuila missions, recommending their secularization. I suppose the establishments were put in

charge of curates before 1800, though I have found no record of the change. Indeed there is practically no information extant respecting events in these provinces during the last decade of the century.[10]

The Texas missions had been abandoned in 1693. The friars were always eager for a reoccupation, but their petitions for government aid were without effect. The necessary impulse for a new expedition, as for the original occupation, was to be afforded by the French. An officer from Louisiana is said to have traversed the country to the borders of Coahuila and back about 1705; and six years later Padre Hidalgo wrote to the French governor requesting his intervention in some unexplained manner among the Texan tribes.[11] We have only a bare mention of these things, and know not what influence, if any, they had on later developments. In 1713, however, Governor Cadillac authorized the same French officer, Louis de St Denis, to visit the old Spanish missions for the purpose of purchasing live-stock.[12] This was mainly but a pretext, the chief object being, not political encroachment as some have believed, but the opening of commercial relations with the Spanish settlements. St Denis left St Jean, near Mobile, in September with twenty-four Canadians, proceeding by water to Natchitoches on Red River, where he

[10] For Coahuila annals of 1700–1800 see *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 94–7, 216–22, 241–4, 439–49; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 445, 432–85, 528–34; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, ii. 306–19, 347–8; *Revilla Gigedo, Carta de 27 de Dic. 1793*, 444–7, also MS.; *Orozco y Berra, Carta Etnog.*, 303–4; *Arze y Portería, Informe dado al P. Guardian del Colegio de Pachuca, del Estado, pasado como actual de las misiones de Coahuila, 1787*, MS.; *García, Informe acerca de las Misiones del Rio Grande, 1786*, MS.; *Morfi, Diario*, 420–50, 467–87; *Presidios, Reglam. é Instruc.; N. España, Breve Resúmen*, MS., ii. 312–13; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS., 497–8; *Berrotaran, Informe*, 191; *Arlegui, Crón. Zac.*, 202–8; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 137; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 511. 514; *Soc. Geog. Mex., Bol.*, 2da ép. i. 570–1; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 63–5; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 239–40; *Rivera, Diario y Derrotero*, 53; *Ugalde, Documentos*, MS., passim; *Certificacion de Mercedes*, MS., 35–6.

[11] *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 160, 166, 242. Hidalgo's letter was dated Jan. 17, 1711. According to *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf*, 221–2, Hidalgo was blamed by the government for his suggestion of French intervention, the request having been merely to interfere to make peace between the tribes.

[12] Patent dated Sept. 12, 1713, in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 159–60.

left a large amount of merchandise and part of his men. In the spring of 1714 he went on to the country of the Tejas, where cattle were found in great abundance. The natives expressed a strong desire for the return of Padre Hidalgo and Captain Urrutia, the latter being perhaps one of the men who had returned to live with the Indians after the padres' departure. Accordingly a force of Tejas under the chief Bernardino joined St Denis, who sent back most of his Canadians, and was delighted to have an additional excuse for visiting the Spaniards. On the way they had a fight with the Lipan Apaches on the Rio San Marcos;[13] but they were victorious, and in August arrived at the presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande, where they were kindly received by Captain Diego Ramon.

The Frenchman was entertained at the presidio while the news of his arrival was sent to the governor and viceroy; and then by the latter's orders he was sent to Mexico, where he arrived in June 1715, and made a sworn statement respecting his journey and motives.[14] The authorities were somewhat startled at this bold entry of a foreigner into Spanish territory; and began to realize how easily that territory might be lost. St Denis himself warmly advocated the occupation of Texas, picturing the country in most glowing colors; and he even offered to enter the Spanish service in person. He also urged the advantages of an agreement making the Mississippi the boundary between the Spanish and French possessions.[15] The Frenchman's original purpose had been to lay the foundation for profitable smuggling operations; but during his stay at San Juan he had surrendered to the charms of Captain Ramon's daughter, whom he wished to marry; hence his zeal in behalf

[13] No longer confounded with the Colorado as before.

[14] *St Denis, Declaracion, 1715*, MS., in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 160–8; repeated in substance in the following *dictámen fiscal*. Also in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 29.

[15] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 133–4; *Juntas de Guerra*, MS., in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 266 et seq.

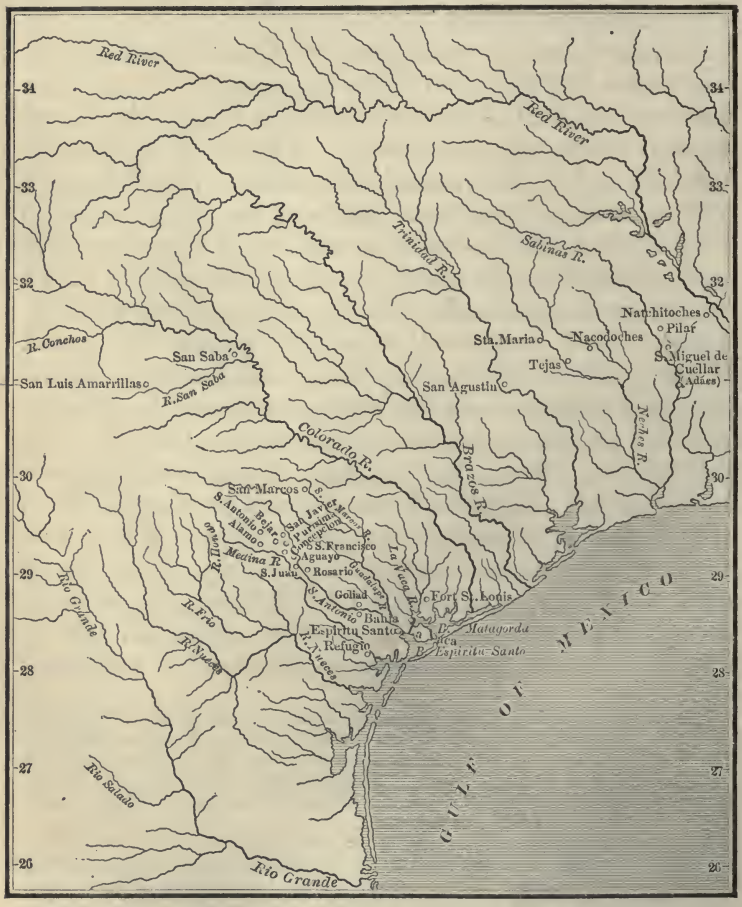
of the Spanish cause. Two juntas were held, at which it was decided to despatch an expedition and accept the services of Don Luis. By orders issued in October the command was given to Captain Domingo Ramon, St. Denis receiving the same salary of five hundred dollars.

For the missions were sent five Querétaro Franciscans under Padre Isidro Félix Espinosa, and four from Zacatecas under the famous Antonio Margil de Jesus, besides three lay brothers.[16] Twenty-five soldiers marched with the commander from Saltillo in February 1716; and from San Juan Bautista, after the marriage of St Denis with the commandant's sister or niece had been celebrated, the whole company set out in April for the promised land. The march was uneventful; in June they were well received by the Tejas and kindred tribes; and in July they established four missions and a presidio in the region between the Trinity and Red rivers, on or near the branches of the Neches and Sabinas. Two other missions were added this year or the next.[17] Captain Ramon went to Natchitoches on Red River, where the French had now a fort and garrison, and where he was hospitably entertained; while St Denis, accompanied by Alférez Ramon and several Spaniards, went to Mobile to settle his affairs, returning soon with a considerable amount of merchan-

[16] *Espinosa, Chrónica*, 417, the author being the prelate named. The other Querétaro friars were Gabriel de Vergara, Benito Sanchez, Francisco Hidalgo, Manuel Castellanos, Pedro Perez de Mezquia; and the Zacatecanos were Matías Sanz de San Antonio, Pedro de Mendoza, and Agustin Patron. On the life of P. Margil, see *Margil de Jesus, Notizie*, 74–82; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 1–157; *Espinosa, Nuevas Empresas*, 1–46.

[17] *Ramon, Derrotero para las Misiones, 1716, MS.*, in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 179–208; also in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 22. To it are joined reports of July 22d, by Ramon and the padres. All the members of the company are named. Diego Ramon was alférez. The six missions were as follows—there being no agreement respecting their exact location: S. Francisco (Tejas, Neches, or Nacoches), 4 l. farther inland than its former site; Purísima Concepcion (Asinais), 8 or 9 l. E. N. E. across a river; Guadalupe (Nacodoches), 8 or 9 l. E. S. E.; S. José (Noachis or Nazones), 7 or 10 l. N. or N. E.; Dolores (Aes); San Miguel de Cuellar (Adaes). The northern missions were given to the Querétaro friars and the southern to those of Zacatecas, or rather their efforts were to be made in those directions respectively. The founding of S. Miguel and Dolores is described by P. Margil in a letter of Feb. 13, 1718. *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 284–6.

dise.[18] Meanwhile the friars continued their work with some success. The natives were friendly, because it was now for their interest to be so; but were fickle, resisting all efforts to reduce them to regular pueblo



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life. The missionaries soon became clamorous for additional aid.

On December 2, 1716, a junta de guerra was held

[18] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 138; *Texas, Dict. Fiscal, 1716*, MS., passim.

in Mexico to consider Spanish interests in Texas. The records of this meeting, including particularly a report of the fiscal Velasco dated November 30th, form the best narrative extant of Texan annals from 1789, giving full details of all that I have presented in outline. The value of the province, the danger of French encroachment, and the urgent importance of putting the occupation on a secure basis were set forth in their strongest light. And it was accordingly decided to strengthen the military force, to send a better class of soldier-settlers, to adopt strict measures of precaution against contraband trade, to establish a new mission nearer Coahuila than those already existing, and to send a competent governor to rule over Texas and Coahuila. As to the fortification of Espíritu Santo Bay and the erection of a fort on the north-eastern frontier, it was thought that there was no urgent necessity for these measures at present, and that royal orders might be awaited.[19]

In the report just cited St Denis figured somewhat prominently, and his actions were pronounced suspicious in many respects. Several statements made by him in Mexico were declared to have been proven false. A letter from him to the French authorities in Louisiana urging the occupation of Espíritu Santo Bay was said to have been found. The Spanish comandante at Pensacola made some charges against him. The recent founding of Natchitoches, the visit of St Denis and Ramon to that fort and to Mobile, and the amount of goods brought back by the former, all tended to put the Frenchman's conduct in an unfavorable light. There is little room for doubt that the original purpose of St Denis, only slightly modified by his love affair, was to open the way for extensive and profitable smuggling operations. Such was the purport of the fiscal's conclusions, and Don Luis was brought to Mexico under arrest. Nothing very

[19] *Texas, Junta de Guerra, 1716*, MS., in *Id., Doc. Hist.*, 266–84; *Texas, Dictámen Fiscal*, 1716, MS., in *Id.*, 226–66.

serious was proved against him in the ensuing investigation, the friars and all others in Texas warmly espousing his cause; but in his wrath he indulged in some violent language and threats, which prolonged his imprisonment. In January 1719 his release was ordered by the king, but he was to be established in Guatemala, at a safe distance from the northern frontier. He had managed, however, to escape, and went with his wife to Louisiana, where he was soon put in command at Natchitoches.[20]

Martin de Alarcon was governor of Coahuila, and his authority was now extended over Texas, his appointment being dated February 9, 1716. His past services had given all classes a confidence in his abilities not justified by results. He was to introduce fifty married soldiers of good character into the province; and with a somewhat smaller number of doubtful character he entered Texas, or Nuevas Filipinas, early in 1718. On the river of St Anthony, far from the coast, he founded the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar, and near it the mission of San Antonio de Valero under Padre Antonio Olivares, who transferred to it a few neophytes from his abandoned mission of San Francisco Solano on the Rio Grande. Béjar was for a time considered the capital; but Alarcon went on to make an exploration of Espíritu Santo, and thence to the old missions, where he left a few soldiers. He resigned his position when the viceroy declined to furnish the aid he asked for. The friars claimed that Alarcon failed to carry out his instructions, and accomplished nothing for the welfare

[20] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 138–40. On St Denis' expedition and the reëstablishment of the Texas missions in 1716 see also: *Id.*, 12–13, 47–53; *Texas, Dict. Fiscal, 1716*, MS., 242–54; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS.; *La Harpe, Jour. Hist.*, in *Mayer MSS.*, No. 29; *Hidalgo, Carta, 1718*, MS., in *Texas, Doc.*, 290; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 415–46, 467; *Arricivita, Cron. Seráf*, 97–101, 221–5; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 324–6, 333–4; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 383–4; *Tornel, Tejas*, 17–21; *Alvares, Estudios*, iii. 353–64; *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 1797*, v. 448; *Filisola, Mem. Hist.*, i. 30–2; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep., i. 571; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i. 48–9, 65–6; *Gayarré's Hist. La.*, i. 165–78, 191; *Kennedy's Texas*, i. 218–19; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 226–7.

of the province; but they do not clearly specify the nature of his misdeeds. He succeeded in obtaining high praise in a royal order of 1719.[21]

War having been declared between France and Spain, the governor of Louisiana not only attacked Pensacola, but authorized hostile operations against Texas. In June 1719 a force of French and Indians from Natchitoches took possession of San Miguel de los Adaes, capturing the friar in charge, who escaped, however, to carry the news to the presidio and other missions.[22] Governor Alarcon had, apparently, left the country just before this invasion.[23] The friars favored resistance, or at least afterward claimed to have done so, but the soldiers refused to follow their advice, and retired without waiting for further hostilities to Béjar, whither the missionaries soon followed them. The inland presidio and its mission of San Antonio for two years constituted the whole of Spanish possessions in Texas, and from this post the garrison might easily have been driven; but the Frenchmen made no demonstrations, and do not appear to have crossed the Trinity River. Indeed, French policy in this affair is not clear. All mission and presidio property

[21] *Alarcon, Relacion de los Empleos, etc., del Sargento Mayor...caballero del Orden de Santiago*, MS., in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 300–13; *Alarcon, Directorio ó Instrucciones para el Viage, 1717*, MS., in *Id.*, 291–300; *Lopez, Misiones de Texas*, MS., in *Id.*, 413; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Texas*, MS., 141–3; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 437–8, 446–56; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 343; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Altimira, Puntos*, MS., 502–3; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 320–1, 334. I have before me a dozen or more works which give 1698 as the date of founding Béjar, and a few which favor 1692.

[22] The Spanish authorities imply that St Denis was in command of the party, composed mainly of Natchitoches and Cadodachos Indians; but such was perhaps not the case. La Harpe, *Historical Journal*, 72, who was at Nassonite, where he had established a French post in 1718, says he got news on Aug. 1st that M. Blondel at Natchitoches had driven away and pillaged the Franciscans at Los Adaes; also that the Spaniards had retired across the Trinity.

[23] It appears that he resigned because the viceroy refused aid to prevent French encroachments. La Harpe, *Hist. Jour.*, 70–1, gives some correspondence of May 1719 with Alarcon and Padre Marcillo (Margil?), in which the former protests against the French occupation of Nassonite, and the latter states that the governor will soon leave the country. It is hardly possible that Alarcon could have waited until the attack before retiring, for such an act would have made trouble for him in Mexico. If it were not for the correspondence cited I should suppose that he left the country considerably earlier than May 1719.

was destroyed, chiefly perhaps by the natives; but no effort was made to take permanent possession for France. We are tempted to believe either that the invasion was intended by St Denis as a temporary scare for the Spaniards, or that the comandante at Natchitoches acted without orders on hearing of the war; yet a party was sent down the gulf coast, and a weak attempt was made by La Harpe in 1721 to occupy Espíritu Santo Bay, without success because of opposition from the natives.[24] Meanwhile the Spaniards at Béjar did nothing but wait for aid from Mexico, listen to rumors of what the Frenchmen were doing, and finally in 1720 establish a new mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo near the presidio.

The French invasion naturally caused alarm in Mexico, where the viceroy at once issued orders for an expedition to reconquer Texas. An army of about seven hundred men was raised and put under the command of the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo as governor of Coahuila and Texas. So slowly, however, did the preparations proceed that the army did not leave Monclova until November 1720; and before this time news came of a truce in Europe, which caused Aguayo's instructions to be somewhat modified. In February 1721 the camp was still on the Rio Grande near the presidio. Then, on receipt of some disquieting rumors from Captain García in command at Béjar, a detachment was sent there under Lieutenant-general Fernando Perez de Almazan, including a force under Diego Ramon, to occupy Espíritu Santo Bay. In April the marquis arrived with the main force, and in May started for the north, having sent back instructions for a supply-vessel to run between Vera Cruz and Espíritu Santo. Meeting no obstacles whatever the army reached the

[24] *La Harpe's Hist. Jour.*, 78, 86, 95 et seq. First in 1720 Beranger was sent to explore the bay, and left there five men, four of whom perished, and one, named Belisle, was rescued and returned before La Harpe started in Aug. 1721.

region of the abandoned missions late in July; and on the Rio Neches had an interview with St Denis, who came from Natchitoches and made no objection to the Spanish reoccupation. The natives were also found to be as friendly as ever, with an undiminished capacity for receiving gifts. In August five of the old missions were reëstablished at or very near their old sites, as was also the presidio of Texas near Concepcion, where Captain Cortina was stationed with twenty-five men. Later the marquis crossed the Sabinas into the country of the Adaes. The French commandant at Natchitoches, in the absence of St Denis, made some objections but no resistance; and not only was the mission of San Miguel rebuilt, but adjoining it and seven leagues from the French fort was founded the presidio of Pilar garrisoned by one hundred men.

Then Governor Aguayo returned to Béjar, arriving in January 1722 and taking steps to strengthen that post. Here also was founded the new mission of San Javier de Nájera under Padre José Gonzalez. Thence proceeding to the bay Aguayo in March and April superintended the erection of a presidio on the site of La Salle's fort, now called Santa María de Loreto de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, or Bahía for short; and under its protection was founded the new mission of Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, with Padre Agustin Patron as minister. Ninety men were stationed here at first under Captain Diego Ramon. The sites of these bay establishments were subsequently changed to the San Antonio River. In May the governor returned to Coahuila, leaving Almazan in command as lieutenant-governor; and after making full reports on the value of Texas and the measures required for the welfare of that province, he soon resigned his commission in favor of Almazan.[25]

[25] *Peña, Diario del Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, escrito por el B. D. Juan Antonio de la Peña, capellan Mayor del batallon de San Miguel de Aragon, 1720–2*, MS. In *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 385–449; and *Mayer MSS.*,

Governor Perez de Almazan ruled in Texas from 1722 to 1726. He seems to have been a competent man, yet the period was not one of prosperity. Aguayo with his large military force and ample pecuniary resources had introduced a system of liberality which his successor was not able to continue. The presidio commandants showed little zeal for the country's welfare or desire to coöperate with the governor. The Apaches became troublesome and Almazan was forbidden by the viceroy's orders to engage in active warfare against them. The Indians of the bay abandoned the mission and killed Captain Ramon of the presidio. The padre therefore founded a new mission in the interior, and the new captain soon followed with his force. Thus the sites of La Bahía and Espíritu Santo were changed. We have no details of mission affairs in the north-east, but evidently the friars made little progress as the memory of Aguayo's gifts faded from the minds of the natives. Melchor de Mediavilla y Ascona succeeded Almazan, but his rule in 1727–30 was marked neither by reforms nor disasters. On Aguayo's recommendation the king had ordered the establishment of four hundred families from the Canary Islands near Béjar; and after long delays fifteen such families arrived; as many more were collected from southern provinces; and about 1730 the villa of San Fernando de Béjar was founded. The settlers seem to have accomplished nothing, however, beyond a bare existence.

no. 19; closely followed in *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Texas*, MS., 143–93. See also on matters connected with the French invasion and Aguayo's expedition: *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 452–8; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS., 504; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 99–103, 225; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 320–1, 334–5; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 107–10; *Alaman, Disert.*, iii. app. 52–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 540–5; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 109–10; *Alvarez, Estud.*, iii. 364–6, 371; *Arispe, Mem.*, i. 11; *Filisola, Mem. Hist. Guerra*, i. 32; *Lacunza, Discursos*, xxxv. 508–9; *Mexico, Not. Ciudad*, 280–1; *Museo Mex.*, iv. 508; *Monette's Hist. Discov.*, i. 235–6; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i. 67–76; *Shea's Cath. Miss.*, 86; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 237–8; *Kennedy's Tex.*, i. 219–20; *Gayarré's Hist. Louisiana*, 257–8. Domenech, Maillard, Holley, Grattan, Falconer, Hunt, and others—for the most part those who put the founding of Béjar in 1698—tell us that La Bahía, later called Goliad, was founded in 1716.

During Mediavilla's rule General Pedro Rivera was sent as visitador to make an inspection of Texas in 1727–8; and by his recommendation an order was issued in 1729, suppressing the presidio of Texas, and reducing the aggregate force of the other three presidios from two hundred and forty to one hundred and forty men. The friars protested against the reduction of military force, and the governor favored their view of the matter, which policy was probably the cause of his removal in 1730. His successor was Captain Juan Bustillo y Cevallos, comandante of the Bahía presidio. Deprived of the garrison the Querétaro friars appealed to their college and obtained permission to transfer their three missions, San Francisco, Concepcion, and San José, to the San Antonio near the presidio of Béjar, which was done in 1731, the name of San José being changed to San Juan Capistrano. The Zacatecan friars continued their labors at the old missions under the protection of the Pilar presidio. In the region of Béjar the Apaches caused great trouble to the missions, and though Governor Bustillos killed two hundred of them in one campaign their ravages did not cease. Manuel de Sandoval became governor in 1734, and continued the warfare against the savages without any permanent success.[26]

In 1735 the French transferred their fort of Natchitoches from its original site to the western bank of the Red River. This action was met with protests from Gonzalez, the presidio commandant, and from Governor Sandoval, who claimed Red River as the

[26] For details of events during the rule of Almazan, Ascona, Bustillo, and Sandoval, see *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 11–17, 453–7, 460, 572, 609–10, 619–20; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 26, 43, 47, 52, 193–245; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 458–66; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 340–5; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS., 504–8; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 321; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, ii. 130; *Mota-Padilla, Conq. N. Gal.*, 319; *Viagero, Univ.*, xxvii. 117–18; *Mexico, Inf. Pesq.*, 110; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 62; *Filisola, Mem.*, i. 32; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.* i. 230; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i. 78–80; *Kennedy's Tex.*, i. 220–1; *Pinkerton's Mod. Geog.*, iii. 223; *McCabe's Comprehensive View*, 756; *Crockett's Life*, 368. From *Rivera, Diario y Derrotero*, 10, 66–7, we learn that Nuevas Filipinas was in June 1726 added to the bishopric of Guadalajara; also that in 1725 maps of the province were made by Barreiro for the viceroy. Several writers say that a Spanish post at Nacodoches was established in 1732.

boundary between Texas and Louisiana. St Denis, however, maintained that the boundary was rather the line between the Adaes and Natchitoches tribes, pointed to the fact that the French had always had some buildings and corrals midway between the fort and presidio, and refused, under orders from his superiors, to suspend the transfer. The Spaniards did not use force, but were content to supplement their protests with orders prohibiting all intercourse with Natchitoches, much to the inconvenience of the Frenchmen. Relations soon became friendly as before, though Sandoval incurred the displeasure of his government and was superseded; but for many years nothing is recorded in detail of events in this north-eastern district. Colonel Cárlos de Franquis came as governor in 1736, and put Sandoval under arrest on several charges, including that of having permitted the French encroachment. But Franquis, by his arbitrary conduct in other matters, soon became involved in a quarrel with the missionaries, who accused him of nearly ruining the missions by illegally taking the neophytes as laborers for his own benefit and that of certain partisans among the settlers. After several ineffectual reprimands the viceroy sent Governor Jáuregui of Nuevo Leon as visitador in 1737, who sent the governor south under arrest and appointed a ruler *ad interim*. Sandoval was submitted to a residencia in 1738, and Franquis still had influence enough to prolong for several years the legal proceedings against his foe in connection with the charge of permitting the building of a French fort on Spanish soil. Yet Sandoval was substantially acquitted of all blame, and the investigations favored the conclusion that the French possessions really extended westward of Red River to a place known as La Gran Montaña.[27]

[27] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 245–53; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS., 508–12; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Yoakum's Hist. Texas*, i. 81–6; *Onis, Mem. Negoc.*, pt. ii. 51.

The governor *ad interim* appointed by Visitador Jáuregui was Prudencio de Orobio y Basterra, a merchant from Saltillo, who was chiefly interested in the profits of his office and who failed to agree with the presidio comandantes. He ruled in 1737–40, and was succeeded by Tomás Felipe Wintuisen, whose term was in 1741–3. Justo Boneo y Morales was sent as governor in 1743, with orders to investigate the French boundary and Sandoval's acts; but he died soon after his arrival at the presidio of Adaes. Francisco García Larios ruled *ad interim* in 1743–8, generally opposed to the views of the friars; and Pedro del Barrio Junco y Espriella in 1748–50, proving himself a still more bitter foe of the Franciscans and of mission interests. Jacinto de Barrios y Jáuregui was governor from 1751 to 1760, and he also generally favored the comandantes and settlers in their controversies with the padres, but he appears to have lived at the Adaes presidio, interfering but slightly in the affairs of his government, and exerting himself less in preventing contraband trade with the French than in a fruitless search for rich mines.

The records of the period, though somewhat bulky in respect of certain local and topical details, afford but slight material for a connected historical sketch. It was not a period of prosperity for any Texan interest except so far as the officers, soldiers, and settlers may be said to have prospered in their great work of living with the least possible exertion. Officials as a rule kept in view their own personal profit in handling the presidio funds rather than the welfare of the province. The Franciscans were doubtless faithful as missionaries, but their influence, even over the natives, was much less than in other mission fields. The Texans never became neophytes proper in regular mission communities; and between the inconstancy of their converts and the opposition of soldiers and settlers the padres could accomplish but little. In their many bitter controversies the friars seem

to have been generally in the right, as compared with their opponents. It is true the evidence comes mainly from Franciscan sources, but it is confirmed by the results of occasional investigations by the government. Of local details and statistics of mission progress no reports are extant, if any were made; but it is evident that not one of the establishments was at any time prosperous from either a spiritual or material point of view. At each missionary work was a constant struggle to prevent excesses and outrages by the escoltas, to protect land and water from encroachment by settlers, to guard mission live-stock from Apache raids, to keep the few Indians from running away, and to watch for and counteract ruinous changes projected from time to time by the secular authorities. A few general topics require further notice.

Depredations by one or another tribe of the wild Apaches were of constant occurrence, but involved no serious disaster. At first campaigns against the savages were made from time to time by the presidial forces, much like the expeditions in other parts of my territory, and requiring no description, with results often exaggerated for effect in Mexico, but of no real advantage except to settlers who had horses to sell. After 1741, however, the comandantes were ordered to act on the defensive, though one expedition is recorded in 1745 resulting in many captives. Then the Lipan Apaches, formerly the most troublesome, being hard pressed by their foes the Comanches and desiring to recover the captive women and children, became friendly, made peace, and even begged to be settled in a mission. Their good faith was naturally suspected even by the padres, and through a neglect of their warnings Padre Silva was killed with several companions by the Matages or Mescaleros on the Coahuila road in 1749. The Lipans remained at peace and the friars favored an experimental mission for them on the Guadalupe River. Captain Urrutia of San

Antonio also favored the project and it was approved in Mexico as early as 1750; but after long delay it was decided in 1756 to establish the Apache mission on the San Sabá River and to protect it with a garrison of one hundred men. The results of this experiment will appear later.

There was constant trouble between the friars and the captains about the mission escoltas. Vicious and unmanageable soldiers were often detailed for the service, and remonstrances were met with threats to remove the guards altogether. Captain Costales and later Basterra of Bahía gave most trouble in this respect; but the viceroy's orders were uniformly favorable to the missionaries. The vecinos of San Fernando were always trying to obtain the services of mission Indians as laborers. They sent an agent to Mexico on the subject about 1740, without immediate results; but a few years later by a new effort they succeeded in obtaining a decree in their favor, which also forbade the padres from selling mission produce or raising more than was required for their neophytes. This led to a controversy in Mexico with the result that the decree was annulled in 1745 as having been based on false representations. In connection with the investigation of the French boundary and of Ex-governor Sandoval's acts in 1744 the Marqués de Altamira made a report containing a good résumé of Texan annals which I have cited often in my notes.

About 1744 the friars obtained permission to establish missions on the San Javier River,[28] though bitterly opposed by the governor and Captain Basterra from the first. San Javier, Candelaria, and San Ildefonso were the new establishments; and they were in constant trouble from the first, through adverse reports from the military officials. The friars successfully defended their policy and conduct against bitter attacks, but accomplished little else. The Indians often

[28] It is not clear what river this was, but there are indications that it may have been a branch of the Brazos de Dios, or of the Colorado.

ran away and the three missions never had more than three hundred neophytes, the total of baptisms being 444. The guard was at first twenty-two men, and was soon increased to a regular presidio of fifty men on the recommendation of the auditor Altamira, and of Captain Eca y Muzquiz sent as visitador to investigate the matter; but the soldiers behaved badly under the influence and example of their officers, who were determined to thwart all missionary effort. In 1751 Felipe de Rábago y Teran was made captain of the San Javier presidio, continued the controversy with increased virulence, and was at one time excommunicated by one of the padres. In 1752 the missionary president urged a radical change in the whole system, abolishing presidios in favor of mission guards of volunteer soldiers to become settlers, and putting the mission temporalities in charge of an intendente appointed by the government. This was to accomplish great results at a greatly reduced cost; but the plan was not adopted. Meanwhile Rábago went on from bad to worse, and at last caused the assassination of Padre Ceballos, for which crime he was sent to Mexico for trial. His successor in 1753 was his brother Pedro who was a friend of the friars; but the stream had dried up, epidemics had resulted, most of the Indians had run away, and the few remaining were transferred to the Rio San Marcos. Later when the Apache mission was planned it was decided to attach these natives to San Antonio, whereupon they ran away, and thus the San Javier missions came to an end. Meanwhile in 1749 the presidio of La Bahía and its mission of Espíritu Santo were again moved farther inland and ten leagues nearer San Antonio; and the padres of this mission are said to have established a new one of coast Indians called apparently Rosario, whose exact site is not recorded. Of the north-eastern district under the Zacatecanos during this period nothing is known.[29]

[29] For details of the annals of this period outlined in my text see: *Morfi*,

The boundary question was not a very exciting or important one, the Spaniards showing a tendency to admit the accuracy of the French view. The matter came up from time to time in Mexico and Spain; but the decision was always against offensive measures, or even such defensive policy as might lead to hostilities. Even a survey and settlement of the boundary were not regarded as urgent necessities. Yet further encroachments must not be permitted, and especially must trade be prevented at all hazards. There is much reason, however, to believe that the trade was never interfered with, but rather encouraged by Texan officials. Indeed, contraband trade with the French seems to have been the chief occupation of all classes on the frontier, including the governor, and perhaps even the friars. Before 1750 a few Frenchmen settled among the Spaniards, and became practically agents of the governor in the fur-trade. But later Governor Barrios, deeming his term of office nearly at an end, and fearing his residencia, arrested these foreigners who were sent to Mexico and, as is stated, to Spain. Barrios represented the province as in danger, recommending new forts; and finally in 1755 at a junta in Mexico it was decided to establish a new presidio with fifty Tlascaltec families. The site was Los Horconcitos, or Horcaquisac, on the Trinidad River, and the presidio was named San Agustin de Ahumada.

Angel de Martos y Navarrete came to Mexico from Spain in 1756 with a commission as governor of Texas; but as it was desired that Barrios should attend to the founding of San Agustin, it was arranged that Martos should go to Coahuila instead, where he remained until 1760, and then the two changed places. The governor of Louisiana protested against the establishment on the Trinity, but the viceroy paid no

Mem. Hist. Tex., MS., 20–4, 253–328; *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 224, 365–84, 463–91, 512–52, 585–6, 621; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Altamira, Puntos*, MS., 505–7; *Doc. Eccles. Mex.*, MS., i. no. 1; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 323–65; *Espinosa, Chrón.*, 467; *Villa-Señor, Theatro*, ii. 320–1; *Virreyes, Instruc.*, 29–30, 97; *Mosaico Mex.*, vi. 163.

attention to the protest, no quarrel ensued, more Frenchmen settled in the country, and contraband trade went on much as before. In 1762 all ground of dispute respecting boundaries was removed, France ceding to Spain that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi.[30]

In the mean time it had been decided, as we have seen, to establish a presidio with one hundred men on the Rio San Sabá. The cause of Apache conversion found an enthusiastic and powerful promoter in the person of Pedro Romero de Terreros, conde de Regla, who in 1756 offered to pay the whole cost for three years, not including that of the military establishment already ordered, of as many missions not exceeding twenty as could be advantageously founded under the general supervision of Padre Alonso Giraldo Terreros of the Querétaro College. The offer was accepted, the colleges of Santa Cruz and San Fernando were to furnish each half the needed friars, and Colonel Diego Ortiz Parrilla was appointed to the military command. The expedition, including five padres, reached Béjar at the end of 1756, and proceeded in April 1757 to the new field. The presidio was called in the viceroy's honor San Luis de las Amarrillas; and the mission of San Sabá was located a league and a half distant on the river. The Apaches were pleased and friendly, but declined under one pretext or another to congregate permanently at the mission. Padre Terreros was soon forced to admit in letters to his superiors that he had been grievously disappointed in the character of the natives, and that the prospects for successful mission work were far from encouraging; yet with two companions he remained and undertook the task.

The real motive of the Lipanes in favoring the founding of a presidio and mission was to utilize the

[30] *Virreyes, Instrucciones*, 96–7; *Instruc., Virreyes*, MS., i. No. 4; *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 595; *Castro, Diario*, iv. 29–30, 207; *N. Mex., Cédulas*, MS., 352–3; *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, 344–7; *Bonilla, Compendio*, MS.; *Kennedy's Texas*, i. 215–16; *Yoakum's Hist. Texas*, i. 90–100.

Spaniards as allies against the Comanches and other hostile tribes, by whom they were hard pressed. The northern inland bands, crediting the Apache boasts of their new alliance, became bitterly hostile to the Spaniards, and formed a league to defeat their new foes. The Apaches, well pleased with the course of events, gave warning of the approaching danger, a warning that caused so much terror at the different forts, that but little attention was given to the protection of San Sabá. Yet Parrilla sent a force of seventeen men to reënforce the guard; and the next day, March 16, 1758, the savages appeared some thousands strong under the command of a Comanche chief at the mission. Too late to effect a surprise, they obtained admittance by pretending friendship and soon began their work of destruction. The buildings were plundered and burned. The only survivors were Padre Molina and two or three soldiers, who managed to conceal themselves and escaped at midnight. Padre Terreros was killed with a bullet, and Padre Santistévan was beheaded. The number of victims is not known, but they included a party sent from the presidio and drawn into an ambush. Only a few Apaches were present to share the disaster.

In his report of this affair Parrilla recommended a removal of the presidio, an increase of the force to one hundred and forty men, and an expedition to chastise the savages. Only the last suggestion was approved in a junta held at Mexico in June; and a conference of officers at Béjar in January 1759 made plans for the campaign. At the same meeting Padre Morales presented a defence of the friars, who it seems had been blamed for the late disaster, and even offered in behalf of the college to give up the missions; but his proposal was declined. The army of five hundred soldiers and volunteers, with a large force of Apache auxiliaries in the best of spirits, started in August under the command of Parrilla. After marching

some hundred and fifty leagues they surprised a ranchería, killing fifty-five of the foe and taking many captives. Then they advanced against the towns of the Taovayases, and in the region of what was later called San Teodoro found six thousand Indians of different tribes in a strongly fortified position, many of them armed with muskets, and displaying a French flag, though there is no reason to suppose that they were in any way aided by the foreigners. The savages did not wait to be attacked, but made a sortie in force, and the Spaniards fled in a panic, only the Apaches making a slight resistance. Thus an expedition which had cost $60,000 accomplished nothing.

Emboldened by their victory the Indians now extended their raids in every direction. No serious disasters are recorded, but the Spaniards for several years were barely able to protect their posts without thinking of vengeance or of new establishments. Governor Martos arrived in 1760, but we are told by Morfi that he neglected his duties and lived among the Adaes rather as an Indian than a Spaniard, inspiring no fear or respect. At the same time Parrilla went to Mexico for an investigation of his conduct, and was succeeded in the command at San Luis in October 1760 by Felipe de Rábago, of old the bitter foe of the missionaries, but now their friend. Meanwhile Padre Calahorra ventured alone to San Teodoro, scene of the Spanish defeat, and succeeded in making peace with the northern tribes. He wished to transfer the presidio thither and to establish missions; but naturally his enthusiasm was not shared in Mexico; and the Apaches set about the task of averting this new danger to their own interests. Plundering and murdering in the north they left Spanish articles along their way as evidence against their supposed allies; then they attacked different Spanish posts, retreating towards the north and taking care to leave the proper proofs of their identity. This policy was entirely successful, and soon the northern tribes were as hostile

as ever. The Apaches had manifested an ever increasing desire for missions, and were rewarded in 1761–2 by the founding of San Lorenzo and Candelaria, perhaps on the upper San Antonio, where some four hundred natives were congregated. The prospects seemed brighter than before, and preparations were made to reoccupy San Sabá; but the result did not equal expectations, and while no details are recorded we are told that in 1767 the missions were abandoned by order of the viceroy.[31]

Governor Martos had a personal quarrel with Captain Pacheco of San Agustin, in an attempt to arrest whom the presidio was assaulted and set on fire, the captain escaping; but this caused the governor's removal, and in 1765 Hugo Oconor was appointed ad interim. Raids of the savages continued, and Oconor himself was once defeated in an expedition against the Comanches. In 1767 the Marqués de Rubí made a visita, found all the establishments in a bad condition, and rendered a long report. Baron de Riperdá came as governor in 1770; and it required not only assurances and entreaties on his part but positive orders and threats to prevent all the settlers from abandoning the province, as many had already done. The Querétaro friars also desired to give up the missions, but the viceroy would not permit it. The governor worked with much energy and skill, but by reason of his attempted reforms made many enemies, especially among the vecinos of San Fernando, who

[31] *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 328–87; *Bonilla, Breve Comp.*, MS.; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 368–93; *Ripperdá, Repres.*, MS., 621–3; *Texas, Informe de Misioneros*, MS., 586–90; *Castro, Diario*, vi. 47; *Molina, Relacion*, MS., 555–66; *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 590–6, 602–9; *Palou, Vida*, 40–3; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i. 88–9; *Kennedy's Tex.*, i. 222. PP. Junípero Serra and Francisco Palou, afterwards famous in California, were assigned to Texas about the time of the San Sabá massacre, but the plans were subsequently changed. According to *Alcivia, Cartas*, MS., in *Texas, Doc. Hist.*, 611–2, the Indians of Espíritu Santo Bay rose in 1759 and killed from 30 to 80 persons. According to *Certificacion de Mercedes*, MS., 35–8, the expense of the four presidios in 1758—S. Agustin, Pilar, Bahía, and S. Antonio—was $69,470.

are said to have gone so far as to instigate the Apaches against him.

In accordance with the recommendations of Rubí, and in connection with general changes affecting the frontier defences of the Provincias Internas, an order was issued in 1772 to suppress the northern presidios of Los Adaes and Horcaquisac, that is Pilar and San Agustin, to transfer San Luis to the Rio Grande in Coahuila, to maintain La Bahía with fifty-three men, and to increase the garrison of San Antonio to eighty men under the governor's command. Useless and unprotected missions were to be abandoned. These orders were carried out immediately by Ripperdá, and the few families of northern settlers were transferred to the south, soon followed by the Zacatecan friars. Thus the northern district, the original Texas proper, was practically given up to the savages. The governor urged for that region the enlistment of three hundred French scouts, and a presidio of two hundred men at Los Almagres; but his proposals met with no favor in Mexico, partly because of opposition from Ex-governor Oconor, who presently came to Texas as inspector to cause more trouble to Ripperdá. The northern families transferred to Béjar were not content, however, and within four or five years a new settlement called Bucareli was established on the Trinidad River under Antonio Gil y Barbo as alcalde and comandante. Some natives were attached to the town, and a Zacatecan friar took charge of spiritual interests. But the site was not a good one, Bucareli did not prosper, and before 1779 it was transferred northward to Nacodoches at or near the old mission site.

In 1774—or possibly, I think, in 1772—the Querétaro friars gave up all their missions in Texas to the Zacatęcans. In 1778 Comandante General Croix of the Provincias Internas extended his tour of inspection to this province; and with him came a new governor, Domingo Cabello.[32] At a junta held at Béjar

[32] In *Soberanes, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., 8–19, I have an original letter of

by the general's order Lieutenant Athanase de Mezières was present. He was in command at Natchitoches under the Spanish governor of Louisiana; and in all these years he was very active and successful in efforts to control the northern Indians, extending his tours to the rancherías of the Taovayases which he named San Teodoro and San Bernardo, on the upper Red River. He made peace with many tribes, and advocated trade and alliance with the friendly natives against the Comanches, whose ravages like those of the Apaches were now constant. Some of Mezières' letters and reports are extant. Meanwhile the English made some encroachments both in the northern interior and on the coast. One party is said to have landed near the mouth of the Neches, beginning the work of erecting buildings and cultivating the soil; besides attempting to conciliate the natives, perhaps in anticipation of a war between Spain and England; but for some unknown reason they suddenly departed, leaving one ship wrecked.[33]

In 1783 occurred the death of Padre Juan Agustin Morfi, bringing to a close his historical memoirs, the standard authority for Texan history down to this date, though never published. The same period is covered by the original documents consulted and closely followed by Morfi, which have been frequently cited by me, and which contain material that cannot be fully utilized in the space at my disposal.[34] In

Gov. Cabello dated Jan. 8, 1783, which was sent to the viceroy with a gift of some live buffaloes, or cíbolos.

[33] On events of 1763–83 see *Morfi, Mem. Hist. Tex.*, MS., 1–3, 23–33, 56, 130, 391–462; *Bonilla, Breve Comp.*, MS.; *Ripperdá, Repres.*, MS., 617–34; *Id., Cartas*, MS., 634–9; *Mezières, Cartas*, MS.; *Id., Expedicion*, MS.; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf*, 437–49; *Presidios, Reglamento é Instr.; Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 1793*, v. 448–51; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1834, 182–4; *Razon de Doctrinas*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep., i. 571; *Croix, Carta*, in *Ugalde, Doc.*, MS., 4; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Chih.*, MS., i. 17–20; *Pagé, Voyage*, in *Berenger, Col. Voy.*, vi. 31; *Filisola, Mem.*, i. 33; *Tornel, Tejas*, 17; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 63–5; *Kennedy's Tex.*, i. 222; *Baker's Hist. Tex.*, 64.

[34] *Morfi, Memorias para la Historia de Texas*, MS., 462 folios. Copy of 1792 made by P. Manuel de Vega from the original in the archives of the convent in Mexico. Morfi had visited Texas in 1778, writing the diary of

1785 Padre José Francisco Lopez, president of the Texas missions, made an elaborate report to the bishop of Nuevo Leon on their condition and prospects. I append in a note a list of the establishments, with some statistical information derived from this report and supplemented to a certain extent by other similar reports of earlier and later date.[35] From the frag-

Gen. Croix's expedition which has been published. *Morfi, Diario.* The *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y civil de la Provincia de Texas*, MS., 716 folios, is a copy of tomes xxvii.–viii. of the *Archivo General*, made in 1852 for the Andrade collection. Many of the documents I have cited by their special titles. The first in the volume is the *Breve Compendio de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia de Texas desde su conquista ó reduccion hasta la fecha por el teniente de infantería D. Antonio Bonilla. Mexico, 10 de Noviembre de 1772. Extractados de reales cédulas y órdenes que hé visto en la secretaría de este Vireynato, y de los cumulosos cuadernos de autos que existen en el oficio de gobierno de D. Joseph Gorraez que tambien he recorrido prolijamento*, MS., 42 folios. Bonilla's work was somewhat unfavorable to the friars, and in several parts is sharply criticised by Morfi. This document and many others of this collection are copied in the collection cited by me as *Mayer MSS.*

[35] *Lopez, Condicion de las Misiones de Texas, 1785*, MS. In *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex. Misiones*, 409–54. This is a certified copy of 1789, and is accompanied p. 285–315, by original correspondence between the viceroy and guardian. See also, *Morfi, Mem.*, MS., passim; *Id., Diario; Texas, Inf. Misiones, 1762*, MS.; *Solis, Diario, 1767–8*, MS.; *N. España, Breve Resúmen, 1767*, MS.; *Revilla, Gigedo, Carta 1793.*

San Antonio Béjar, presidio, founded 1718; and San Fernando, villa, founded about 1730; the two forming one settlement on the S. Antonio River at the site of the modern S. Antonio. Capital and residence of governor; garrisoned by 60 men; about 140 houses, nearly half of stone, of one story and generally of only one room. Public buildings of stone, in a ruinous condition; cost $80,000, and would not sell for $80 according to Morfi. Has a curate who is also chaplain. No statistics of population.

Santa Cruz, stockade fort on the Arroyo del Cíbolo, with 20 men from Béjar. Founded 1772 for protection of ranchos. The ranchos in 1782 were six in number with a population of 85. Some 25 ranchos had been abandoned.

San Antonio de Valero, mission, on the river opposite Béjar; later called the Álamo; founded 1718. One thousand nine hundred and seventy-two baptisms down to 1762, when the population was 275, with 1,200 cattle, 300 horses, 1,300 sheep. In 1785 the population was 52, of mixed blood; buildings—including half-built church—and other church property valued at $28,000. In 1793 the population was only 43.

Purísima Concepcion de Acuña, on the S. Antonio about a league from Béjar. Originally founded in the N. E. among the Asinais in 1716; abandoned from 1719 to 1721 during the French invasion; and in 1731 transferred to the south. Population in 1762, 207; the number of baptisms having been 792; 600 cattle, 300 horses, 2,200 sheep. Population in 1785 only 71; best church in the province valued, with other property, at $35,000. Population 51 in 1793.

San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, near the river, about a league below Concepcion. Founded in 1720. Long considered the most flourishing mission in the province. One thousand and fifty-four baptisms down to 1762; 350 Indians in that year; 1,500 yoke of oxen; 106 Indians in 1785. Church property worth $40,000. Population 114 in 1793. P. Pedro Ramirez de Arrellano had been the most noted missionary of S. José.

San Juan Capistrano, 1.5 l. below S. José. Founded in the N. E. among

mentary statistics presented it appears that Texas had a population of about 460 mission Indians in eight establishments; and according to Morfi's statement the gente de razon, that is the families of soldiers and settlers, numbered in 1782 about 2,600, though this would seem an exaggeration. The whole

the Nazones under the name of San José in 1716; abandoned 1719–21; and in 1731 transferred to the south and its name changed to San Juan. Population in 1762, 203; baptisms to date, 847; 1,000 cattle, 500 horses, 3,500 sheep. Fifty-eight Indians in 1785; church property worth $4,500, church half built. In 1793 only 34 Indians.

San Francisco de la Espada, 2.5 l. below Concepcion. Founded among the Tejas in 1690; abandoned in 1693; reëstablished in 1716 a few leagues from the original site, near the modern Mound Prairie; abandoned 1719–21; and transferred to the S. Antonio in 1731. Eight hundred and fifteen baptisms to 1762; population 207; 1,200 cattle, 4,000 sheep. Population 57 in 1785; church property worth $4,000. Only 46 in 1793. The Tejas Indians where the mission was at first numbered in 1782 only about 80 men, living at a ranchería and stream called S. Pedro.

La Bahía, presidio—full name, Sta María de Loreto de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Founded in 1722 on the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis on La Vaca River; transferred to the San Antonio River about 1724; and again moved up the river to its final site—the modern Goliad—in 1749. Garrison of 53 men after 1772; population 515 in 1782.

Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, mission; founded near the presidio in 1722, and transferred with the presidio as above (Solis puts the founding in 1717 and Revilla Gigedo in 1720). Baptisms to 1762 were 623; population 300, 1,500 cattle, 100 horses. Is said once to have had 15,000 cattle. Population in 1785, 116; church property $12,000; cattle 3,000. In 1793 there were 33 Indians.

Rosario, about a league from S. Juan; founded in 1754. Two hundred baptisms down to 1768, when there were 5,000 cattle. From 1781 to 1785 the mission was abandoned, the ornaments, etc., being removed to S. Juan; but in 1793 Revilla Gigedo says there were 33 Indians.

Nacodoches. Mission of Guadalupe founded in 1716; abandoned temporarily in 1719–21; and abandoned finally about 1773. Meanwhile the settlement of Bucareli was founded about 1776 on the Trinidad, and two or three years later was transferred to Nacodoches. Here in 1785 were two friars and a few Spanish settlers. There were two rancherías on opposite banks of the Atoyac River, each of 300 Indians, Nacodochitos and Ahijitos (the ancient Aijaos?).

Refugio, a mission founded in 1791, south of La Bahía and near the coast. It had 67 Indians in 1793.

The abandoned establishments of Texas in addition to those transferred as above were: Santa María, in the Neches district, founded 1690, abandoned 1693. Dolores, among the Aes, 1716; temporarily abandoned 1719–21; only 11 baptisms to 1768; abandoned in 1773. Tejas presidio, near Concepcion mission, 1716; suppressed in 1729. Pilar presidio, on the N. E. frontier, founded 1721; suppressed 1772. San Miguel de Cuellar, Adaes, founded 1716; abandoned 1773; 103 baptisms to 1768. San Agustin de Ahumada presidio, or Horcaquisac, on the Trinidad River, 1756–72. Missions of San Javier, Candelaria, and San Ildefonso, on the San Javier River, 1744–58; 444 baptisms; and San Javier presidio, for the protection of the missions named, 1750–6. San Sabá, Apache mission, 1757–8. San Luis de los Amarrillas presidio, on the San Sabá River, 1757–72. San Javier de Nájera, mission near Béjar, 1722; nothing more known of it.

number of natives baptized since 1690 was less than 10,000; and at no time had the neophytes exceeded 2,000. The few still under the padres' care were vicious, lazy, tainted with syphilitic diseases, and were with great difficulty induced to gain a precarious living by cultivating their maize-patches and tending their reduced herds. Nowhere in America had missionary work been so complete a failure. Stone buildings and church decorations, provided in the early years of each establishment, mainly with funds from abroad, were the only indications of apparent prosperity in the past. The settlers were hardly more energetic than the neophytes, supplementing their limited agricultural operations by hunting wild stock still very abundant, or by the easier method of stealing from the missions. The soldiers lived on the supplies furnished by the government with the slightest possible exertion, meanwhile protecting villa, ranchos, and missions from destruction at the hands of Apaches and Comanches whose raids never entirely ceased. The north-eastern district about Nacodoches was held meanwhile by a system of treaties with friendly tribes, French traders living at many of the rancherías and reporting to the comandante at Natchitoches.

There is little to be recorded of Texas during the last two decades of the century. General Croix in 1781 recommended the consolidation of all the establishments in one at San Antonio; and Governor Cabello favored the project, except that he would maintain and strengthen Nacodoches. These two officers were, however, soon promoted to positions in Peru and Cuba; and there was no action on their propositions. Rafael Martinez Pacheco is mentioned as governor in 1789–90, and I find no record of a change in rulers before 1800. The military authority, however, after 1786 was in the hands of Colonel Juan de Ugalde as comandante de armas; and he is accredited with a great victory over the Apaches and Comanches in 1790. At the same time the old projects

were again brought up by royal orders concerning the proposition of the governor of Louisiana to extend that province to the Rio Sabinas, and other propositions to open trade between the two provinces, and to favor commerce with Habana and Vera Cruz by opening some Texan port. Viceroy Revilla Gigedo deemed it necessary in order to treat these matters intelligently to send a competent officer to make a complete investigation; some years passed before complicated routine preliminaries could be completed; and in 1793 came an order from the king that no immediate changes should be made. Then the viceroy turned over the matter to the commander of the Provincias Internas, of whose measures we only know that he is said to have secularized the Texas missions in 1794, except San Antonio, which had been given up by the Franciscans in the preceding year.[36] The subject of American aggressions beginning with Nolan's expedition in 1800, and also that of diplomatic controversies respecting Louisiana, and indirectly affecting Texas, may be more conveniently noticed in the history of a later period.[37]

[36] *Revilla Gigedo, Carta de 27 Dic. 1793*, v. 447–51; also MS.; *Revista Mex.*, no. 5, 534–8; *Mexico, Inf. Com. Pesq.*, 121; *Yoakum's Hist. Tex.*, i. 108–9; *Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Cal. Man.*, 86.

[37] See *Hist. North Mex. St.*, ii., this series.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NUEVA VIZCAYA, PROVINCIAS INTERNAS, INTENDENCIA OF DURANGO.

1768–1800.

GOVERNMENT — ORGANIZATION OF PROVINCIAS INTERNAS — CABALLERO DE CROIX—NEVE, RENGEL, AND UGARTE IN COMMAND—VICEREGAL JURISDICTION—DIVISION OF THE PROVINCIAS—THE EAST AND WEST—GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA—REUNION AND INDEPENDENCE—GOVERNORS OF NUEVA VIZCAYA—INTENDENCIA OF DURANGO—RULE OF INTENDENTES AND SUBDELEGADOS—INDIAN AFFAIRS—REGLAMENTO DE PRESIDIOS—CHANGES IN SITES—INSTRUCTIONS OF GALVEZ—A NEW POLICY—RESULTS—SEE OF DURANGO—LIST OF BISHOPS—DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE—CONTROVERSIES—BISHOP VERSUS GENERAL—MISSIONS—UNDER FRANCISCANS AND SECULAR CLERGY—CONDITION OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS—LOCAL ITEMS—REPORTS OF GUARDIAN, PROVINCIAL, AND VICEROY—ANNALS OF CHIHUAHUA—ANNALS OF DURANGO—PESTILENCE—WAR ON THE SCORPIONS.

NUEVA VIZCAYA was ruled as before by a governor and captain-general under the viceroy of Mexico and audiencia of Guadalajara down to 1777. Meanwhile the visitador general, José de Galvez, in accord with Viceroy Croix, had prepared plans for a reorganization of the government, including a separation of the northern provinces from the viceregal jurisdiction. The change was effected by a royal order of August 22, 1776,[1] which formed into a new government the northern provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa and Sonora, and the Californias. It had long been a somewhat prevalent usage to speak and write of these countries as the Provincias Internas, or interior provinces, because they were in the interior as regarded from the city of Mexico;[2] and

[1] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 290–1.

[2] The name was used in official documents as early as 1712–13. *N. Mexico, Cédulas*, MS., 322–4.

now the name was officially bestowed on the new government, which was put under the authority of a governor and commandant-general entirely independent of the viceroy and responsible directly to the king, the audiencia of Guadalajara retaining its judicial authority as before. Practically the change was the setting-off of a new viceroyalty. The man chosen to fill the new and responsible position was General Teodoro de Croix, generally known as the Caballero de Croix,[3] who arrived from Spain in December 1776,[4] and started for Nueva Vizcaya in August 1777. He was required later to take the oath of office before the audiencia,[5] but did not visit Guadalajara in this journey, arriving on September 22d at Durango, where he was received by the bishop with all the ceremony due to so exalted a personage. The capital of the Provincias Internas was not fixed at Arizpe in Sonora for several years.[6] Croix continued his journey as a tour of inspection by way of Mapimi to Coahuila and Texas; and returning crossed the line between Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya on February 24, 1778. Here terminates abruptly the published fragment of the diary kept by the chaplain, Padre Morfi, which however deals chiefly with local descriptions, and contains very little of the general's official acts. It is stated that he refused all offers of local authorities to give him formal receptions.[7]

While the comandante general was made independent of the viceroy, with authority over the political governors, judicial authorities, and treasury officials, and invested with the prerogatives of the royal *patro-*

[3] He signs a decree: 'Teodoro de Croix, caballero de Croix, del órden Teutónico, Brigadier de los Reales Ejércitos, Gobernador y Comandante Militar de las Provincias Internas de Nueva España, Superintendente General de Real Hacienda, etc.' *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 13; iv. 55. He was a native of Flanders, nephew of the late viceroy Marqués de Croix, and senior lieutenant of the Flemish company of royal guards.

[4] *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 622.

[5] Oct. 15, 1778. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 9–10.

[6] Arizpe selected in 1780. Confirmed by royal order of Feb. 12, 1782 (or 1783). *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 89; iii. 182.

[7] *Morfi, Diario*, passim.

nato in the appointment of curates; yet his command was to be preëminently a military one. His chief duty was to systematize the frontier defences, and to wage war on savage foes. That there might be no obstacles or controversies to interfere with his military power he was invested with authority in the other branches; but with the recommendation to adopt a conciliatory policy with non-military officials, by freely delegating his powers in civil matters, by friendly consultations with bishop and governors, and by accepting all appeals to the audiencia.[8] During his rule there was no clashing of authority; but his successors had some difficulty with both bishop and governors in the matters of ceremonial honors due to the commandant-general and of the patronato. Don Pedro Galindo Navarro came from Spain in 1777 to take the place of auditor de guerra and asesor, that is military judge and legal adviser in the Provincias Internas.[9]

The immense extent of the northern provinces, rendering it impossible for them to be wisely governed by a viceroy residing so far away, and burdened with the complicated duties of a broad realm in the south, had been the motive for the division of New Spain. Croix soon learned that the north alone was too broad for the jurisdiction of one man. At first he advised the appointment of a comandante inspector; but in a communication to Don José de Galvez, dated at Chihuahua June 29, 1778, he urged the division of the Provincias Internas into two distinct and independent governments, the eastern division, including Coahuila, Texas, and the districts of Parras and Saltillo, to be augmented by the addition of Nuevo Leon and Santander, and to be put under the command of Colonel Bernardo de Galvez. It was represented to be nearly as impracticable to direct the affairs of Texas from Sonora as from Mexico; and it was believed that each of the subdivisions proposed would afford ample scope

[8] Croix's letters, in *Ugalde, Documentos*, MS., 15–16.
[9] *Morfi, Diario*, 311.

for the talents and efforts of the ablest commander. The general, having now surveyed the field, was confident as to the future, but affirmed that the complete establishment of the government on a basis affording adequate protection to a country so vast and so critically situated must be a work of time, involving many radical reforms.[10]

Croix's recommendation, so far as the division of the provinces was concerned, was not followed; and in 1782 Felipe de Neve, governor of the Californias, came from Monterey to Sonora to become comandante inspector of the Provincias Internas.[11] The next year Croix was promoted to be viceroy of Peru;[12] and General Neve succeeded to the command, but died in November 1784.[13] His successor *ad interim* was José Rengel, who exercised the command until 1785, under instructions from the audiencia of Guadalajara.[14]

In 1785 Brigadier-general Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, governor of Puebla, was named as comandante general *ad interim*, being regularly commissioned *en propiedad* a few years later. This same year the conde de Galvez became viceroy, and by reason of his supposed intimate acquaintance with northern affairs his authority over the Provincias Internas was restored, and Ugarte was made, to a certain limited extent not very clearly explained, subordinate to the viceroy. At the same time the provinces were divided into three separate military commands. The first included Texas, Coahuila—with the Parras and Saltillo districts added—Nuevo Leon, and Nuevo

[10] Croix to Galvez, June 29, 1778, in *Ugalde, Doc.*, MS., 3–9.

[11] Appointed July 12, 1782. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 179; ii. 48; *Hist. Cal.*, i. 383, this series.

[12] Croix arrived in Mexico Sept. 26, 1783, and started for Peru by way of Acapulco on Dec. 3d. *Gomez, Diario*, vii. 167, 172.

[13] Appointed by royal order of Feb. 15, 1783. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 166, 188; iii. 182; *Prov. St. Pap.*, iv. 62–4; *St. Pap., Sac.*, xv. 18; *Instruc. Virreyes*, 124; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 18–19. His salary was $8,000. On Neve's life and death, see *Hist. Cal.*, i. 447, this series.

[14] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 154–5; v. 63–4; *Prov. Rec.*, i. 201; *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xi. 382–4; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 19.

Santander, under Colonel Juan de Ugalde as comandante de armas; the second, Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico, under General José Rengel, the comandante inspector; and the third, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias, under Ugarte as comandante general, with a limited authority over Ugalde and Rengel. The somewhat complicated relations between the three officials named and the viceroy were fully explained in the latter's elaborate instructions of August 1786, in which were also given minute directions for the prosecution of warfare against the savages.[15]

The death of Viceroy Galvez late in 1786 gave to Ugarte for a brief period the independence that had been enjoyed by Croix and Neve; but presently a royal order of March 1787 gave to Viceroy Flores the same authority that Galvez had possessed. Meanwhile there had been some slight difficulty between Ugarte and Ugalde; the system was found to be too complicated for practical success; and by decree of December 3, 1787, Flores adopted the original plan of the Caballero de Croix, consolidating the three commands into two. The eastern division remained as before in respect of territory, was called Provincias Internas del Oriente, and was still under the command of Ugalde, who now became comandante general. The other two divisions were united to form the Provincias Internas del Poniente, or Occidente, the command being still held by General Ugarte. The two generals were independent of each other, and both to a limited degree subordinate to the viceroy. Moreover, by a cédula of March 11, 1788, the limited authority of the viceroy was made absolute; and

[15] *Instruccion Formada en virtud de Real Orden de S. M., que se dirige al Señor Comandante General de Provincias Internas Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola para gobierno y puntual observancia de este Superior Gefe y de sus inmediatos Subalternos* (Mexico, 26 de Agosto de 1786). fol., 56 pages; also MS. In 216 articles. See also on Ugarte's appointment—dated Oct. 6, 1785—and matters connected therewith: *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 255; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 19–20; *Inst. Virreyes*, 124–5; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., v. 39; *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 1–2; vi. 106, 120–1; vii. 66; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xii. 29.

thereafter the northern generals carried on their campaigns under viceregal orders, their positions being substantially like those of the captain-generals of earlier times. The capitals, or head-quarters, were to be wherever circumstances might require; and the office of comandante inspector was abolished. It seems, however, that before the end of 1788 there was a cédula granting independent authority in certain matters to the generals.[16]

In 1790 Ugarte was made intendente of Guadalajara, and his place as comandante general of the Provincias del Poniente was taken by Brigadier-general Pedro de Nava, whose appointment was dated the 7th of March. At the same time Ugalde, weighed down with years and hard service, was ordered to Spain, as was also Rengel the comandante inspector. It appears that no regular successor to Ugalde was ever appointed by the king, but that Nava assumed the command ad interim of the eastern provinces.[17] The final change of the century was made by the king's order of November 23–4, 1792, and carried into effect in 1793. This was the reuniting of the eastern and western provinces in one new command independent again of the viceroyalty. The Californias, Nuevo Leon, and Nuevo Santander were detached and left subject to the viceroy; and the Provincias Internas now included Nueva Vizcaya, Texas, Coahuila, New Mexico, and Sonora and Sinaloa. There was no modification of the system until 1804, though Viceroy Revilla Gigedo made a strong opposition to

[16] *Beleña, Recop.*, i. pt. iii. 370–1; *Flores, Instruc.*, MS., 20–2; *Instruc. Virreyes*, 175, 187–9, 201; *Gonzalez, Col. N. Leon*, 108–9; *Ordenes de la Corona*, MS., vi., 62–3; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 1; *San Miguel, Rep. Mex.*, 13; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 45–6; *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 31, 44; viii. 5–6, 40–1; *St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, i. 64–5; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 1, 2.

[17] Royal order of Mar. 7, 1790, in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 2. Nov. 28, 1790, Nava to Romeu, has taken possession of the command of 'all the provincias internas, in the valley of Saltillo.' *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 415. In 1794, Ugalde was trying to effect an adjustment of his salary preparatory to sailing for Spain. *N. España, Acuerdos*, MS., 21. See also on Ugarte's appointment to Guadalajara. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep. iii. 307–14. Nava's salary was $10,000.

the new system; and Nava remained in command until after 1800.[18]

It has been stated on vague authority that José Cárlos de Agüero was governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya until 1768, and it is implied in later missionary reports that Lope de Cuellar as governor had charge of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767; but I have found no record of successors for fifteen years. The ruler lost his military power on the formation of the Provincias Internas in 1777, but his civil jurisdiction was unchanged, though he became subject to the comandante general instead of the viceroy. In 1783, and probably earlier, perhaps from 1774, Felipe de Barri, formerly ruler of the Californias, was governor at Durango, but died in 1784, and was succeeded by Juan Velasquez.[19]

In 1786 another measure recommended since 1768 by José de Galvez and Viceroy Croix was carried into effect, and the whole country was divided into intendencias. This measure and the system involved are explained in another volume of this work, being of uniform operation in all parts of New Spain.[20] Each intendency was under a gobernador intendente who united in himself the civil, military, judicial, and financial authority under viceroy, comandante general, or audiencia. His position did not differ materially from that of the former governors and captain-generals. He appointed subdelegados to rule over the districts and take the place of the former alcaldes mayores, there being also ayuntamientos in the chief towns. The Intendencia of Durango corresponded to

[18] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruc.*, MS., 542–52; *Id., Bandos*, no. 63; *Durango Doc.*, MS., 255; *Instruc. Virreyes*, 201; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 3; *Soc., Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 5. Feb. 23, 1790, José Menendez Valdés appointed asesor and auditor de guerra in place of Galindo Navarro promoted to the asesoría general of Mexico. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, ix. 350. Nov. 24, 1791, Nava issues a series of regulations for presidio service. *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Chih.*, MS., No. 10.

[19] *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 255–6; *Subsidio Eclesiástico*, MS., 165; *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 91.

[20] See *Hist. Mex.*, iii. this series.

NUEVA VIZCAYA, 1800.

Nueva Vizcaya, including the modern Durango and Chihuahua. The first governor-intendent, appointed May 21, 1785, and succeeding Velazquez in 1786, was Felipe Diaz de Ortega, a knight of the order of San Cárlos who had been lieutenant-colonel of militia at Búrgos. Ortega indulged in controversies with General Ugarte respecting the patronato; and in 1792 or a little earlier was succeeded by Francisco Javier (or Antonio) Potau de Portugal. In 1796 Bernardo Bonavía y Zapata, knight of Alcántara and corregidor of Mexico, took the office which he still held in 1798, and apparently until after 1800.[21]

Respecting the practical working of this system of intendentes and subdelegados, so far as Nueva Vicaya is particularly concerned, we have but little information. Throughout the whole country the system was generally regarded as an improvement; but in the north there is little or nothing to show that the condition of the people was either better or worse under the subdelegados than it had been under the alcaldes mayores. Escudero and García Conde, referring to the whole period down to the war of independence, and particularly to the province of Chihuahua, have nothing to say in favor of the system. According to these authors the offices were given to Spaniards with-

[21] Expediente on the controversy between Ortega and Ugarte, in *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 110–11, 255–6; *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 33–4, 136; *Gaceta de Mex.*, viii. 77; *Gomez, Diario*, vii. 431, 446. In *Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Calendario Manual y Guia de Forasteros de Mexico*, 1789, p. 111–13, is given a full list of officials for that year, which, as showing the division into districts, etc., is worth preserving, as follows: Durango, capital of N. Vizcaya, gobernador intendente, Felipe Diaz de Ortega; teniente letrado y asesor ordinario, Lic. Francisco Urrutia. Treasury officials: real caja principal, Contador Pedro Pio y Alduan; treasurer, Ramiro Bagues y Marco; real caja of Chihuahua, treasurer, Domingo Beregaña, contador, ———. Subdelgados; Batopilas, José Gutierrez de la Riva; Sta Bárbara, José Moreno; Cuencamé, Capt. Francisco José Boninfant de Perea; S. Bartolomé, Capt. Pedro Manuel Aceve de Armendariz; Guanacevi, Francisco Martinez Escudero; Guarizame, Juan Zambrano; Chihuahua, Francisco Javier del Campo, corregidor; S. Juan del Rio, José Sanchez; Mapimi, Mariano de Medina; Cosiguriachi, Capt. Juan Servando Ramirez; Nombre de Dios, Francisco Javier de Escobar; Real del Oro, Juan Sanchez Ruiz de Leon; Papasquiaro, Capt. Juan de la Vega y Canseco; Parral, Manuel Rodriguez; Cerro Gordo, Juan de Soto; Sianori, Juan Fernandez Rodriguez. Escudero, *Not. Chih.*, 23, says that there were subdelegados at S. Andrés de la Sierra, Ciénegas de los Olivos, Boboroya, Sta Isabel, Julimes, Conchos, and Sta Catalina, not mentioned in the list of 1789.

out qualifications or experience, whose only aim was to better their own condition. In the different branches of their authority they were but the blind tools of their superiors, the intendente, comandante general, or audiencia. Friends of the rich and strong who alone could bring their causes before the superior authorities, they were oppressors of the poor and weak, neglecting official duties, and attending to their own private interests. The ayuntamientos exerted a beneficial influence, but they were few and of limited powers. These strictures, however, arise largely from republican opposition to the Spanish monarchical rule as a whole, and are not specially applicable to the later as compared with the earlier period of Spanish domination.[22]

In the southern part of Nueva Vizcaya the savages seem not to have committed any serious depredations; but in Chihuahua, as all along the northern frontier from Sonora to Texas, the Apaches were increasingly hostile. Here, as elsewhere, in this as in every other period, these savages lived mainly by their raids on the Spanish establishments, their chief aim being to obtain live-stock; but opportunities for murder, torture, and destruction of all property were always sought rather than avoided. Their methods of warfare have been sufficiently described; and their special depredations for the most part have left no record; but they kept the frontier in constant terror, not only barring all progress northward, but at times threatening absolute ruin and abandonment of all that had been gained. Missionary influence, so potent a factor in the advance up to this point, was utterly powerless against these brutal rovers; treaties were of no avail, for they were never kept by the Indians except so long as it seemed for their interests to keep them, as a means of putting the Spaniards off their guard in preparation for re-

[22] *Escudero, Not. Chih.*, 20–3; García Conde, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 182–3, 267–9; *Dicc. Univ.*, ii. 686–7.

newed hostilities; extermination was the only remedy, a slow operation not yet fully carried out after more than a century of effort.

In 1773 the presidial system was reorganized in accordance with the recommendations of the Marqués de Rubí, and under the superintendence of Hugo Oconor as comandante inspector. In most respects the reglamento of 1772 remained in force to the end of the Spanish domination, and was even closely followed in later times.[23] This reglamento provided for six presidios in Nueva Vizcaya, in the line of fifteen extending from Sonora to Texas, each garrisoned by forty-three soldiers, with captain, lieutenant, alférez, chaplain, and ten native scouts, at an annual cost of $18,998 for each establishment. The presidios were placed along the northern frontier at intervals of about forty leagues. Janos was left on its former site. San Buenaventura was moved to the Valle de Ruiz, near the Laguna de Guzman. Paso del Norte was moved from the town of that name in the borders of New Mexico to the pueblo of Carrizal. Huajuquilla was moved to the Valle de San Elceario; Julimes restored to its former position at the Junta de los Rios; and Cerro Gordo was to be placed on the Rio Grande, about forty leagues below the junction. Five 'flying companies' were also organized a little later, one of which in later years became a presidial garrison at El Príncipe.[24]

[23] *Presidios, Reglamento é Instruccion para los Presidios que se han de formar en la linea de frontera de la Nueva España. Resuelto por el rey N. S. en cédula de 10 de Septiembre de 1772.* Madrid, 1772; other editions; also in *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1834, 142–89.

[24] It will be remembered that there was no presidio at S. Buenaventura in 1763, only a guard of 30 men from Huajuquilla; and it does not appear at what date the presidio had been established. Neither was there any presidio of Cerro Gordo for years before 1767; but perhaps the garrison of Pasage, not mentioned in the reglamento, had been recently transferred to the old site of Cerro Gordo. In 1814 Simon Elias, in a report on the presidios, *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Chih.*, MS., 15–23, states that S. Buenaventura was restored from Velarde—probably the site in Ruiz Valley—to the S. Buenaventura Valley 25 or 30 l. from Janos. Huajuquilla was moved from S. Elceario to Tilnacio (Tiburcio?), farther up the Rio del Norte and about 40 l. from Carrizal. Julimes and Janos remained as located by the reglamento. Cerro Gordo, from the site called San Cárlos, was moved first to Chorreras, and then to S.

The Caballero de Croix on taking command of the Provincias Internas in 1777 sent back to Mexico the most urgent appeals for reënforcements, regarding the condition of the country as most critical. He annexed to his appeal a table showing that in Nueva Vizcaya from 1771 to 1776 the number killed by Indians, not including soldiers or travellers, had been 1,674, with 154 captives, while 116 haciendas and ranchos had been plundered and 66,155 head of cattle stolen.[25] By royal order of March 10, 1782, a corps of provincial dragoons was organized to aid in the defence of the frontier;[26] but nothing appears respecting the actual service of these troops. In 1784 it was estimated that property to the value of 16,000,000 of pesos had been destroyed within twenty years in Chihuahua; and General Neve went to the villa to protect the inhabitants and investigate charges of a conspiracy between the Christian Indians and Apaches. In two months twenty-four of the accused were hanged and quartered, and a general rising was prevented.[27] But it would seem that while under Croix, Neve, and Rengel much was accomplished in the improvement of system and discipline; and by the constant campaigning along the line a degree of temporary security was afforded the surviving establishments; yet no real progress was made in the work of permanently subjecting or exterminating the savages.

Gerónimo, 7 l. from Chihuahua and 55 l. from the Junta. One of the flying companies was located between S. Elcearío and Las Juntas at Pilares, but moved to El Príncipe, 30 l. from S. Gerónimo and 25 l. from Las Juntas.

García Conde, in *Album Mex.*, i. 223–4, tells us that the Apaches about 1772 attacked a party of 40, killing all but three or four, who were captured. One was the son of Capt. Peru, of Janos, who became a violent hater of all Indians, and by a treacherous plot caused the massacre and torture of about 60 Apaches. For this he was suspended by the comandante general, but reinstated by the king. See also on the changes of 1772: *Revilla Gigedo, Inf., 13 Abril 1793*, 116; *Id., Carta, 27 Dic. 1793*, 467–8; *Velasco, Sonora*, 245–6; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 63–8; *Panes, Virreyes*, MS., 121; *Bustamante*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 26; *Zamora, Bib. Legis. Ult.*, 284; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 269–70.

[25] *N. Vizcaya, Doc. Hist.*, iv. 89–91. The table is signed by Felipe de Barri, perhaps governor at the time.

[26] *Colon, Juzgados Militares*, ii. 525–8; *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, v. 664.

[27] *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 115–17, 147.

When Viceroy Galvez assumed control over the Provincias Internas, he introduced some important changes of policy, as fully set forth in his elaborate instructions of August 26, 1786, to General Ugarte y Loyola.[28] Warfare alone, in the opinion of Galvez, must fail in the future as it had failed in the past. The Apaches were skilful warriors and horsemen, they had no homes or towns to be defended, and no large armies to be defeated; if driven entirely from their present line of mountain strongholds they would simply retire to another similar line farther north, increasing their force by the addition of northern bands. Yet war must be waged without cessation on all hostile tribes, and minute instructions were given as to methods of making it effective. Each tribe must be forced to sue for peace, when a treaty was to be made and strictly kept, slight faults being overlooked but grave infractions severely punished. No reliance was to be placed in the good faith of the savages, but it was to be made their interest to keep the peace. It was declared that "a bad peace was better than a good war." Warfare was the Apaches' business, together with hunting; and only by war could they hitherto obtain the live-stock and other things they desired. Hunting was in comparison hard and unprofitable work. But now with tribes at peace trade was to be encouraged, and even gifts were to be made at cost of the government. Thus old wants and weaknesses, such as the fondness for personal adornment, would be increased, and new needs created for

[28] *Instruccion formada en virtud de real órden*, passim. The author had had much personal experience as an Indian-fighter in Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora, and he consulted many other officers. He had nothing but praise for what had been done in the recent past; but believed that difficulties in the way of success were now greater than ever, and that it was absolutely necessary to experiment with a new policy. The document of 216 articles goes very minutely into details and shows that the viceroy fully understood his subject. He declared that only in Alta California was any progress being made; elsewhere 'hemos perdido mucha parte de nuestros antiguos establecimientos.' On the lack of good faith among the Apaches he says: 'Nadie ignora las veleidades de todos los Indios y su mala fe, pero no siempre la han encontrado buena en nuestros procedimientos: hay mil exemplares antiguos y muy modernos de esta verdad que jamas deben refirirse.'

articles of which the supply would cease on the resumption of hostilities. Intoxicating liquors should be freely dealt out in particular, if the Apaches could be induced to form an appetite for them. Moreover fire-arms and powder, always of inferior quality, should be sold without fear; for it was an error to suppose a gun in the hands of an Indian to be a more deadly weapon than the bow and arrows. The change in weapons if widely effected would be an advantage to the Spaniards in actual battle, and it would force the foe to make peace for repairs to arms and new supplies of powder. Meanwhile the different tribes were to be incited in every possible way to a warfare of extermination between themselves; and extermination alone was the policy to be favored. After a long time God might miraculously show some way to conversion and civilization; but at present it was folly to think of such things.[29]

As to the practical workings of this new policy in Nueva Vizcaya, the records contain no detailed information. As early as 1788 Viceroy Flores in a report to the king expressed strong opposition to Galvez' plan of making treaties with any Apache tribes, at the same time declaring trade with the savages to be impracticable;[30] but it does not appear that the policy was materially modified, but rather that to a large extent it was successful during the last decade of the century. That is, the frontier was efficiently protected by the skilful management and constant precautions of the presidio commanders; and most of the Apaches were kept nominally at peace by a system of gifts and free rations, many rancherías being supported in idleness at government expense. We hear of no serious depredations in these years or in the beginning of the next century. Neither does it ap-

[29] See also on the new policy *Escudero, Not. Chih.*, 236–49; *Id., Observaciones*, 15–17.

[30] Flores' report of 1788 in *Bustamante, Suplemento*, iii. 77–81. In *Id.*, 83, Flores is said to have stationed a regiment of dragoons in Durango in 1788 with excellent effects.

pear, however, that the Apaches were making very rapid progress in the great work of being exterminated, of becoming drunkards, or in forming an ineradicable taste for Spanish luxuries. They were rather biding their time and awaiting the accumulation of plunder. Meanwhile the expense of the royal treasury was heavy, being about one million dollars per year for the military establishment of about four thousand men in the Provincias Internas, twelve hundred and sixty-eight being the force in Nueva Vizcaya, besides the amount expended in gifts and rations for the savages.[31]

José Vicente Diaz Bravo, a native of Tudela, Navarre, who had been a professor in the University of Huesca, a counsellor of the inquisition, and a barefooted Carmelite, being the author also of several published works, was presented to the diocese of Durango, succeeding Bishop Tamaron, in 1769. He was consecrated at Puebla in 1770; but it is not clear that he ever took possession of his office, since he is said to have died in 1771 or 1772 at sea on his way to Spain. The next bishop was Antonio Macarulla Minguilla de Aguilanin, from Aragon, who was promoted from the see of Comayagua, Honduras. He ruled from February 16, 1774, to June 12, 1781, at which date he died at Laguna near Durango. He spent his income freely for the completion and endowment of the collegiate seminary begun by the Jesuits and since 1767 in charge of the governor. He was succeeded by Estévan Lorenzo de Tristan, a native of Jaen, Toledo, educated at the university of Granada, and bishop of Leon, Nicaragua, since 1776. He was

[31] July 2, 1790, police regulations issued by the comandante general for Indian residents, 12 articles. *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Chih.*, i. 2–5. Nov. 24, 1791, code of regulations, in 17 articles for presidio officers. *Id.*, i. 10–13. In *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 207–25, I have a valuable descriptive report on the Apaches, their haunts, and their methods of warfare, written by Lieut. Col. Antonio Cordero in 1796 for the comandante general. *Cordero, Noticias relativas á la Nacion Apache*, 1796, MS.

promoted to Durango in 1782, but did not assume the office until 1786. In 1794 he was made bishop of Guadalajara, but died on the way thither at Lagos. In the same year José Joaquin Granados, a Franciscan of Querétaro, bishop of Sonora, author of the *Tardes Americanas* and other works in defence of the native races, was appointed to this see. He arrived in May; but in the absence of certain documents the cabildo objected to his taking possession; and the bishop died the day after the papers came, on the 20th of August. Gabriel de Olivares y Benito was the next incumbent of the episcopal office, taking possession on May 29, 1796. He was a native of Xaloira Spain; had been dean of Durango down to 1788, when he was made bishop of Ciudad Real, Chiapas; from which see he was promoted to that of Durango. He ruled until the date of his death, February 26, 1812; and distinguished himself by completing the fine church of Santa Ana at the cost of a devout lady who gave all her estate for the purpose.[32]

By a royal order of February 4, 1781, the bishopric of Guadiana, or Durango, was divided. The coast provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias were formed into the new bishopric of Sonora, with capital at Arizpe, under Fray Antonio de los Reyes as first bishop. This left in the diocese of Durango the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico. Two years earlier the new bishopric of Nuevo Leon had been created, but this took nothing from that of Durango, the districts of Parras and Saltillo, though parts of Nueva Vizcaya down to 1785, having belonged to the bishopric of Guadalajara.[33]

There were several controversies to vary the mo-

[32] On the succession of bishops see: *Iglesias y Conventos, Relacion*, 318–19; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 22–3; *Ramirez, Not. Dur.*, 23–4, 51; *Gaceta de Mex.*, iii. 305–6; vi. 377, 533–4; vii. 29; viii. 101; *Dicc. Univ.*, iii. 144–5; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, ii. 56; *Gomez, Diario*, vii. 243–4, 389.

Tithes of the diocese 1770–9, $943,280; 1780–9, $1,080,313. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 19; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 474. Tithes of 1777, $20,483. *Morfi, Diario*, 344–51. Royal decree respecting tithes, 1796. *Gaceta de Mex.*, xi. 78–80.

[33] *Beleña, Recopilacion*, i. pt. ii. 291.

notony of ecclesiastical routine during this period, none being fully recorded, and none apparently of vital importance. Curates were in the habit of marrying their parishioners without attending to the formality of application to the bishop, on the plea of long distances and the prevalent poverty. The latter in alarm appealed to the archbishop, and the matter was referred to the king and by him to the ecclesiastical court. The decision in 1768 was in favor of the curates.[34]

The principal controversies, however, were between the bishop and the comandante general of Provincias Internas. The latter as we have seen was at times independent of the viceroy, and invested with the real patronato in the matter of appointing curates. So great were the difficulties of obtaining clergymen or friars for the parishes that formalities were often disregarded on both sides; and it is not strange that as these vexations multiplied misunderstandings arose. The correspondence though somewhat bulky is far from complete, and the details are not worth recording. The ceremonial reception due to General Nava at the cathedral was another topic added to the quarrel in 1791; Galindo Navarro, the asesor, engaged ardently in the war on paper, being accused by Bishop Tristan of maliciously and needlessly provoking dissension on questions long since decided; and some very severe and sarcastic expressions were drawn out on both sides. The bishop argued that the general's plenary powers were merely honorary and not intended to be practically exercised; and declared that by his arbitrary intervention the old missions would soon be entirely ruined, "because the religion that is now being planted is not the ancient faith of Jesus Christ, but the modern one with an ugly and bad odor of independence. God grant it may not come to be French!" He could see no other way to secure peace

[34] *Durango, Sobre oposicion del Dean, etc.*, MS. A collection of original papers on the subject. 257 pages, from the archives of the bishopric.

and an end of the asesor's intermeddling but that "all the missions should be formed into one simple benefice, or *caballerato*, to which His Majesty should appoint the Licentiate Pedro Galindo y Navarro!" In the matter of ceremonials the royal decision was favorable in certain respects to the bishop; on the other topics trouble ceased perhaps with the departure of Galindo; for we hear nothing of the controversy in the last years.[35]

There is extant a series of reports made by provincial, guardian, bishop, and viceroy, from which a satisfactory idea may be formed respecting the condition of the old missions of the country during the last quarter of the century, of which establishments there were forty-two, receiving sínodos from the royal treasury, all being still called missions though many were nominally under the care of secular clergymen.[36]

The Jesuits left twenty-seven missions, if we add those of the Chinipas district—as was done in the official reports, and is most convenient for present

[35] Correspondence in *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Son.*, MS., 6–14. In 1796 the ecclesiastical authorities under a royal order attempted to collect tithes from soldiers and others at the military posts; but after some trouble and a protest from the comandante general, such citizens were declared exempt from tithes in 1800. *Gaceta de Mex.*, xi. 78–80.

[36] *Descripcion Topográfica de las Misiones de Propaganda Fide de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas en la Sierra Madre.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. tom. iv. 91–131. The author was a Franciscan friar not named, and the report was written at the request of Gen. Croix about 1780. It contains of course a large amount of descriptive matter that cannot be utilized here.

Laba, Informe de diez y seis Misiones de las que los Regulares extinguidos tenian en el Reyno de la Nueba Vizcaya, y aora estan á cargo del Colegº. Appco. de Nra Sra de Guadalupe de Zacatecas; hecho por parte de dicho Colegº. á 3 de Marzo del año de 1786, de órden del Exmo. Sr. Virrey Conde de Galvez, y conforme á el que el Rey nro. Sor., Dios le gñe, se sirvió expedir en el Pardo, á 31 de Enº de 1784, que sirve de instruccion, y es como se sigue, MS. This is an original in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 171–98, with original correspondence about the report in *Id.*, 165–9, 285–9, 519–20. The author, Fr Ignacio María Laba, was guardian of the Guadalupe college.

Tristan, Informe del Obispo de Durango sobre las Misiones de su Diócesis año de 1789. Original MS. in *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, 89–100. *Martinez, Estado Actual de las Misiones que tiene á su cargo esta Provincia de N. P. S. Francisco de los Zacatecas, 1789.* Original MS. in *Id.*, 357. The author, Antonio Fernando Martinez, was provincial. And finally—*Revilla Gigedo, Carta de 27 de Diciembre de 1793*, v. 436–41. He follows Laba and the others in most respects.

purposes, though the district has formerly been included in Sonora—to the fifteen of Tarahumara proper. At the expulsion of 1767 the comandante, Lope de Cuellar, took possession of and removed so far as possible the property of the establishments. By the viceroy's orders fifteen friars were sent from the Franciscan college of Guadalupe in Zacatecas to be put in charge by the bishop of that number of missions; though by a later order the distribution was made by the comandante of Chihuahua. The next year a new mission was added. The Franciscans had at first nothing to do with the temporalities, though entitled to a limited amount of personal service from the neophytes; but in 1770–1, by the order of Visitor-general Galvez, the missionaries were obliged, against their wishes as they state, to resume control of the mission estates, and the property removed was restored. That is, the padres were allowed to send to Chihuahua for herds of cattle, which being native to the plains soon died in the mountains, and left the missions as before with a very small supply of livestock. So says the padre guardian; but the viceroy tells us that the confiscated property was not ordered to be restored until 1789, when it was valued at $61,417. But there was generally a small surplus of grain; a little sugar-cane was raised at the Chinipas establishments; and the friars had their annual stipend of $300 or $350. In twenty years they built several new churches, repairing and decorating many others at a cost of about $90,000, besides supporting themselves and their communities. In 1763 the neophyte population of these missions had been 15,000; in 1767, by a census taken by the Franciscans, it was 12,800; according to the provincial's report it had increased to 13,300 in 1786, though the total of items given is only 12,200; and in 1793 the number is given by Revilla Gigedo as 12,800.[37]

[37] In the alcaldía de Cuziguariachic, or Cosiguriachi: Tomochic and Arisiachic, P. Angel Patron; 772 Indians in 1763, 499 in 1786. Cajurichic, or

Respecting the condition of the mission Indians many particulars are given. Though addicted to drunkenness, licentiousness, and superstition, they were harmless, peaceable, jovial, and fond of the padres, submitting to be "paternally flogged" for various offences. Very few actually resided in the communities, but most wandered in the mountains free from all control. Native officials ten or fifteen in number were formally appointed for each establishment, but they had no real power; police regulations of the government respecting passports and licenses were not enforced; and the friars could not prevent grave abuses in the employment of native laborers. The harvest was great but the laborers few. "The great Shepherd," writes one of the friars, "can perhaps leave his ninety-nine sheep to search for one that is lost; but we cannot do it, else we should lose both." Yet the Indians were induced to cultivate

Capirichi, and Paqueachi, formerly visitas of Tomochic, made a mission in 1791; 508 Indians in 1763, 515 in 1786. Tutuaca and Tepachi, or Tepeachi, P. Miguel Santa María; 611 Indians in 1763, 606 in 1786. Moris and Maicoba, P. Miguel Rada; 646 Indians in 1763, 325 in 1786. Batopilillas, Barbaroco or Baboroc, and Jicamorachi or Xicamorac, P. Juan Lanuza, 599 Indians in 1763, 700 in 1786. Santa Ana and Loreto, with Real de S. Agustin, P. Mateo Amador; 879 Indians in 1763, 819 in 1786, 919 (?) in 1793.

In the alcaldía of Batopilas: Chinipas and Guadalupe, with reales Topago and Sta Gertrudis, P. Antonio Solórzano; 323 Indians in 1763, 125 in 1786. Guazapares, Temoris, and Tepochic, P. Joaquin Gallardo; 580 Indians in 1763, 365 in 1786, 705 in 1793. Serocahui, or Serrocoachi, with Cuiteco, or Guitex, and Churo, or Churue, or Rechurro, P. Antonio Urbina; 781 Indians in 1763, 453 in 1786, 653 (?) in 1793. Hueguachi, or Gueguachic, with Samechi, Pamachi, and Guagusivo, or Guagueigo, or Cuajuibo, P. Rafael Jimenez; 1,518 Indians in 1763, 1,115 in 1786. Tubares (Concepcion), with S. Ignacio, P. José Amillano; 437 Indians in 1763, 189 in 1786. Tubares (S. Miguel), with Sta Ana and S. Andrés, P. José Francisco Moreno; 451 Indians in 1763, 351 in 1786, 364 in 1793. Baborigame, Cinco Llagas, Basanopa, or Banuapa, Toahahayana, or Tobollana, Tenoriba, Sta Rosa, or Sta Ana, and Sonoriba, Suerachi, or Hueachi, Guerachi, P. Juan B. Larrondo; 1,431 Indians in 1763, 1,243 in 1786, 1,395 in 1793. Nabogame, with Dolores and Chinatu, P. Luis Aldrete; 793 Indians in 1763, 925 in 1786, 227 in 1793.

In the alcaldía of Ciénega de los Olivos: Norogachic, with Papaichic, or Papaguichi, and Tetaguichic, P. Juan de Dios Larrondo; 3,864 Indians in 1763, 2171 in 1786. Tonachic, with Oboriachi, Sta Ana, Guacochi and Tecaborachi, P. Francisco Rouset; 678 Indians in 1763, 1,119 in 1786, 1,200 in 1793. Baquiachic, with Pahuichic, or Panchi, Navarachic, and Teguerichic, P. José Justo Gomez; apparently the new mission founded in 1768; 744 Indians in 1786, 914 in 1793. Guaicabo, with Guizarari; founded in 1791; population included in the 914 of the preceding. Chinarras, a Jesuit mission in 1763, is not mentioned. It was probably merged in San Gerónimo.

little patches of maize and beans, to attend religious exercises on many feast days, and to receive the sacrament annually. This was the sum and substance of their christianity and civilization. At each establishment a few had a smattering of Spanish; but most spoke their native dialects, or a prevalent jargon called Guarigía. The padres preached in the vernacular and used it for the sacraments. Children, every day at the cabeceras and often at the visitas, attended the doctrina; and an effort was made in compliance with government orders, to teach them Spanish; but on growing up they adopted the habits of their parents and forgot for the most part what they had learned. Yet the Franciscans flattered themselves they could see a slight improvement in all respects under their management. In their comparisons, however, they were disposed to consider the state of the missions during the confusion immediately and inevitably resulting from the loss of the former missionaries rather than that before the Jesuits were disturbed.

Eleven of the ex-Jesuit establishments with a registered population of ten or eleven thousand souls were nominally turned over to the bishop in 1767. The property taken away at the expulsion was never returned, or at least not until after 1790; ministers could be found for but few of the communities; and their progress toward destruction was rapid. Says Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in 1793: "Pitiable is the state of those which were put in charge of secular priests, since most of them are without ministers, and those serving are doing so ad interim against their will, repeatedly offering their resignations, which are not accepted because there is nobody to take their places. The reverend bishop of Durango intrusted these missions to the curate of the real de minas of Cosiguriachi; but great as may be his efforts they cannot suffice for the accomplishment of the commission, because it is prevented by distances, the roughness of the roads in the Sierra Madre, and the condition

of the Indians abandoned since the departure of the extinguished regulars." And this is confirmed by the bishop's own statements.[38] Nine establishments still remained in charge of the Franciscans of the Provincia of Zacatecas, by whom they had been founded. They had a population of 1,525 in 1789 and of 2,024 in 1793. Here the padres had nothing to do with the temporalities. Their stipends were from $225 to $300 each; but we have no record of their names nor of details respecting the condition of the missions. Doubtless the change was very slight during this period.[39] Of the missions at the Junta de los Rios nothing is recorded. They had probably been abandoned by the friars, and the Indians intrusted to the care of the presidio chaplain. There were, however, five missions in the region of El Paso, but within the limits of Nueva Vizcaya, in charge of Franciscans of the Provincia del Santo Evangelio in Mexico, as were the missions of New Mexico.[40] These had been secularized in 1756, but restored to the friars in 1771, being unable to support curates.

The population of the intendencia of Durango during the last decade of the century, including all classes except gentile Indians, was estimated at about 120,000.[41] Of Chihuahua annals beyond the topics of government, Indian and military affairs, and missions, already treated, there is nothing to be recorded,

[38] These secularized missions, with the population in 1763 and 1793—the latter, I suppose, being from registers much earlier than the date of the viceroy's report—were as follows: Coyachic, 783, 462; San Borja, 1280, 860; Temeichic, 992, 588; Papigochic, 642, 569; Nonoava, 1,170, 1,001; Carichic, 1,794, 1,312; Sto Tomás, 1,770, 405; Sisoguichic, 1,091, 2,808; Matachic, 343, 458; Temosachic, 721, 500; Satevo (secularized before 1767 and added to curacy of Batopilas, but again separated and given a stipend), 548, 1,052.

[39] *Martinez, Estado.* The missions were: San Cristóbal de Nombre de Dios, 194 Ind. in 1789, 262 in 1793; San Gerónimo, 189; Natividad de Bachiniva, 166, 200; San Andrés, 118, 170; Sta Isabel, 425, 657; Santiago de Babonoyaba, 142, 192; San Antonio de Julimes, 76, 112; Sta Cruz de Tepaculmes, 76, 100; San Buenaventura de Atotonilco, 227, 331.

[40] These were El Paso, San Lorenzo, Senecú, Isleta, and Socorro. *Tristan, Informe.* See also *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep., i. 572.

[41] *Revilla Gijedo, Carta de 27 Dic. 1793*, p. 437; *Humboldt, Tablas Estad.*, MS., 17, 25; *Escudero, Not. Dur.*, 28; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ix. 267.

even in the form of local items or statistics. It may be presumed that, as military protection was somewhat effective and the mines were productive, towns and haciendas were fairly prosperous; but there is no reason to suppose that the Indian communities under curates from the beginning of the period were more fortunate than those that have been mentioned as ex-missions.[42]

Durango annals outside of the general topics alluded to—ecclesiastical affairs being substituted for that of missions—are as meagre as in the north. The capital city of Durango had about 1780 a population of about 6,000, or 13,000 including the pueblos and ranchos of its jurisdiction, numbers which were doubtless increased slowly during the following twenty years.[43] Commercially the town is described by Morfi as stagnant and without enterprise. The lands, though fertile, had fallen into the hands of a few owners too poor to cultivate them properly. There were many churches and convents, and ecclesiastical revenues were in a flourishing condition, producing $70,000 in 1774.

[42] In 1784–5 a terrible epidemic is noted as having raged in Chihuahua, 900 persons dying in three months in the city alone, and 1,200 in the El Paso region. It extended to animals and birds as well as men. In 1787 there was a serious drought. The members of the city ayuntamiento for several years are named. *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 233, 276, 284; ii. 225–6, 437–8; iii. 65–6; vii. 30. According to Conde in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 282, the assays at Chihuahua and Parral from 1777 to 1793 show a silver production of $82,000 per year, or a total of $1,400,000. A document quoted in *Sta Eulalia Mines, Statement*, 9, represents the yield in 1738–90 as $45,219,821; and the total yield 1703–90 as $100,000,000. According to Payno in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep. i. 415–18, the excise revenue of Chihuahua was $32,000 in 1791, and $28,600 in 1792. In 1791 the vecinos and workmen of the town contributed $9,081 for the war against France. *Gaceta de Mex.*, vi. 238–40. *Mascaró* (*Manuel*), *Diario del Ingeniero desde la villa de Chihuahua al pueblo de Arizpe en la Pimería Alta, 1779*, MS., is sufficiently described by the title. It contains some slight local descriptions.

[43] 6,590 and 12,774 are the figures given in *Morfi, Diario*, 344–51, for 1777; while an undated table (probably of 1790) in *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 254; *Ilustracion Mex.*, i. 38–9, makes the numbers 5,952 and 13,169 respectively. Of the total population 4,511 were women and 3,917 men, the latter divided as follows: Treasury employés 42, judiciary id. 18, 'ministerios de pluma' 13, commerce 80, owners of mines 2, mining 18, hacendados and administrators 31, farmers 2,011, liberal arts 74, mechanics 859, servants 308, no occupation 455. In *Viagero Universal*, xxvii. 122, the population is given as 5,000 families in 1790, probably an exaggeration.

In 1784 there was a drought followed in 1785–6 by a terrible epidemic which killed two thirds of the live-stock, by excessively high prices, and by a famine among the poor, affording to the rich and to the churches a fine field for charity, prayers, religious ceremonials, and resort to sacred relics.[44] In 1785–7 a war was waged on the scorpions which infested the town. A bounty of half a real for eight *alacranes* was paid by the government or by a tax on the people, and the boys engaged with much zeal in the good work, killing 56,644 of the venomous insects.[45] In 1798 there was a pestilence of small-pox, as we learn from a sermon preached on the subject.[46]

Of other Durango districts with few and slight exceptions nothing is known; but there is no reason to suppose that there was any important change in the different settlements from the condition in 1763–6 as recorded in a preceding chapter.[47]

[44] *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 167; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 314, 356. In 1784 the project of a woollen factory was agitated, a citizen giving $50,000 for the purpose, and a company being organized. *Id.*, i. 146. Grand celebration Dec. 29, 1789, of accession of Cárlos IV. *Id.*, iv. 41–3. Similar ceremonies on success of Spanish arms Aug. 21, 1793. *Id.*, v. 525–6.

[45] *Alzate, Gacetas*, iii. 147–57; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 282; ii. 445.

[46] *Esquivel, Sermon Eucarístico.* Of 478 cases of natural small-pox 63 died; of 3,824 inoculated cases 39 died. Don Diego Borica, governor of California, was buried with military honors in 1800. *Gaceta de Mex.*, x. 177. Births 1796–1800, 2201; deaths, 1233; marriages, 449. *Id.*, viii. 254; ix. 17, 201; x. 73, 242.

[47] In *Dicc. Univ.*, viii. 767, is a list of curacies, of which there were 19 or 20 in Durango, and 46 in the whole intendencia. In *Durango, Doc. Hist.*, MS., 105–13 is a description of Papasquiaro by Antonio de Antoneli. It was made a villa in 1787, but suffered from savage raids as late as 1794. About 2,300 fanegas of maize were harvested each year; 2,725 pack animals were employed, earning $40,875. At the mines of El Oro a severe earthquake was felt March 26, 1787. *Gaceta de Mex.*, ii. 349. Morfi, *Diario*, 357–8, 365–6, 371–6, 406–10, gives a brief notice of Mapimi and Avinito mining towns, and also of the ex-presidio of Gallo with 800 inhabitants, and the villa and Tlascaltec town of Saltillo in 1777.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SONORA AND SINALOA.

1768–1800.

ELIZONDO'S MILITARY EXPEDITION—NUEVA ANDALUCÍA—NOTICIA BREVE—ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE—UNSUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS ON THE CERRO PRIETO—DEPREDATIONS OF THE SAVAGES—ARRIVAL OF GALVEZ—PARDON OFFERED—REVOLT ON THE RIO FUERTE—NEW ADVANCE ON THE REBEL SERIS—CHANGE OF POLICY—FINAL SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS—THE COUNTRY AT PEACE—DISCOVERY OF GOLD MINES—NEW PRESIDIO REGULATIONS—MISSION ANNALS—SECULARIZATION—FRANCISCANS OF QUERÉTARO AND JALISCO—FATE OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS—GARCÉS ON THE GILA—MURDER OF PRESIDENT GIL—REYES' REPORT OF 1772—LIST OF GOVERNORS—PROVINCIAS INTERNAS—ARIZPE THE CAPITAL—BISHOPRIC—LIST OF BISHOPS—APACHE WARFARE—PEACE AT LAST—MORE REVOLT—DESTRUCTION OF MAGDALENA—ANZA'S EXPEDITIONS TO CALIFORNIA—THE COLORADO RIVER MISSIONS—TRANSFER OF SONORA MISSIONS—CUSTODIA DE SAN CÁRLOS—ARRICIVITA'S CHRONICLE—LOCAL ITEMS, LIST OF PADRES, AND STATISTICS.

WE left the Sonora provinces at the end of 1767 in a state of suspense, all classes anxiously awaiting the coming of the grand military expedition that was to save them from destruction at the hands of savages, the chief fear being of the coast tribes known as Seris, Piatos, and Sibubapas, whose strongholds were in the Cerro Prieto, north of Guaymas. In 1764 the king had ordered relief to be sent to the afflicted northern provinces, but for several years, complaints multiplying in the mean time, lack of funds in the treasury prevented execution of the royal orders. Finally in 1767, the visitador general José de Galvez introducing new zeal into the administration of affairs, a company of one hundred Catalan volunteers being sent from Spain, and contributions of about $200,000

being obtained from the Spanish merchants at the Jalapa fair and from the Real Consulado of Mexico, an expedition was fitted out, consisting of about three hundred men. Colonel Domingo Elizondo was put in command, and the enterprise was under the general supervision of Galvez himself. The latter crossed over to California to carry out measures fully recorded in other chapters of this volume; while Elizondo and his troops proceeded to Sonora at the beginning of 1768. The campaign lasted until 1771, when the army returned to Mexico, and the government published a brief and summary account of the expedition, which was represented as having been entirely successful not only in reducing the savages to submission, but in discovering rich gold mines, and putting the country generally on the road to great prosperity. The province was called Nueva Andalucía in this document.[1] No details of military operations are given; and the same may be said of Galvez's report of 1771, and of other printed works treating of the subject. By the latter a six years' war is recorded, ending in 1771, and resulting in victory over the savage foe.[2] Fortunately, however, there is enough of the original correspondence in these years extant to furnish a generally satisfactory record. Captain Cancio continued his letters so often cited in an earlier chapter; and we have important official reports to Governor Pineda from Colonel Elizondo and the presidial captains.

Elizondo with one hundred and eighty men reached Sinaloa in February 1768, and marched to Álamos and Guaymas, being attacked somewhere on the way

[1] *Noticia Breve de la Expedicion Militar de Sonora y Cinaloa, su exito feliz, y ventajoso estado en que por consecuencia de ella se han puesto ambas Provincias.* Mexico, 17 de Junio de 1771, folio, 12 p. It is announced that full reports will be printed later, but I have found no such reports.

[2] *Galvez, Informe General del Marqués de Sonora,* 31 Dic. 1771, p. 138–52; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iv. 57; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 59; *Hernandez, Geog. Son.*, 22–3; *Museo Mex.*, iii. 28–31; *Velasco, Sonora,* 252. In *Sonora Resúmen de Not.*, 223–4, it is said that Elizondo after a vigorous warfare failed to reduce the savages; but finally a policy of negotiation and gifts was more successful, and the Seris lived for many years at expense of the treasury.

by the Seris, who captured thirty of his horses on the 1st of May. Before the middle of May three vessels arrived with the remaining forces, and a plan of action had been agreed upon by the governor and colonel. Elizondo, though willing to take advice from the captains experienced in Indian warfare, was impatient to begin operations; the more so as Rubí in Mexico had declared the scheme to be impracticable. In the last days of May, when all was ready, the army marched toward the Cerro Prieto in three divisions, under Elizondo, Captain Bernardo Urrea, and Captain Cancio, from Guaymas, Pitic, and Buenavista, respectively. By this movement the Indians were to have been forced to concentrate at one point for subsequent annihilation; but each division simply marched out into the desert until the horses were worn out and then returned; and on June 6th the commander frankly admitted that the reconnoissance had been a complete failure, and that largely through his own ignorance, though he hoped he had gained experience that would be useful in the future. After consultation further operations were postponed until autumn.[3] In November after preparations that were deemed sufficient Elizondo resumed hostilities. At first he met with some slight success; but in the grand attack on the Cañon de la Palma on the 25th a party of soldiers fired by mistake on their companions, a hail-storm came most inopportunely upon them, and a new failure had to be reported.[4]

[3] Elizondo's letters of Feb. 2, May 11, June 6, 1768, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 143–9. 'He hecho lo de Cauca,' he writes, 'hizo lo que pudo y no hizo nada.' Cancio's letters May 20, June 11, July 6, 18, in *Cancio, Cartas*, 255–78, including a full account of the author's part in the campaign. He thought one Indian was killed, but the horses were too tired to go after the body. Two native women from the Cerro Prieto testified at Belen that the foe, about 400 strong, were in four intercommunicating cajones accessible only by ladders; and that they were well armed and supplied, knowing that troops had arrived from abroad.

[4] Viceroy Croix's letters of Jan. Feb. 1769, in reply to reports from Elizondo and Pineda. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 8–13. Croix acquits Elizondo of all blame, and thinks it must have been God's will that the Indians should not be exterminated at that time. Pineda had reported a raid of the Sibubapas in Ostimuri resulting in the death of 2 Spaniards and 7 Ind-

Correspondence of the time is naturally filled with routine details of no special importance or interest; but it also contains proof that in 1768–9, notwithstanding the presence of the army and the efforts made to strike a crushing blow, the province was still a prey to the marauders, who attacked exposed points with alarming frequency and deadly results.[5] The military could do nothing to resist these raids by detached parties, but the preparations of Elizondo were much hindered by them. There were also some trifling misunderstandings between the different officers, requiring frequent explanations and apologies. During the spring of 1769 there were several minor expeditions by different officers, made with a view to concentrate the enemy, and to reconnoitre his position; and apparently one or two movements in force were

ians, with 15 wounded and 2 captives. The alférez of Tubac had also been repulsed by the Apaches.

[5] Feb. 18, 1768, Capt. Antonio E. Esparza from Trinidad reports an attack by 34 rebel Pimas commanded by a Spaniard with a Tarahumara guide, who penetrated to Yecora, killing 13–20 persons at different places, and robbing as usual. Great efforts made by Capt. E., who could catch none of the foe. Another hostile party of 46 reported. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 128–34. March 8th, complaints of dissatisfaction on the Rio Mayo. *Id.*, ii. 251–3. June 23d, Capt. Esparza from Arivechi, alludes vaguely to Apache hostilities of the month. *Id.*, ii. 139–41. Sept. 29th, P. Reyes apprehends trouble at Cucurpe. *Id.*, ii. 357–8. Oct. 26th, P. Reyes at Tuape writes of 7 lives lost since he came. *Id.*, ii. 359–60. Nov. 19th, Apaches attacked Suamca, burning the houses. Padre and families went to Cocóspera. Five men were wounded. *Id.*, ii. 10–11, 393–8. Dec. 1st, cattle of Cucurpe carried off. *Id.*, ii. 361–2. Capt. Gallo to patrol Ostimurí; needs more men. *Id.*, ii. 288–90. Hostilities reported by Gov. Pineda, as per acknowledgments of viceroy. Dec. 1768, 20 Indians attacked Nuri, 5 or 6 killed on both sides. Jan., Apaches on Sonora River killed 10. Attacked Tumacacori at midday. Feb., Indians of Charay revolted and burned the stocks. March, curate of Bayoreca killed. April, Bac attacked and cattle driven off; Suamca burned (as above). Indian governor of Sobia resisted arrest of 3 rebels by Alf. Padilla. Hacienda of Tobaca sacked, 3 killed; also attack on Mochicagui. *Croix, Cartas*, 1–27. Twenty-eight persons killed from Oct. 21st to June 30th. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th scr. ii. 298–301. Troubles at Bac. *Id.*, ii. 370–7. Some details of murder of curate of Bayoreca. *Id.*, ii. 301–4, 307–9. List of 38 killed from Oct. 19th to March 23d. *Id.*, ii. 316–17. March 25th, a long account of a raid by hostile Pimas in the Álamos district, and of the steps taken to punish them, reported by Beleña. Nothing was effected; but every petty detail is described at great length as if a great victory had been won. *Id.*, ii. 96–103. April 4th, hostilities in a dozen places in Ostimuri with details of protective measures. *Id.*, ii. 309–13. April 9th, particulars of the trouble at Sobia, by Beleña. *Id.*, ii. 105–8. May 5, 1769, Capt. Vildosola learns from a captive that the Apaches are preparing for a great raid on the northern presidio horses. *Id.*, ii. 339–40.

made by Pineda and Elizondo on the Cerro Prieto strongholds; but the records are very vague, and only show that the main force of the Indians could not be reached, much less defeated.[6] Yet there were indications that some portions of the hostile Indians were becoming alarmed at the preparations being made, and were disposed to parley. So little had been accomplished by force of arms that the Spaniards also began to think favorably of negotiations. Therefore, when Galvez arrived in person from California in May he at once forwarded a bando to be published at Guaymas, and ordered all hostilities to be suspended until the result could be known. The bando contained an offer of pardon for all past offences, with kind treatment and material aid in the future, on condition that the Indians would come immediately with their families to the Spanish ports and surrender; but also a threat of terrible vengeance and utter annihilation if the offered terms were not accepted.[7]

The rebels when made acquainted with the terms offered seem to have shown a willingness to accept, mingled with want of confidence in the good faith of the Spaniards. No sooner were they satisfied on one point than some rumor caused new difficulties respecting another. Each band on the point of surrender managed to hear a report that they were not to be included in the pardon extended to their brothers, but were all to be killed or enslaved. It is probable

[6] *Croix, Cartas*, 1–27; Galvez's letters, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 29–31. In Jan. Pineda reported that the enemy had abandoned Cerro Prieto. but that seems to have been an error. After a fruitless campaign another was planned for Feb. 25th; and in May Anza made an entrada, capturing a few boys.

[7] 'Al disembarcarme á principios de Mayo de 1769, se hallava en todo su calor la guerra contra los Indios reveldes Seris, Pimas, y Sibubapas. Por las insuperables dificultades de que las tropas llegasen á una accion decisiva, y como repetidas vezes habian dado esperanzas de rendirse luego que yo pasara de Californias y les asegurara el perdon, publiqué un Edicto concediendolo á los sublevados sí se entregavan en el término de quarenta dias, y que de lo contrario serian tratados con el último rigor de las armas.' *Galvez, Informe General*, 148. May 8th. Galvez to Pineda and Elizondo, announces his arrival at Sta Cruz de Mayo, and incloses the bando. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 32–4.

that a few leading spirits were mainly responsible for these obstacles. The original period of forty days from May 8th was extended at the pretended intercession of a friar, expiring June 27th. Before this date the Sibubapas surrendered, and as they represented the Seris and Pimas to be willing to yield as soon as they knew that the others had been well treated, a new extension of the truce for twenty-five days was granted.[8]

Another reason for extending the time was that the forces were required in another direction to quell a revolt of the towns on the Rio Fuerte. This trouble began among the Charayes, and soon spread to many other pueblos, being aggravated by Beleña's policy in certain matters not specified. The rebels pretended to have acted under promise of support from the Yaquis and Mayos, though this claim proved to be unfounded; and they repulsed the first forces sent against them. By the middle of July, however, this revolt was quelled, largely through the efforts of Governor Armona from California. Now the visitador fell ill at Álamos from overwork and a severe cold; and meanwhile the term of the truce with the gulf coast foes expired on the 22d of July. Not only had the Seris and Pimas failed to surrender, but the Sibubapas had changed their minds and again joined the enemy. Orders were given to resume the war, and several minor raids were made by Captain Anza and others. Early in September Galvez was able to visit Pitic and superintend the planning of a general attack, in which a large force of militia was to aid the regular troops; but he was soon obliged to retire to Ures, where he was confined with fever for several months. In the last half of October the general campaign was undertaken, the advance on the Cerro Prieto being in three divisions under Elizondo, Cancio, and Anza. As before nothing important was accomplished, though

[8] *Galvez, Cartas Ordenes*, 1769, 36–49; *Cancio, Cartas*, 317–20.

Anza captured a band of horses, and Elizondo killed a few Indians. The mountain strongholds could not be reached; yet there were reports that the rebels were again repentant, believing the Spaniards to be *muy enojados*. At a junta of November 9th Captain Vildosola declared it useless to attack the Cerro Prieto, favoring a policy of guarding the frontiers and confining the foe within their sterile defences, where they could not long hold out against hunger. Neither the views of the other officers nor the decision are recorded; but it would appear that there were no more general attacks. In May 1770 negotiations similar to those of the preceding year were in progress with prospects of success.[9]

The record furnished by the documents cited in the preceding pages ends in May 1770, about which time Galvez recovered his health sufficiently to depart for Nueva Viscaya. Arricivita tells us that in May the rebels of the Cerro Prieto came to Pitic and surrendered.[10] Yet Elizondo and his troops remained in the country another year; and it is implied in the official reports, which contain no particulars, that military operations were continued until the last of the rebels were forced to submit.[11] It is probable that these

[9] On the revolt of the Fuerteños, see *Galvez, Cartas*, 49–62; *Id., Informe General*, 150. On the visitador's illness, and preparations for the campaign, *Id., Cartas*, 65–9. Oct. 29, 1769, Elizondo's report of his expedition of Oct. 12–28. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 151–3. Oct. 31st, Cancio sends diary of his campaign of Oct. 25–31. *Cancio, Cartas*, 320–8. Nov. 10th, Anza's report of his branch of the campaign. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 116–17. Nov. 9th, Junta at Pitic and Vildosola's advice. *Id.*, 341–3. Nov. 25th, Armona on the health of Galvez, and the intention to remove him as soon as possible. *Id.*, 154–5. May 9, 10, 1770, letters of Br. Francisco Joaquin Valdés on his efforts to induce the rebels to go to Guaymas and give themselves up. *Id.*, 343–8. The officers named in connection with the military movements are Lieut. Col. Padilla; captains Cancio, Vildosola, Esparza, Urrea, Gallo, Peyran, Bergosa, and Armona; lieutenants Azuela and Oliva.

[10] *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 415. The party consisted of 41 men and 142 women and children—all of the surviving rebel Seris except 11 under a mulatto.

[11] 'Some of the Seris and Sibubapas surrendered, including two chiefs of both nations, but against the rest it was necessary to prosecute the war, until, convinced that neither the inaccessible ruggedness of the Cerro Prieto and other sierras, nor their continual flight could protect them against the superior force and constancy of our troops, they went on submitting and

operations were chiefly confined to protective measures, and to petty expeditions in pursuit of detached parties of the rebels, who were induced one by one, by the representations of their friends, to surrender. At any rate all agree that by May 1771 all had submitted and been settled in different pueblos. Then Elizondo's force returned to Mexico except the Catalan volunteers, part of whom had gone to California under Lieutenant Fages in 1769, and the rest remained to aid the presidial troops.[12]

A detachment of Elizondo's army in 1771, while in pursuit of a band of Piato rebels in the region of Altar, discovered the rich gold placers of Cieneguilla. Over a large extent of country gold was found in nuggets and coarse grains near the surface. One of the nuggets weighed four pounds and a half. Within a few months over two thousand men were at work with much success. More than a thousand marks of gold were obtained before May; and the coming of the rains was confidently expected to vastly increase the golden harvest.[13] Not much is known in detail of the results; but the Cieneguilla placers yielded richly for eight or ten years; and others in the same region throughout the century, and later.[14]

giving themselves up successively in the last months of last year (1770) and the first of this (1771); so that finally we succeeded in reëstablishing completely the tranquillity of those rich provinces by the submission of domestic foes, who kept them for many years desolated, and threatened with total extermination.' *Galvez, Informe General*, 178.

[12] 'Three years the expedition has lasted, for the foe in view of the irresistible force of our arms depended for defence on flight, favored by the vast extent and extraordinary ruggedness of the country in which they were pursued. But as constancy and time conquer the greatest difficulties, and nothing can resist the valor of troops well commanded, they penetrated even to the farthest strongholds which the rebels had deemed inaccessible, and the latter finally knew that their only hope was to surrender, taking advantage of the pardon offered in the august name of his Majesty... Many of them have given repeated proofs of their good faith in the last campaigns, going with our detachments to pursue their own relations, still fugitives and doubtful; so that all having surrendered who had not perished in war, and being settled in formal pueblos, the calamities of Nueva Andalucía are fortunately at an end.' *Noticia Breve*, 4–5.

[13] *Noticia Breve*, 6–9, on reports to May 1st. *Robertson's Hist. Amer.*, ii. 328–9; *Viagero, Univ.*, xxvii. 134–5; *Alcedo, Dicc.*, iv. 575.

[14] Weekly yield in 1776, 60 to 65 marks ($8,000). *Anza, Diario*, MS., 228–9. Yield Jan. 1, 1773, to Nov. 17, 1774, 4,832 marks. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, v. 614;

The revolting tribes having been reduced to submission the presidial troops were free to defend the frontier against the never ending Apache raids. In the reglamento of 1772 four presidios, of the fifteen which were to form a line of defence across the continent, were assigned to Sonora; Altar, Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras; each with a force of forty-seven men, including captain, lieutenant, alférez, chaplain, sergeant, and two corporals; and in addition ten Indian scouts; all at an annual cost to the treasury of $18,998.75. Each of the four was to be changed in site so as to leave as nearly as possible a distance of forty leagues from one to another, and the better to protect exposed points. There is no record to show exactly how or when these changes were carried out; but it would appear that some of the sites were changed more than once in the following years. By the same regulations military discipline and Indian policy were established on a more satisfactory basis than before; and service against the Apaches was rendered much more effective.[15] Meanwhile the garrisons at San Cárlos de Buenavista and San Miguel de Horcasitas appear to have been kept up to preserve order in the south and prevent the outbreak of a new rebellion.

Having thus chronicled the military expedition and

Mayer's Mex. Aztec., i. 278–9. Velasco, *Sonora*, 194 et seq., puts the discovery in 1779, and says the mines yielded rich results for 8 years, to 1787, the Yaquis obtaining much gold down to 1803. The largest nugget weighed 27 marks, and one man got over $100,000. In 1800 only very slight yield, and few men employed at S. Teodoro, Sta Gertrudis, Cármen, and Dolores in this district. *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Son.*, i. 16.

[15] *Presidios, Reglamento é Instruccion.* Also in *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1834, 139 et seq. Altar was to be moved nearer the gulf coast; but the change seems not to have been made. Tubac was to be moved to a convenient site in the same region, but farther west if possible. It was moved to the vicinity of Tucson. Terrenate to one of the valleys of S. Pedro, Nutrias, Guachuca, Terrenate, etc., and nearer to Fronteras. It was first located at Sta Cruz, 40 l. from Tucson; then at Nutrias; and finally before 1814 at the abandoned mission of Sta María. Fronteras was transferred, as ordered, to the valley of San Bernardino, nearer Janos; but was later restored to the former site, 35 l. from Terrenate. The changes, before 1814, are from a report by Elias, in *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Chih.*, 17–19.

SONORA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

its results down to the year 1772, it is necessary to trace the mission annals of Sonora for the same period from the expulsion of the Jesuits. As in Nueva Vizcaya the mission property was confiscated, being regarded by the government as belonging to the Jesuits rather than to the Indians. Royal comisarios were put in charge of the property at each of the fifty establishments in 1767 by Captain Cancio, the officer charged with the expulsion. No definite accounts have come to light to show exactly how the comisarios fulfilled their trust, but "there is no reason to doubt," wrote the viceroy in 1793, "that they either wasted or embezzled the rich temporalities of all or most of the missions, and that these funds being lost, decadence or ruin could not be prevented.[16]

Meanwhile the plan was to secularize half of the missions, including all those of Sinaloa and Ostimuri up to the Yaqui River, and to put those of Sonora and Pimería farther north in charge of Franciscan friars. To this end the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and the provincia of San Francisco de Jalisco were called upon to furnish some twenty-five missionaries; and Bishop Tamaron was instructed to furnish secular curates to complete the whole number of spiritual guardians required. Fragments of the bishop's correspondence in 1767–8, and of the visitador general's in 1769 throw some light on the progress of secularization. Tamaron seems to have been disappointed at first because he was not to have all the missions, though it is not very clear where he could have obtained a sufficient number of clergymen. He urged the governor, however, to give his clérigos the best establishments, repeating frequently his determination to appoint no friars as vicars; and he expressed great disgust and anxiety at the prospect that the curates were not to have charge of the ex-mission property, declaring his fears that they would soon invent excuses to leave so undesirable a field of labor.

[16] *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1793*, v. 435.

In the spring of 1768 he came in person to Sinaloa on a tour of confirmation; and here, though repeating his arguments against the unjust disposition of the ex-mission property, he devoted himself with much zeal to the work of providing and distributing curates, until his task was ended by death at Bamoa on the 21st of December.[17] Galvez on his arrival in May 1769 also gave much attention to the work of secularization, but his letters are devoted mainly to calls for reports and inventories to aid him in his task of providing for the Indians, and they show nothing of results.[18] The visitador also seems to have taken the ground that the mission property had not belonged to the Jesuits, and could not be legally confiscated; but it is not clear that the curates or pueblos ever received any considerable amount besides the church effects proper. Indeed it is not likely that the comisarios had left much for distribution. Bishop Tamaron's fears were fully realized. It was impossible to keep the parishes supplied with curates; those serving were discontented; the ex-neophytes were neglected and soon scattered; and in a few years the secularized missions became mere skeleton communities. Only the Yaqui pueblos remained to some extent prosperous.[19] Minute instructions were issued in 1769–71

[17] *Tamaron, Cartas del Obispo de Durango, 1767–8*, 72–89. The letters are addressed to Gov. Pineda. Cancio, *Cartas*, 242–3, orders church property to be turned over to curates. Beleña, *Cartas*, 94–5, announces on Dec. 30th the death of Tamaron on Dec. 21st. In his letter of Aug. 26, 1768, Tamaron includes a list of 19 curacies, and the clergymen provided for them. This distribution will be given in a later note of this chapter, with other local items.

[18] *Galvez, Cartas*, 34–6, 41–3; *Cancio, Cartas*, 329–32. Nov. 25, 1769, Armona sends to governor 5 packages of documents relating to the temporalities. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 155–6.

[19] 'Los curas doctrineros no tenian fondos de caudales, ni arbitrios para alimentar á los indios y sus familias; no podian obligarlos á trabajar sin remuneracion, ni impedirlos que buscasen de cualquier modo el remedio de sus necesidades; y de todo esto han sido consecuencias lastimosas el abandono de los mismos indios, que olvidados de los principios admirables de su educacion cristiana y civil, se entregaron prontamente á la ociosidad y vicios, viviendo en la mayor miseria. La fuga de familias enteras, ó sus traslaciones voluntarias, irremediables y sensibles, á los montes y á distintos domicilios, dejaron los pueblos casí sin gentes, sin gobierno y sin policía, las iglesias desiertas, la religion sin culto, y los campos sin brazos para su labranza, conservacion y fomento de sus ganados, convertiendose en esqueletos, si no todas, la

for the distribution of lands and formal organization of the new pueblos of Indians; and perhaps their regulations were laxly followed in a few instances.[20]

The Querétaro college, in response to the call of the government, furnished fourteen friars under the presidency of Padre Mariano Antonio de Buena y Alcalde. They went to Tepic in August 1767, and after long detention sailed from San Blas on January 20, 1768, on the *San Cárlos* and *Lauretana*. One of the vessels was driven back to San Blas, and the other to Mazatlan, whence six of the party proceeded by land; and all reached their destination in Sonora in May, and were distributed to their fourteen missions in the Pimerías before the end of June. The distribution will be given later.[21]

The missions were found by the Franciscans in a sad state. Some of the establishments had been plundered by the Apaches, and were again plundered, as at Suamca and Bac, during the first year of Franciscan occupation. In some cases the comisarios had grossly neglected their duties. Everywhere the neophytes had been for a year free from all control, and had not been improved by their freedom. Not only had they relapsed to a great extent into their roving and improvident habits, but they had imbibed new ideas of independence, fostered largely by settlers and soldiers. They regarded themselves as entirely free from all control by the missionaries, whose whole duty in these later times

mayor parte de las misiones de Sinaloa y Ostimuri.' *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1793*, p. 435.

[20] *Galvez, Instrucciones que deben observar mis comisionados para la asignacion y repartimiento de tierras en los pueblos de indios de estas provincias y los de Españoles que hubiere en el distrito de sus comisiones*, etc. In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser. iv. 708–12, dated at Álamos, June 23, 1769. *Id.*, *Segunda Instruccion práctica.* In *Id.*, 713–17. Dated Jan. 25, 1771.

[21] *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 394–6; *Palou, Noticias*, i. 14–21; *Velasco, Sonora*, 140–2; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 659–60. The missions were, in the lower district: Cumuripa, Tecoripa, Ures, Opodepe, Cucurpe, and Onavas; and in Pimería Alta: S. Ignacio, Suamca, Guevavi, Bac, Tubutama, Saric, Atí, and Caborca. In *Pinart, Col. Pimería Alta*, are many entries in the mission books, showing the names of padres and dates of arrival. In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. passim, there are some letters from the padres after arrival.

was to attend to religious matters. The padres might not, so these independent aborgines thought, give orders, but must prefer requests to native officials; if they required work done for them they must pay for it. The friars at first had nothing to do with the temporalities; but Galvez in 1770 ordered the property returned to their control, and the slight remnants were thus restored. They received a stipend of $300 each from the royal treasury, and spent it all on their churches and neophytes. They worked faithfully, though often discouraged; and presently the state of affairs became in all essential respects similar to that already described in Chihuahua, the padres keeping together the skeleton communities, instructing the children, caring for the sick, and by gifts and persuasion exercising slight and varying control over the masses of the Indians, who were Christians only in name.[22]

Officers intrusted with the expulsion of the Jesuits in order to reconcile the Indians to the change and prevent disturbances had taken pains to make them regard the measure as a release from bondage. This had much to do with the independent spirit that proved so troublesome to the new missionaries. Yet it is to be noted that the Franciscans joined more readily than was warranted by justice or good taste in the prevalent habit of decrying the Jesuits and their system, as is shown in the correspondence cited, where it is often implied that the difficulties encountered were largely due to the oppression and neglect of missionaries in former years. Naturally the friars were disposed to magnify their troubles and throw the blame on others; but the only charge that was to some extent well founded was that the natives had not been taught to speak Spanish; the systems followed by the two orders did not differ in any impor-

[22] *Reyes, Noticia; Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1793; Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 396–405; *Cancio, Cartas*, 220, 266, 278–80, 284. Letters of P. Buena, *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 378–84; of P. Reyes, *Id.*, 349–59; of P. Garcés, *Id.*, 365–70; of P. Roche, *Id.*, 390–2.

tant respect, and the Jesuits were by no means responsible for the evils that now beset the missions.

The Franciscans not only set themselves to work in the old missions, but made some efforts to extend their field of labor. Father Garcés in August 1768 made a tour through the Pápago country to the Gila, and was well received by the gentiles; but an apoplectic attack prostrated him at Guevavi, and meanwhile the Apaches plundered his own missions at Bac; so that his projects could not be carried out.[23] The friars, having arrived at the same time as Elizondo's military expedition, took an active part in attempts to pacify the rebellious tribes, especially after the arrival of Galvez. Padre Juan Sarobe of Tecoripa greatly distinguished himself by going toward the Cerro Prieto and risking his life in this service. President Buena made similar tours, and was very intimate with the visitador general, caring for him during his illness at Ures, and finally accompanying him as far as Chihuahua on his way to Mexico. Buena retired in 1770 or 1771, and was succeeded in the presidency by Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernave. At about the same time Padre José del Rio returned from a visit to Mexico with five supernumerary friars. Meanwhile San José de Pimas, a visita of Tecoripa, had been erected into a mission; and in 1771 the indefatigable Garcés from Bac had made a new and extended entrada from August to October to the Gila and the regions about the lower Colorado. He journeyed without escort, as was his custom, and was everywhere welcome; but it is not possible to trace the route of his wanderings, though many details are given. There are some vague allusions here and in later narratives indicating that he may have crossed the Colorado into California. President Gil, like his predecessor, devoted himself with much zeal to the spiritual interests of the former rebels now gathered at or near Pitic,

[23] *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 403–4. The padre made another tour as chaplain the next year, and still another to the Gila in 1770. *Id.*, 416–17.

where Matías Gallo settled as missionary, and he also, against his own judgment and at the request of the governor and of the natives, went in person to establish a mission at Carrizal on the coast for the benefit of some Seris who still insisted on living on the island of Tiburon. The mission was founded on November 26, 1772, but was destroyed by a treacherous faction of the natives the following March; and Padre Gil was murdered.[24]

In 1772 one of the Sonora friars, Padre Antonio de los Reyes, being in Mexico, presented a comprehensive report on the condition of the country, a document which I have used in describing the state of the missions and troubles of the missionaries in these early years of Franciscan rule, and which I shall further utilize to some extent in a note on local progress. The author gives a description of the routine system introduced by his order; and also describes the system of secular government as applied to local affairs. By no means all existing troubles arose from the natives' new-born independence of missionary control. Each establishment had a large number of native officials who quarrelled among themselves; and the few settlers of Spanish or mixed blood had their separate *jueces reales*, who were not slow to interfere in matters that did not concern them. There was likewise confusion in ecclesiastical affairs; for the friars were forbidden to exercise control over any but Indians. The whole northern country, so far as the so-called gente de razon were concerned, was under two curates at Horcasitas and Tonibavi respectively, who could do nothing but send out comisarios for the collection of church taxes, leaving the mulattoes and all who claimed an admixture of Spanish blood practically free from all moral restraints, much to the disgust of the good friars.[25]

[24] *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 405–31, 521, with extracts from Garcés' diary and from other correspondence. Letter of P. Buena on P. Sarobe's efforts in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 385–7. Escudero, *Not. Son.*, 44, gives the date of founding Carrizal incorrectly as 1779.

[25] *Reyes, Noticia del Estado actual de las Misiones que en la gobernacion de*

Besides the missions secularized and those delivered to the Querétaro friars there were others, as already stated, which were put in charge of the Franciscan Observantes of the Jalisco province. Eleven of these friars were sent to Tepic in 1767; but while they were awaiting transportation an order came to them to be sent to California instead of the Fernandinos. A revocation of this order was obtained by Padre Palou, but not before the Jaliscans had departed for the peninsula, where they arrived at the end of the year or early in 1768, and presently crossed over to Sonora, arriving a little before the Queretaranos.[26] The missions assigned to them were those in the province of Sonora; but I find no record of the distribution, nor even of the padres' names;[27] neither is anything known definitely about their early experience in the new field. It is to be presumed that they encountered the same obstacles and struggled to overcome them in the same manner as their associates of the Santa Cruz college. Yet in his report of 1793 Revilla Gigedo asserts that the establishments of Sonora proper, notwithstanding the excellent character of the Ópata converts, were like those of Pimería Baja less prosperous under the new régime than those of the upper Pimería; and to justify this statement they must have been in a sad state indeed.[28]

Governor Juan de Pineda ruled Sonora and Sinaloa from 1763 to 1769. His relations with Colonel Elizondo in command of the military expedition were

Sonora administran los padres del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro. In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser. pt. iv. 724–65. Dated Mexico, July 6, 1772.

[26] *Palou, Noticias*, i. 14–21. April 18th, Cancio, *Cartas*, 253–5, announces the arrival of the *Concepcion* with five padres on board, probably a part of the Observantes.

[27] Sept. 28, 1768, Capt. Esparza announces the delivery of Tecora to P. Fernando Ponce de Leon, Arivechi to P. José María Cabrera, and Sahuaripa to P. Joaquin Ramirez. *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 4th ser. ii. 134–5. Other missions given to the Jaliscans seem to have been Guazavas, Nacori, Baseraca, Bacoachi, and Cuquiarachi. Some years later, as we shall see, they received also the missions of Pimería Baja.

[28] *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1793*, 435.

always harmonious; and he seems to have had remarkable success in maintaining harmony between the captains and other subordinate officers, all of whom came to him frequently with their petty grievances. General Galvez of course held the supreme authority in 1769–70, and there were few phases of government, provincial or local, military or civil, financial or judicial, ecclesiastic or missionary, in which he did not interfere for purposes of reform, but always without exciting opposition. The licenciado Eusebio Ventura Beleña was sent by Galvez to Sonora before his own arrival as a visitador subdelegado to attend to treasury affairs; and this official took a prominent part in all matters for several years, sometimes with more zeal than prudence, as was thought by some. Pineda was prostrated by apoplectic fits in August 1769, and at the end of that year, or early the next, Galvez appointed Pedro de Corbalan as governor ad interim. Corbalan had been alcalde mayor of Ostimuri and had rendered good service in pacifying the rebel Seris. He was succeeded in 1772 by Mateo Sastre, and the latter by Francisco Crespo in 1774. The office was again given to Corbalan in 1777 on the organization of the Provincias Internas.[29]

Enough has been said of the Provincias Internas and their military government in the preceding chapter. The Caballero de Croix as comandante general assumed the authority formerly exercised by the viceroy; and the governor, retaining substantially his old powers, became subordinate to him.[30] Croix came to Sonora from Chihuahua in 1779, and selected Arizpe as the capital of his jurisdiction in 1780, which choice was approved by a royal order of 1782.[31] Before this

[29] *Sonora, Resúmen de Noticias*, 224–5; *Beleña, Cartas*, 90–108; *Croix, Cartas*, 26; *Galvez, Informe Gen.*, 151; *Sonora, Libros de Hacienda, 1770*, MS., 84.

[30] Escudero, *Noticias de Sonora*, 51–2, 68–9, speaks of Croix as governor and praises his administration in the highest terms.

[31] *Mascaró, Diario del Ingeniero...desde Chihuahua á Arizpe, 1779*, MS. This is a diary of the comandante-general's trip. Jan. 12, 1780, Croix to governor of Cal., has chosen Arizpe as capital. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 89. Feb. 12, 1782, Royal order of confirmation. *Id.*, iv. 55.

time Horcasitas had been regarded as the capital of Sonora, Álamos being, however, much of the time the residence of the governor. Felipe de Neve became comandante general in 1783, José Rengel in 1784, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola in 1785, and Pedro de Nava in 1790. The successive changes in the provinces and in the relations of the rulers to the viceroy have been recorded elsewhere. Governor Corbalan was still in office in 1782, and probably for four years later.[32] Under the organization of the intendencias in 1786, Sonora and Sinaloa constituted the intendencia of Arizpe, and Agustin de las Cuentas Zayas was intendente gobernador until 1789. His successors were Enrique Grimarest until 1792, and Alonso Tresierra y Cano from 1793.[33]

The formation of a new bishopric was one of the measures projected by Galvez and approved by the viceroy as early as 1770, and it was carried out by a royal order of Febuary 4, 1781, creating the bishopric of Sonora, including the territory of Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias, taken from the old jurisdiction of Durango. The capital was fixed at Arizpe.[34] The first bishop was Antonio de los Reyes, one of the Querétaro Franciscans who had served in Sonora and returned to Mexico. He was consecrated at Tacubaya

[32] Corbalan named as governor in 1782. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 202; *Prov. Rec.*, ii. 48–9. He received the order of Cárlos III. from the king on recommendation of the general. Arricivita, *Crón. Seráf.*, 493, names Pedro Fuerros as 'gobernador de armas' in 1779, Corbalan being political governor. In *Velasco, Not. Sonora*, 262, Juan B. Anza is named as governor in 1783, probably an error.

[33] *Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Calendario*, 1789, 113; *Gaceta de Mex.*, v. 149; *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxi. 166; *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Son.*, MS., i. 15. The first work named speaks of Sinaloa and Sonora as two distinct intendencias in 1789, formed by orders subsequent to the original one of 1786, Zayas being ruler of the former and Grimarest of the second. But I find no other evidence of such a change; and Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, 145, represents the two provinces as forming one intendencia in 1804. Zúñiga is the only authority for the name of Zayas; though in *Sonora, Resúmen*, 225, a campaign of Governor Don Agustin is mentioned in the time of Viceroy Horcasitas, 1789 or later.

[34] *Galvez, Informe General*, 150–1; *Beleña, Recopilacion*, i. pt. ii. 291. The pope's action in the matter seems to have been in 1779. *Cortés de Espana*, 1812, xii. 348; *Buelna, Compendio*, 57; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 40; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 265.

September 15, 1782, and took possession at Arizpe on May 1, 1783. He formed the missions into a custody, as will be more fully noticed in mission annals; visited all parts of his diocese except the Californias for purposes of inspection and confirmation; and died at Álamos on March 6, 1787.[35] Fray José Joaquin Granados next ruled the diocese from 1787 to 1794, when he was transferred to the see of Durango, but died before taking his new episcopal seat, as recorded already in the annals of Nueva Vizcaya. He also made a tour of confirmation, but the most prominent occurrence of his rule was the ordaining of two natives at Álamos as priests, an event celebrated by the native population with dancing and other festivities as a notable step in the annals of their race.[36] The next bishop was Fray Damian Martinez de Galinzoga, also a Franciscan, who ruled in 1794–5, until transferred to the see of Tarragona in Spain.[37] The fourth prelate, and last of the century, was Fray Francisco de Jesus Rouset, of the Zacatecas convent, who governed the bishopric from 1796, though he was not consecrated until 1799. He died in 1814.[38]

Having thus recorded the great military expedition of 1768–71, resulting in the final subjection of the southern rebels and the reorganization of the presidial forces for more effective service against the Apaches of the northern frontier; having placed before the reader the transfer of missions following the expulsion of the Jesuits, with their condition in the

[35] *Gomez, Diario*, vii. 145; *Palou, Noticias*, ii. 394; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 265; ii. 80, 341; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 41; *Museo Mex.*, iv. 93; *Iglesias y Conventos, Rel.*, 342. His vicar-general, Miguel Antonio Cuevas, ruled *en sede vacante* after his death.

[36] *Gaceta de Mex.*, v. 18, 149; vi. 533; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 41; *Id., Not. Dur.*, 23; *Buelna, Comp.*, 57.

[37] *Gomez, Diario*, vi. 401, 423. News of appointment in January; departure from Mexico in December 1794. Dates of rule Sept. 7, 1794, to June 7, 1795. See preceding authorities.

[38] See reference of preceding notes. In the mission books of Alta Pimería the visit of one Moreno as representative of the bishop in 1797 is mentioned. *Pinart, Col. Pimería Alta*, MS., 13–14, 69.

early years of Franciscan occupation; and having noted the succession of rulers both secular and ecclesiastic down to the end of the century, I have but little to add to Sonora annals for this period; that is, but little in proportion to the number of years. The danger of attack from savages having been averted from most parts of the country, the people entered upon an indolent uneventful career that has left but meagre records. The general course of affairs was the same throughout the Provincias Internas; and much that has been said in the preceding chapter of Nueva Vizcaya, particularly of military and mission affairs, might be repeated almost literally here for Sonora. I proceed, however, to notice briefly the few topics which present slight variations from the ordinary routine.

Naturally a subject of the greatest moment was the warfare against the Apaches; but beyond the general complaint of their never ending depredations on the northern frontier, and the many indirect indications of more zealous and effective precautions under the reglamento of 1772–3, little is known of actual operations. During the rule of Governor Crespo in 1774–7, Hugo Oconor came as inspector to see that the presidial service was duly organized in accordance with the new regulations; and during his visit a campaign is said to have been made against the Apaches without much success.[39] General Croix, assuming the command personally in 1779, is credited with having effected great reforms in the military as in other branches of government. His correspondence as preserved in the archives contains much information on the methods of Apache warfare, and on minor changes needed and effected in the system of presidio defences, but very little respecting events from month to

[39] 'No se sacó ventaja como de ninguna de ellas; porque el enemigo se retira á lo mas fragoso y distante dejando que pasen libremente en nuestros campos y despues á la venganza vienen á enseñar como han de hacer campaña con gravísimo daño de los cristianos.' *Sonora, Resúmen*, 224.

month.[40] Before 1780 the garrison of each presidio had been increased to seventy-five men; and in 1784 an Ópata company was organized with head-quarters at Bacoachi. It was officered in part by Spaniards, consisted of eighty-five men, and rendered excellent service for many years.[41] The viceroy's instructions to General Ugarte in 1786, with the new Indian policy introduced, have been already noticed. Recommendations affecting Sonora particularly were that campaigns against the Apaches should be continued without cessation with the aid of friendly Ópatas and Pimas; that a strict watch should be kept over the bands that had rebelled in former years, troublesome Seris being gradually forced to concentrate on Tiburon Island for future chastisement; and that Spaniards and friendly Indians should be encouraged to make settlements on the frontier.[42] During the decade from 1787 to 1797, no particulars being known, the Apaches seem to have gradually yielded to the new policy and to have formed treaties which for many years it was made for their interest to keep.[43]

Although the rebel Seris and Piatos had been nominally subjected, and most of them were living quietly at or near Pitic, there were some fugitives still at large in the coast regions and on Tiburon Island, with confederates doubtless among their submis-

[40] See particularly Croix's report of April 3, 1780, in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., iv. 1–9, and his letters of Sept. 22, 1780, to the governor of California. *Id.*, iv. 12–14. In the *Pueblo de Sonora*, Feb. 4, 1868, is a general account of Apache wars.

[41] *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Son.*, i. 1–5; *Velasco, Not. Son.*, 152; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, x. 704–5. Zúñiga, *Rapida Ojeada*, 4, describes an Ópata annual fiesta in commemoration of the day when they became allies of the Spaniards.

[42] *Galvez, Instrucciones á Ugarte, 1786; Escudero Not. Son.*, 69–70.

[43] Conde, *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, v. 312–13, says good effects began to appear in 1787, and in 1790 the Apaches made peace. Revilla Gigedo, *Carta, 27 Dic. 1797*, p. 436, tells us that all was peace when Gen. Nava took command (1790) with good prospects of its continuance. Velasco, *Not. Son.*, 240–1, and Monteros, *Exposicion de Son. y Sin.*, 26, mention a peace concluded in 1796, when the Apaches formed settlements near the northern presidios and were maintained at the cost of the government, $18,000 or $30,000 per year. In printed correspondence of 1835 in the Pinart collection I find mentioned the coming of Apaches to Arizpe in 1795 to treat for peace. Being lodged in the barracks they rose in the night, killed the sentry, and fled to the mountains, killing all they found on the way.

sive relatives. In 1776 the Pápagos were invited to join in a revolt and alliance with the Apaches, and though they revealed the plot no attention was paid to the matter; and in November forty Seris, Piatos, and Apaches fell upon the mission of Magdalena, burning the buildings, driving off the stock, plundering the church, and killing a woman. Next they attacked Saric, killing eleven neophytes, burning and destroying as before, though the church was saved; and on their retreat the savages took some cattle from San Ignacio. Soldiers were now sent in pursuit, but could not overtake the foe. A captive escaped with reports of an impending raid to destroy the missions; and the friars assembled for a time at Imuris to petition for guards that were not furnished. In 1778 Padre Guillen was killed by the rebels on his way from Tubutama to Atí. In Galvez' instructions of 1786 it is implied that the Seris were still hostile in their old haunts; and a formidable plot of Pimas and Pápagos is mentioned in 1796, discovered in time to prevent serious consequences.[44]

The extension of Spanish occupation northward to the regions of the Gila and Colorado was an important topic of consideration during this period. The wanderings of Padre Garcés, a worthy successor of Kino, in 1771 and earlier, have been noticed. Garcés found the natives very well disposed, and both he and his associates of Alta Pimería were eager to found new missions; but the government was slow to make the necessary explorations and furnish military support; indeed it was regarded as imprudent to found new missions until the old ones could be better protected, the padres maintaining meanwhile that a northern presidio would be the best means of restraining the Apaches, and affording the desired protection. In 1774, however, Captain Juan Bautista Anza was sent to open

[44] *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 457, 485–8, 524–9; *Galvez, Instrucciones; Monteros, Espos. Son. y Sin.*, 21; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, xi. 89; *Ilustracion Mex.*, iv. 418; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 85.

a route by land to Alta California, and thus the desired exploration was effected.

Anza left Tubac in January with thirty-four men, padres Garcés and Juan Diaz serving as chaplains. They proceeded by way of Sonoita to the Gila, and thence to San Gabriel, returning by the same route to Tubac in May.[45] On the reception of Anza's report, made by him in person at Mexico, a new expedition was devised to accomplish two objects, the founding of San Francisco in California and of missions in the Colorado region. Anza was made lieutenant-colonel, recruited in Sonora and Sinaloa a force of soldier-colonists for California, over two hundred persons in all, and marched from Tubac in October 1775 for the north. There were twenty-five men, including the chaplain Padre Pedro Font, to return; and besides, fathers Garcés and Tomás Eixarch with six servants and interpreters, who were to remain on the Colorado during Anza's absence in the north-west. Padre Eixarch stationed himself on the California side of the river, near the Gila mouth, and labored among the natives to prepare them for mission life from December to May, when he returned with Anza to Horcasitas. Meanwhile the indefatigable Garcés had wandered off on his endless explorations, and was not to be found on the return of the expedition. He went down to the Colorado mouth, and then up to the Mojave region. From this point he made a trip westward to San Gabriel, and another eastward to the Moqui towns. Returning to the Mojaves in July he slowly descended the Colorado and found his way to San Javier del Bac in September 1776.[46]

The friars had selected sites for the proposed missions on the west bank of the Colorado; and Palma, a native chieftain, had accompanied Anza to Mexico

[45] *Anza, Discubrimiento de Sonora á California, 1774*, MS.; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 450 et seq.

[46] *Anza, Diario*, MS.; *Font's Journal*, MS.; *Garcés, Diario y Derrotero; Arricivita, Crón. Scráf.*, 461–90.

to beg for missionaries. The viceroy favored the project, as did General Croix a little later; and after long delays two new establishments, Concepcion and San Pedro y San Pablo, were founded in 1780 under padres Garcés, Juan Antonio Barreneche, Juan Diaz, and Matías Moreno, with twenty soldiers and a like number of settlers. In July 1781 the missions were destroyed by the revolting Yumas; all the friars were killed; and only three or four men saved their lives. At the same time Captain Rivera y Moncada encamped on the eastern bank with cattle and horses for California was killed with sixteen men. This disaster created the greatest excitement both in Sonora and California; and a large military force was sent against the Yumas. A few of the latter were killed, but there was no attempt to reëstablish the missions or to guard the route.

Anza's expeditions with the founding and destruction of the Colorado pueblo-missions form an interesting topic, respecting which the records are comparatively complete; but the topic belongs properly to another part of my work to which I refer the reader for full particulars of occurrences presented here only in outline.[47] The viceroy's instructions of 1786 required that the Yumas should be let alone until the Apaches were conquered, no attempt being made meanwhile to open the California route.[48] In 1794 Lieutenant-colonel José Zúñiga explored a route of land communication from Sonora to New Mexico by way of Zuñi;[49] and in 1797 the project of a route to the peninsula protected by a presidio was again discussed without other results than postponement.[50]

Padre José de Caja succeeded Padre Gil as president at the death of the latter in 1772,[51] and I find

[47] See for Anza's first expedition, *Hist. Cal.*, i. 220–4, this series; second expedition, *Id.*, i. 257–78; pueblo-missions on the Colorado, *Id.*, i. 353–71.

[48] *Galvez, Instruccion.*

[49] *Zúñiga, Rápida Ojeada*, 16.

[50] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 136–40. See also chap. xxvi. of this volume.

[51] *Arricivita*, 430. Efforts to obtain additional guards for the missions.

no record of subsequent changes down to 1783. As early as 1772 the Querétaro College desired to give up the missions of Pimería Baja in order to work the more effectually in the north; but the viceroy would not consent. Later, however, the proposition was accepted; and in 1774, after the bishop had declined to receive the establishments, they were turned over, eight in number, to the Jalisco Franciscans.[52] In 1780 the two missions of Guaymas and Tamazula were ceded to the Dominicans in Baja California;[53] but nothing is known of these establishments after the change.

Bishop Reyes, coming to take possession of his office in 1783, was authorized by a royal order of May 20, 1782, to form the Sonora missions into a custody of San Cárlos; and he brought with him fourteen new friars not named. The change removed the missions from the control of college and province to put them under a custodian, who was subject to the Franciscan comisario general. Details of the modified system are not clearly explained; but it is implied that the stipends of the friars were in some way diminished. There was strong opposition from the colleges, which was successful in preventing the erection of a custody in the Californias, but not in Sonora. The two presidents met at Ures on October 23d; the custodia was formally organized by the bishop; and Padre Sebastian Flores, of the Querétaro college, was made custodian. Nine of the missions were made hospicios with the *casa principal* at Banamichi. Custodian Flores died in January 1784, and was succeeded by Padre Francisco Barbastro as vice-custodio. In 1787, when the guardian and provincial were called upon for reports of the missions, they replied that for years they had had nothing to do with the Sonora establishments,

Id., 456–9. Boundaries of the mission field as specified by the viceroy in 1773. *Mayer MSS.*, no. 18.

[52] *Arricivita*, 437–8, 460–1; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2da ep. i. 572–3; *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1797.*

[53] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 107.

referring the viceroy to the custodian for the desired information; but if the reports were rendered I have not found them. At last in 1790 Barbostro, supported by college and province, appealed to the king, showing the evils of the system, and obtaining a cédula of August 17, 1791, which abolished the custody, and restored the missions to their former management.[54] Finally it may be noted that Viceroy Revilla Gigedo's report of 1793, so often cited in this and other chapters, was founded largely on Bishop Reyes' report of 1784. Also that Father Arricivita's[55] standard chronicle of the mission work of Santa Cruz college, bringing the record down to 1791, was published in 1792.

It is but a meagre array of local items that I have to give in the appended note, which also includes an alphabetical list of the Franciscans who served in this field from 1768 to 1800, tolerably complete so far as

[54] *Arricivita*, 564–71; *Palou, Noticias*, ii. 353; *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 100; *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., 235–6, 283; *Escudero, Not. Son.*, 44; *Revilla Gigedo, Carta, 27 Dic. 1793*, v. 435 et seq.

[55] *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España, Dedicada al Santísimo Patriarca el Señor San Joseph. Escrita por el P. Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita, Predicador Apostólico, ex-Prefecto, y Comisario habitual de las misiones, Escritor Titular del Seminario, y su mas afecto Hijo. Segunda parte.* Mexico, 1792. 4to, 9 l. 665 p. 4 l. The first book of 157 pages is occupied with the life of P. Antonio Margil de Jesus, including some historical material for the northern regions. The second book, p. 158–320, gives the early mission annals of Nueva Leon, Coahuila, and Texas in the form of biographical sketches of half a dozen leading friars of the college. Twelve chapters of book iii. p. 321–93, are devoted to the Texas missions; and the remainder of the work is occupied almost exclusively with the Franciscan annals of Sonora, on which subject it is beyond comparison the best authority.

As indicated in the title-page above this work was a second part. The first part was: *Chrónica Apostólica y Seráphica de todos los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva España, de Missioneros Franciscanos Observantes: erigidos con autoridad pontificia, y regia, para la reformacion de los Fieles, y conversion de los Gentiles. Consagrada á la milagrosa cruz de piedra, que como titular se venera en su primer colegio...de Querétaro. Escrita por el R. P. Fr. Isidro de Espinosa, predicador*, etc. etc. Mexico, 1746. 4to. Padre Espinosa's work covers a wider range of territory than that of Arricivita, which was intended as a supplement, but it is only for Coahuila and Texas history that I have cited it in this work. The two works together form one of the best of the old missionary chronicles. Both authors had a weakness for recording the saintly virtues of their associates, to the occasional exclusion of historical facts; and Espinosa was somewhat addicted to miracles and mysticism; but even in these respects they compare favorably with other chronicles of their kind. The works are very rare as well as valuable.

the Querétaro friars are concerned, but including only a few Jaliscans.[56] Neither is it possible to form satisfactory statistics for the period in the absence of the missionary and ecclesiastical reports which have furnished statistical matter for earlier chapters. Even

[56] In these years as in earlier times very little is known of the southern provinces from Chametla up to Sinaloa. There is some information extant respecting the geography of these regions, adding nothing to earlier descriptions, but of events and statistics of progress and decline we are left for the most part in ignorance. I refer the reader to the tables of earlier chapters on Sinaloa, there being no need to repeat all the pueblo names here.

Rosario was now the most prosperous town in the north-west after Guadalajara. It had about 5,000 inhabitants in 1772, and 7,000 before 1800. There were many rich mines in the region, of which Rosario as the centre monopolized the trade. The product of the mines for a month in 1785 was 32,454 marks of silver, and 702 marks of gold. In June 1786 the product is given as 36,992 silver and 711 gold. For a month in 1790 the duties on bullion were collected on 58,945 marks of silver and 1,197 of gold. *Gaceta de Mex.*, i. 301; ii. 166; iv. 119. A caja real seems to have been established soon after 1772. The principal mine was the Tajo. The reales of Pánuco and Copala produced some 40,000 marks of silver per year. About the surrounding provinces and mines there are no definite items of value. Cosalá gave $408 for the war with Spain in 1796. Festivities are described at San Miguel de Culiacan in 1795 and 1800 in celebration of events in Spain. From 1765 to 1792 there were 720 births, 132 marriages, and 574 deaths in the parish of Culiacan. The population in 1803 is given by Humboldt as 13,800. The amount of excise taxes in 1792 was $5,202. San Felipe de Sinaloa had lost much of its former prominence, though Humboldt gives the population as 12,000 in 1803. A flood in 1770 destroyed a portion of the town, which was rebuilt in a new location.

The curates assigned by the bishop in 1768 were as follows: Mocorito and Baeubirito—there were famous gold placers near the latter—curate of San Benito; Sinaloa, Br. Manuel Rivera; Chicorato, Br. Salvador Ibarguen; Bamoa—where Bishop Tamaron died in 1768—and Ocoroni, Br. Domingo Gutierrez; Guazave and Tamazula—ceded to California in 1780—Br. J. J. Aviles; The Rio Fuerte pueblos, Brs. J. F. Soto, Francisco María Suarez, Vicente Diaz, Manuel Álvaro Lavandera—Mochicagui was attacked by Apaches in 1769, and at Charay a great revolt of the Fuerteño Indians was started in the same year; the Mayo pueblos, Brs. Miguel Lucenilla, Ignacio Fernando Valdés, Luis Padilla, José Joaquin Elias—a new pueblo at Curimpo was being formed in August 1769; Yaqui pueblos, Brs. Francisco Joaquin Valdés, Francisco Felix Romero, and Juan Francisco Aree Rosales—Belen was somewhat prominent during the military operations of 1768–71 as a place where the rebels came to surrender. In 1789 all the Yaqui towns were under Br. Valdés, and were still prosperous. Only 5 of all the ex-missions had a clergyman in 1784, according to the bishop's report. These were Bamoa, Vaca, Toro, Navajoa, and Sta Cruz.

Álamos, real de minas, and centre of extensive mining operations. The principal mines in this region were the Quintera, Europita, Aldeana, Cerro Colorado, Tarazan, Sutae, Bacaiopa, and Zapote; and many of them had been abandoned before 1774. Receipts for salt revenue 1770, $3,478; for 1775–6, $11,865. Excise taxes, in 1792, $9,297. Álamos, though not apparently the capital, was often the head-quarters of high officials, as is shown by correspondence. The town is credited with a population of 9,000 in 1803.

Horcasitas (San Miguel), villa and presidio. Capital until 1783, and its

the viceroy, having before him the bishop's report of 1784, did not attempt in his elaborate report of 1793 to give the population of the Sonora establishments as was done for other provinces. According to a register made by order of Visitador General Galvez in 1769 there were in Pimería Baja, with its eight missions and

curate had charge of all the northern gente de razon. The presidio was not one of those of the line provided by the reglamento of 1772, and was intended to remain only temporarily until all danger from the Seris should be past; but, though its removal to the Gila was proposed just before 1780, I find no evidence that it was removed before 1800. In 1778 it had a church and 38 houses of adobes. Excise tax in 1792, $1,758.

Montesclaros, villa, also called El Fuerte and Cadereita. Population in 1803, according to Humboldt, 10,100.

San Cárlos de Buenavista, on the Yaqui River, presidio; not apparently deprived of a garrison until after 1800. Pop. in 1772, 327; attached to Cumuripa for religious service.

Arizpe, town; capital after 1783 of bishopric, Provincias Internas, and intendencia. It had 118 adobe houses in 1778. The population in that year was 1,534, of which 1,020 were Indians. Excise tax in 1792, $2,192. There were many productive mines of gold and silver in the district, besides about 40 abandoned mines.

The missions of Sonora given to the Jalisco Franciscans in 1768 were: Yecora, with Zaraichi and Onapa, P. Fernando Ponce de Leon; attacked by rebel Pimas in 1768, and the visitas abandoned or occupied by mulattoes, etc., before 1784; Arivechi, with Bacanora, P. José María Cabrera; Sahuaripa, with Teopari, P. Joaquin Ramirez; Guazabas, with Oputo and Cumpas; Boca de Gandu, with Nacori and Mochapa; Baseraca, with Guachimera and Babispe; Bacoachi; and Cuquiarachi.

The missions of the south given at first to the Querétaro friars, and transferred to the Jaliscans in 1774, were: Onabas, with Tonichi and Soyopa, population in 1772, 1,141; formed into a curacy before 1784; Cumuripa, population, 136 in 1772; Tecoripa, with Suaqui, P. Juan Sarobe in 1768, pop. 197 in 1772, some Spanish families in 1784; San José de Pimas, a visita of Tecoripa until about 1769, formed into a mission for the repentant rebel Piatos, 276 Indians in 1772; Ures with Sta Rosalía, P. Buena y Alcalde in 1768, 416 Ind. in 1772; Opodepe, with Nacameri, 291 Ind. in 1772; and Cucurpe, with Tuape (Dolores and Sarachi having been abandoned). This last mission was properly in Pimería Alta, and was at first given to P. Antonio Reyes, several of whose letters of 1768 on petty matters of mission progress are extant.

Guaymas was the centre of extensive military operations in 1767–71. Soto Ponce de Leon was appointed royal comisario to distribute lands among settlers; but it does not appear that any settlement remained. There was also a kind of mission nominally ceded to the Dominicans of California in 1780. The port was called also San José and Pájaros. Pitic was a pueblo where many of the repentant Seris assembled in 1770–1, being for a time under P. Matías Gallo. It later passed into the hands of the Jaliscan friars. In 1789 elaborate instructions were issued for the foundation of a villa, which were to serve also as models for the organization of other towns in Sonora, or in the Provincias Internas. I find no record of progress before 1800; but the villa was founded and became known in later times as Hermosillo. The gold placers of Aigame, 18 l. south of Pitic, yielded richly in 1790–8. Carrizal was a new mission established in 1772, and destroyed the next year by the rebel Seris, who killed P. Gil, as elsewhere related in this chapter.

The following are mentioned in the report of 1784–93 as for the most part deserted by Indians and without clergymen: Conicari, with Tepaqui and

fifteen pueblos, 3,011 Indians and 792 gente de razon; while in the eight missions and sixteen pueblos of Pimería Alta there were 2,018 Indians and 178 gente de razon, besides the soldiers and their families. In 1772, according to the summary of Padre Reyes, there were in both upper and lower Pimería 6,909 Indians in 15 missions or 34 pueblos. Ten of the pueblos had

Macoyaqui; Batacosa, only 7 families; Mobas, with Nuri—attacked by Indians in 1769—under curate of Rio Chico; Matape, with Nacori, secularized; Aconchi, with Babiácora, secularized, some Spanish families; Banamichi, with Gucpac and Sinoquipe, curate, casa principal of the custodia 1783–90; Batuco, with Tepuspe, under a clergyman paid by Spanish residents; Oposura, with Taropa and Tepache, secularized, suffered from an Apache raid in 1769; Bayoreca, in the region of Alamos, had rich mines discovered in 1792, and the curate was killed by Indians in 1769. Tonibari is mentioned as the ecclesiastical head town of the southern districts as Horcasitas was of the northern in 1772.

Missions of Pimería Alta: San Javier del Bac, in charge of P. Francisco Garcés from June 1768. The neophytes were scattered and had forgotten their doctrina; but consented to return on a promise that they would not have to work. Before the end of 1768 the Apaches destroyed the mission, killing the Indian governor and capturing two soldiers; but most of the neophytes were absent. There were several later attacks, in which all the mission cattle were stolen. In 1772 there were 270 Indians on the registers. 'The church is moderately capacious,' but poorly supplied with ornaments, says P. Reyes. If the grand structure now standing in ruins was built before 1800 I have found no definite record of the fact, but more of this elsewhere. San José de Tucson, 5 or 6 leagues north, and a kind of visita of Bac, was a collection of nearly 1,000 Indians, christian and gentile, who tilled the soil, and were occasionally visited by the padres. There was no church nor other prominent building; and there were no Spanish settlers before 1780, probably not before 1800.

Santos Angeles de Guevavi, with three visitas, San José de Tumacacori, San Cayetano de Calabazas, and San Ignacio de Sonoitac; put in charge of P. Gil in 1768. There was no church at Calabazas, and the others are described as poor. The four pueblos had 337 Indians in 1772. Tumacacori was one league from the presidio of Tubac; and it had adobe houses for the Indians and some walls for defence. It was in 1769 attacked by the Apaches at midday. Before 1784 the padre had changed his residence to Tumacacori, and both Guevavi and Sonoitac had been deserted.

Santa María de Suamca, with visita Santiago de Cocóspera, put in charge of P. Francisco Roche in June 1768. In November of the same year the mission was destroyed by the Apaches after a hard fight with the Pima neophytes; and the padre transferred his flock to Cocóspera, which also suffered from the savages in 1769. In 1772 there were 110 Indians; and a church was being built, but the location was bad; and it was hoped to restore the mission on a good site nearer Terrenate. In 1784, however, Suamca had not been reoccupied, and was probably never rebuilt.

San Ignacio, with visita San José Imuris and Sta María Magdalena. Population in 1772, 273. A brick church built by the Franciscans at S. Ignacio. Magdalena was attacked and nearly destroyed by the rebels and Apaches in 1776. I have fragments of the mission registers of both San Ignacio and Magdalena, which show the padres in charge to have been as follows: García 1768–72, Zúñiga 1772–80, Carrasco 1774–6 (died May 9, 1776, aged 33), Arri-

churches in good condition, eight were small and without ornaments, eight in ruins, four in process of construction, while in four there were no churches. In 1778 Corbalan reports 39 churches, and 5 stone houses; also 780 droves of mares, 668 yoke of oxen, 20,647 cows, 15,947 sheep, 3,978 goats, 1,573 horses, and 2,152 mules. In 1770, according to the original records of the hacienda, the excess of revenues over expenses was $77,277; and in 1776 the total of revenue

quibar 1780–94, Tobas 1796–9, Perez 1799 et seq. There were also others whose names appear occasionally, doubtless visitors from other missions. The Real de Sta Ana, 5 l. s. e. from S. Ignacio, had a few Spanish stock-raisers.

Dolores de Saric, with S. José Aquimuri as visita. There were formerly two other visitas of Arizona and Busani deserted in 1766 on account of savage raids. Two hundred and twenty-eight Indians in 1772; no church at Aquimuri. Saric was plundered by the savages in 1776; but the church was saved. P. Florencio Ibañez was missionary in 1783–90. The visita was abandoned before 1784.

San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, with Sta Teresa as visita. President Buena took charge in 1768, and several of his letters are extant; but he was soon succeeded by P. José del Rio 1768–9. Other padres serving here as shown by the mission books were: Salazar 1769–72, Espinosa 1773–4, Guillen 1774–8 (he was murdered in April 1778 by the Indians on his way to Atí), Carrasco (who died at Magdalena in 1776), Barbastro 1778–83, Iturralde 1784, Moyano 1788–96, Socies 1791, and Gomez 1800. There were 228 Indians in 1772. In 1784 there were a few families of gente de razon. Tubutama had a brick church.

San Francisco Atí, with San Antonio Oquitoa as visita. Two hundred and forty-three Indians in 1772, a very small, poor church, and none at Oquitoa. P. José Soler was the first Franciscan in charge, 1768–74; and his successors on the registers—which I have for both mission and visita—were: Guillen 1773, Espinosa 1773–5, Gorgoll 1773–87, Ramos 1774–5, Eixarch 1776–81, Gamarra 1777–9 (died at Tubutama 1779), Moreno 1789, Llorenes 1787–90, Barbastro 1789, Moyano 1790–1817, Amorós 1796, Lopez 1797–8, and Gomez 1797–8—many of the names being of course those of visitors. There were a few Spanish settlers.

Purísima Concepcion de Caborca, with San Antonio Pitiquí and Nra Sra del Pópulo (or San Juan) Bisanic as visitas. 1,265 Ind. in 1782; no church or house at Pitiquí. The padres, as shown on the mission books, many being visitors, were: Juan Diaz 1768–73, Calzada 1773–82 (died Dec. 20, 1782), Soler 1773, Moreno 1775–81, Espinosa 1776, Gorgol 1772–86, Garcés 1779, Mora 1790–3, Ramos 1781–92, Collazo 1792–4, Simó 1794–5, Prado 1796–7, Sanchez 1796–1803, Mota 1797–8, Lopez 1799–1800, Font 1780–1, Moyano 1785–90, Iturralde 1778, Barbastro 1786, Bordoy 1796, Ibañez 1796.

Of the line of frontier presidios in Pimería Alta, Altar, Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras enough has been said elsewhere in this chapter. There is no record of local events at any one of them. San Ildefonso de Cieneguilla was a rich placer mining district near Altar, discovered 1771. Los Llanos and San Francisco were gold placers in the same district. San Antonio de la Huerta, or Arenas, was another famous and rich district of gold placers discovered before 1772 near the Yaqui River. Not much is known of the place; but from 1772 to 1776 it was the most flourishing place in Sonora, supporting the province, as Capt. Anza wrote, with the aid of Cieneguilla. Excise tax at Cieneguilla 1792, $686; at La Huerta, $4,186. The Arizona mines, or Plan-

was $183,767, the largest items being silver duties $33,849, gold $24,812, quicksilver $23,502, salt $11,865, tobacco, powder, and cards $56,414. The expense of the presidios was $128,893, and the balance sent to Mexico was $156,924. In 1799–1800 Sonora citizens contributed about $2,500 for the war with France. For 1793 Humboldt's statement of population, resting apparently on a census taken by viceregal order, was 93,396.

chos de Plata, are by several writers said to have been worked late in the century, but this seems to have been an error, for they had been long abandoned.

List of Franciscans serving in Sonora from 1768 to 1800:

Adan, Manuel.
Ahumada, Antonio.
Amorós, Pedro.
Arriquibar, Pedro.
Barbastro, Francisco Antonio.
Barreneche, Juan Antonio.
Beltran, Francisco.
Bordoy, Mariano.
Buena y Alcalde, Mariano.
Cabrera, José María.
Caja, José.
Calzada, Ambrosio.
Carrasco, Manuel.
Carrillo, Baltazar.
Collazo, Angel.
Diaz, Antonio.
Diaz, Juan.
Eixarch, Tomás.
Espinosa, José María.
Felix, Ildefonso.
Flores, Sebastian.
Font, Pedro.
Gallo, Matías.
Gamarra, Felix.
Garcés, Francisco.
García, Diego Martin.
Gil de Bernave, Juan C.
Gomez, José.
Gonzalez, Faustino.
Gorgol, Juan.
Guillen, Felipe.
Guttierrez, Narciso.
Ibañez, Florencio.
Iturralde, Francisco.
Jurado, Francisco.
Llorenes, Juan B.
Lopez, Ramon.
Madueño y Cobo, Fernan.
Monares, Roque.
Mora, José.
Moreno, José Matías.
Mota, Pablo.
Moyano, Francisco.
Ocalá, Antonio G.
Perez, José.
Ponce de Leon, Fernando.
Prado, Alonso.
Ramirez, Joaquin.
Ramos, Antonio.
Rio, José del.
Roche, Francisco.
Romero, Francisco.
Salaza, Estévan.
Sanchez, Andrés.
Sarobe, Juan.
Simó, Lorenzo.
Socies, Bartolomé.
Soler, José.
Tobas, Francisco.
Velarde, Joaquin.
Villaseca, Francisco.
Zúñiga, Francisco S.

CHAPTER XXV.

FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS IN THE PENINSULA.

1769–1774.

THE VISITADOR'S PLANS FOR LORETO—DEPARTURE AND REPORT OF GALVEZ—CHAPPE D'AUTEROCHE—GOVERNOR ARMONA—GONZALEZ AND TOLEDO—EPIDEMICS—DISSATISFACTION—RAMOS SENT TO SONORA—NEWS FROM MONTEREY—MORENO IN COMMAND—BASTERRA'S MEMORIAL—NEW FRIARS—GOVERNOR BARRI—A BITTER FEUD—PALOU APPEALS TO GUARDIAN AND VICEROY—THE DOMINICAN CLAIM—IRIARTE'S EFFORTS—ROYAL ORDERS—GUARDIAN AND VICAR-GENERAL—AMICABLE AGREEMENT—FRANCISCANS SURRENDER THE PENINSULA—MOTIVES OF THE TWO ORDERS—MORE TROUBLE WITH BARRI—ARRIVAL OF THE DOMINICANS—DEPARTURE OF THE FERNANDINOS—PALOU'S FINAL PREPARATIONS—TROUBLES WITH PRESIDENT MORA—REGLAMENTO OF PRESIDIOS—BARRI SUCCEEDED BY FELIPE DE NEVE—INSTRUCTIONS—ARRIVAL.

AFTER concluding his labors in connection with the expeditions to San Diego and Monterey, as narrated in an earlier chapter, Don José de Galvez came to Loreto in the middle of April 1769, accompanied by two friars newly arrived from Mexico, padres Juan Escudero and Juan Benito Sierra, and was received with much respect by Father Palou, acting as president since Serra's departure for the north. Loreto, though the nominal capital, was now in a reduced condition from its poor soil and lack of water, being abandoned by its original inhabitants except a few families. Yet on account of the presidio and warehouses there, and the tolerable harbor, Galvez regretted the decadence of this oldest of the peninsula establishments, and resolved to restore its population and prosperity. He therefore decreed that one hundred families should be brought from the other mis-

sions as soon as Loreto could be prepared for their reception. Neat whitewashed dwellings of uniform plan were to be built on regular tree-decorated streets about the ever essential plaza, each house having an enclosure for live-stock and poultry. About four acres of fertile land, with a well for irrigation, were to be assigned to each family, and each was to receive a small allowance of maize for one year from the royal stores. But not all were to be farmers; for boys were to be trained to the arts of fishing, pearl-diving, and navigation in a school established for that purpose, under the padres, but supported for a time by the government. After the native pueblo had been attended to, a Spanish settlement for officers, soldiers, mechanics, and others was to be laid out according to a plan prepared by the zealous visitador.[1] Truly the Californian capital was to be a model town.

Besides projecting these schemes for the future—never to be carried out—Galvez studied the existing state of affairs, and made changes more or less important in several details. He corrected laxities in the keeping of the royal accounts. He reduced the soldiers' pay to four, five, and six reals per day for those serving in the south, north, and in expeditions respectively; but at the same time he lowered the price of supplies at the almacen, and obliged the missions to sell at proportionately lower rates to the government.[2] Thus the missions and not the king had the burden to bear. Leaving in writing his orders on all these points, and many more for the guidance of governor, president, and the royal comisionado Juan Gutierrez, the visitador sailed on the *San José* the first of May for Sonora.[3] After his departure Palou went to San Javier, putting Pedro Escudero in charge there,

[1] Galvez's decrees of April 29, 30, 1769. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 47–58.

[2] *Palou, Noticias*, i. 65. Maize reduced from $4 to $3.50; lard, $6 to $3; figs, $6 to $4; fresh meat, 75 cents to 25; dried meat, 12 to 6; wine, 75 to 50 per cuartilla; aguardiente, $1.25 to .87, etc., etc.

[3] His general report of Dec. 31, 1771, *Galvez, Informe General que en virtud de real órden instruyó y entregó el Excmo Sr Marqués de Sonora, siendo*

and obtaining twenty-five native families for the projected pueblo at Loreto. Not much more was ever done to carry out the plans of Galvez in this matter. Padre Sierra was sent to Mulegé, and Padre Gaston took charge of Purísima.

On May 19th there anchored near the cape one of the California transports from San Blas, having on board a party of French and Spanish scientists under M. Chappe d'Auteroche of the Royal Academy, whose purpose was to observe the transit of Venus. The visitors were entertained at San José del Cabo by Padre Moran and Captain Morales, who rendered every assistance free of charge. The scientific observations were very successful; but immediately after their completion the party was attacked by a pestilential fever which carried off several members, including Monsieur Chappe himself. Three years later the results of the observation were published at Paris, with a narrative of the journey, which, however, contains no information of value respecting California.[4]

Matías de Armona had been the governor appointed to fill Portolá's place, when it was decided that the latter should lead the northern expeditions. He arrived June 12, 1769, at Loreto, where he found a letter from Galvez, requesting a conference at Álamos. Armona at once prepared to obey the summons, intending to take formal possession of his office upon his return; but having learned from the acting governor Gonzalez that the peninsula was in the future to pay its own soldiers, and be otherwise self-supporting, he declared his resolution not to come back at all unless Galvez would modify his regulations. Palou, deeming Don

visitador general de este reyno al Excmo Sr Virrey Frey D. Antonio Bucarely y Ursua, 140–8, contains a general account of his proceedings in California.

[4] *Voyage en Californie pour l'observation du passage de Venus sur le disque du Soleil, le 3 Juin 1769; Contenant les observations de ce phénomène, & la description historique de la route de l'auteur à travers le Mexique. Par feu M. Chappe d'Auteroche, de l'Académie*, etc. *Rédigé & publié par M. de Cassini, fils, de la Même Academie*, etc. Paris, 1772. 4to. Two Spanish astronomers, Doz and Medina, assisted in the observations at San José, while a Mexican, Velazquez de Leon, was very successful at Santa Ana. See also *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, 2d ep. iv. 100–4; *United States Coast Survey, Rept.*, 1874, 131–3.

Matías a good man for the place, regretted this determination, but hoped by the combined influence of the two the visitador might be induced to repeal some of the innovations, notably that reducing the price of mission products. The governor sailed for the main on the 24th of June.[5]

About this time a deadly epidemic broke out in the south, particularly at San José and Santiago. Padre Murguía was attacked and had to be removed to Todos Santos. Padre Moran died too suddenly to receive the sacraments. No sooner had this pestilence subsided than another broke out, followed by a third still more fatal, causing dreadful ravages in all the missions. Over three hundred persons died at Todos Santos, while many perished in the mountains, whither they had vainly fled for safety. Rendered desperate by the mortality which the vaunted religion seemed powerless to check, the Guaicuris about Todos Santos rose in revolt, and Governor Gonzalez had to go in person to restrain them; but much to the disgust of that potentate the Indians stole his dinner on the day of his arrival and the supplies provided for his departure. In August a vessel brought to Loreto cloth to the value of eight thousand dollars, sent by Galvez' order to the Indians as a compensation for mission effects taken for the north. Palou gratefully distributed the cloth, but announced that the missions could no longer bear the expense of clothing the neophytes unless the prices of products were raised.

Gonzalez was now permitted to retire from the command—whether from disgust at the purloining of his dinner in the south, or for more weighty reasons, does not appear—and a new comisario, Antonio Lopez de Toledo, was sent as lieutenant-governor to rule in his stead until Armona should return. He arrived and assumed command on October 3d, bringing instructions intended, so wrote Galvez, to remove all difficulties in

[5] *Palou, Noticias de la Antigua California*, i. 66 et seq., is the standard authority for all events on the peninsula in these years.

peninsula affairs. These instructions were to furnish from the almacen all utensils needed at Loreto; but they required that the native laborers at the salt-works of Cármen Island should work for their rations without other pay, and that these salinas should be regularly settled with mission Indians. Palou objected to the clauses relating to the salt-works, and declined to obey them, asserting that there must be some error. He wrote to his guardian on the subject, but that dignitary declared it impolitic to consult the viceroy, and left the president to settle the matter with Galvez. Palou accordingly wrote to the visitador, and then determined to cross the gulf for a personal interview. Meanwhile all the friars were consulted, and unanimously agreed that the only course left was to resign all care of the temporalities. Palou finally decided to send Father Ramos to Sonora instead of going in person, and the latter sailed in December, carrying the offer of resignation—respecting the entire sincerity of which under the circumstances there is much room for doubt—signed by all the missionaries and explained by a letter from the president. The late lieutenant-governor Gonzalez sailed on the same vessel.

Ramos was not successful in his mission, for he found that Galvez in bad health had gone to Chihuahua on his way to Mexico. Therefore, after sending a letter to the retiring visitador he returned to Loreto, arriving on March 14, 1770. It was now decided to send a full report to the guardian of San Fernando, and leave the college to settle the matter with Galvez and the viceroy. This report was sent to Mexico by Padre Dionisio Basterra, who was retiring on account of ill-health, and who sailed the 19th of March. Padre Ramos then started for Todos Santos, with instructions to send Murguía in his place to Loreto.

In the mean time Governor Armona, having served with distinction in the Sonora wars, had sent in his resignation, which the viceroy refused to accept, per-

emptorily ordering the recalcitrant ruler to go without delay to his post in California, at the same time promising to remove the difficulties of which complaint had been made. Armona had no excuse for disobedience, and arrived in the south on the 13th of June, writing to Palou from Santa Ana, and calling for a report on mission affairs. The president having, as we have noticed, a fondness for personal conferences, sailed for the south on the 4th of July, and prepared the report at Todos Santos with the aid of Padre Ramos, in whom he seems to have placed great confidence.[6] Then he went on to meet the governor, and the two returned to Todos Santos, where the 2d of August they first heard of the occupation of Monterey, joyful tidings celebrated by a solemn mass the following day. Soon the viceroy changed his mind and permitted Armona to retire; and after waiting for the stormy season to pass he sailed for San Blas on the 9th of November, leaving Bernardino Moreno in command as lieutenant-governor. Armona carried to Mexico various petitions from Palou, promising to use all his influence in favor of the reforms demanded; and in some respects he seems to have been successful.[7]

[6] This report, hastily prepared and probably preliminary to a more complete one, is not extant. It appears that Palou called upon each padre for a statement respecting his own mission; but these local reports are also missing with one exception, that of Padre Lasuen at Borja, dated Aug. 31, 1771. Full local details of the mission with its 115 neophytes, besides those living in six rancherías. *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., i. 24–33. Lasuen makes an eloquent appeal for two padres at each mission, less perhaps because he needed help than because he longed for company. We can in some degree imagine the desolate loneliness of a padre's life at a frontier mission; but the reality must have been far worse than anything our fancy can picture. These friars were mostly educated, in many cases learned, men; not used to nor needing the bustle of city life, but wanting as they did their daily food, intelligent companionship. They were not alone in the strictest sense of the word, for there were enough people around them. But what were these people?—ignorant, lazy, dirty, sulky, treacherous, half-tamed savages, with whom no decent man could have anything in common. Even the almost hopeless task of saving their miserable souls must have required a martyr for its performance. Father Baegert, *Nachrichten*, 218–20, presents in a humorously vivid light the exceeding dulness of existence on the peninsula even under the most favorable circumstances. He declares that Portolá could not have been more severely punished than by his exile to this country if he had been a traitor.

[7] Palou, *Noticias*, i. 82–3, mentions the following of his requests as having

Meanwhile Padre Basterra had reached Mexico with the president's remonstrances and the offer to resign the temporalities. Galvez was then in better health and willing to listen; but in order to avoid confusion the padre was requested to present all his demands in writing in one memorial. This Basterra was glad to do, and on July 10, 1770, the visitador was confronted with a petition in which were embodied all of Palou's ideas. It was a petty sweeping reform bill, but promises are cheap at all times, and were particularly so in that time and country. So Galvez had no hesitation in giving a verbal promise to adjust everything to the satisfaction of everybody. He kept the paper, but not his word, for so far as he was concerned not a point in the petition was ever acted upon.[8]

been subsequently granted: That the comisario should settle his mission accounts; that prices of mission products should be better regulated; that Loreto should receive the balance due at the expulsion, and what had been taken from the rancho since; that the *solteros* at Sta Ana should return to their missions, the plan of giving them instruction not having been carried out; that the mission Indians should not work on the San Blas transports.

[8] The items of the memorial, with important explanations by Palou not appearing in the original, were as follows: The Indians to receive $1 per day for work for the king as ordered by Galvez (through the influence of Gov. Gutierrez—Gonzalez?—this pay had been refused). The prices of meat to be raised, for at present prices there was a loss. (The cattle were wild, and six or seven vaqueros had to be hired and fed.) The household utensils to be delivered to Palou, and the old balance due the mission under the Jesuits to be paid (the utensils had formerly belonged to the missions. The balance had been ordered to be paid except at Loreto). Don Francisco Trillo to pay for 10 *tinajas* of brandy (lost by his carelessness). Mission accounts to be adjusted (there were many errors against the missions). Missions to be permitted to buy cloth, tobacco, etc., at Guadalajara and Mexico instead of from the royal storehouse (several hundreds of dollars could be thus saved every year). The order for $10,000—$8,000?—of cloth for the Indians to be repeated. (The missions could not bear the expense of clothing the Indians.) Only such cattle to be delivered to the almacen as bore its brand. (By Trillo's erroneous reports the almacen had received more cattle than belonged to it.) The missions to sell surplus products when, where, and how they please, and to receive cash from the almacen. (The comisario claimed all the profits, which Palou thought should go to the Indians.) The governor and comisario to be forbidden to meddle with the temporalities; for at present they seemed to regard the padres as their subalterns. The Loreto padre to be relieved of the necessity of delivering to the governor and comisario the product of a garden. (The comisario claimed not only a supply of fruit and vegetables, as originally ordered, but the whole product of the garden.) The governor and comisario to live outside of the college, so that the doors might be closed earlier. (It was not fitting so closely to unite religion and trade.) The Indians to be relieved of the tribute imposed on them, they being barely able to provide for themselves. (The tribute was the harvest of one fanega of maize at each mission in the south.) The governor and comisario not to interfere with the mission

In August of this year, 1770, the viceroy had heard of the success at Monterey, and so hopeful of future conquests did the news make him that he resolved to found not only five new missions in the upper country but five others between Velicatá and San Diego. Galvez called upon the guardian of San Fernando for forty-four friars, lately arrived from Europe. The guardian refused to spare so many; but finally it was agreed to furnish thirty by secularizing the Sierra Gorda missions. They left the capital in October and awaited at Tepic an opportunity to cross the gulf. Felipe Barri had now been appointed governor of California, and with Padre Juan Antonio Rioboo he sailed from Tepic in January 1771, not arriving at Santa Ana until March. Thence he wrote to Palou, and obtained permission for Rioboo to take charge of the cape towns, not meddling with the temporalities. Barri also sent the viceroy's orders respecting the new missions to be founded as soon as possible. They were to be named San Joaquin, Santa Ana, San Pascual Bailon, San Felipe Cantalicio, and San Juan Capistrano; each endowed with one thousand dollars, and to be administered by two friars with a stipend of two hundred and seventy-five dollars.

Governor Barri came with his family to Loreto in April, and was disposed at first to act in harmony with the president, taking deep interest in the missions. But such a state of things could not be expected to last long in California, and soon the spiritual and temporal authorities were once more set by the ears. In June the *Lauretana* brought bad news of the friars at Tepic.[9] They had sailed in February on

boats and their crews, except in emergencies. (They had used them for their own private convenience.) San José del Cabo and Santiago to be continued as curacies, and not turned over to the friars; for the galleon touched there, and the padres might be accused of trading. (Palou had heard that the curate had gone to Mexico to work for the change.) [In 1771 P. Rioboo took charge of San José for want of a curate. *Palou, Noticias*, i. 138–9.] The memorial in *Id.*, i. 86–97.

[9] Their names, so far as can be determined from Palou's somewhat confused narrative, were as follows: Juan Prestamero, Ramon Usson, Marcelino Senra,

the *San Cárlos*, but had been driven down past Acapulco, the vessel having subsequently grounded at Manzanillo, and the padres being landed in boats. Finally padres Senra and Figuer reëmbarked on the *San Cárlos* and reached Loreto in August. The others proceeded northward by land, one of them dying on the way, and finally were brought over to the peninsula on the *Concepcion*, arriving on the 24th of November.

Meanwhile Palou, while in the north making preparations for the new establishments, had been recalled by a letter from Barri, announcing a revolt at Todos Santos. He disregarded this summons, asserting that the revolt could amount to nothing. On his return in September the new friars Senra and Figuer were sent to Borja and Todos Santos. The *Concepcion* had made one unsuccessful trip to bring the other friars, but now started again.[10] The revolt was not serious in itself, but it led to some unpleasant consequences. The Indians had complained of the cruelty of a majordomo. Such complaints from the Guaicuris were frequent and almost always unfounded, so the padre refused to act in the matter. Then the neophytes, instigated by certain shrewd malecontents, appealed to the governor, including in their complaint other charges against the padre, notably one to the effect that he denied the governor's right to interfere in the mission management. Barri was a stubborn, hot-headed man, and was very angry. Nothing that Palou or others could say had any effect to mollify his wrath; and thus began a feud which increased in bitterness, until the governor openly ordered the padres to confine themselves to preaching, teaching,

Tomás de la Peña, Vicente Imas, Francisco Echasco, Martin Palacios, Manuel Lago, Pedro Arriguiebar, José Leguna, Gregorio Amurrio, Juan Figuer, Vicente Fuster, Antonio Linares, Vicente Santa María, Francisco Javier Tejada—16 of what Palou calls a list of 'these 20,' 10 having gone to Alta California. The other four were apparently José Herrera (who died before reaching Cal.), José Legomera, Miguel Sanchez, and —— Villuendas. *Palou, Noticias*, i. 98–101, 130–4; ii. 156.

[10] There is some confusion about these trips, but the matter is not important.

and saying mass; not meddling with the temporalities nor with punishment of Indians. It was a great triumph for the latter, who flocked to Barri with complaints on all occasions. They became saucy and independent, wasting the property, until it seemed that the evil days of the comisionados had returned. Palou, filled with grief and indignation, wrote a passionate letter to his guardian, entreating him to appeal to the viceroy. The letter was sent by Padre Escudero, who sailed in October and reached Mexico in December. On learning the padre's errand the guardian prepared a long memorial for Viceroy Bucareli. A notable clause was the request that some of the missions might be transferred to the care of some other order. This memorial, though answered in a favorable strain by the viceroy the following March, produced no direct or immediate results.[11]

On the arrival of the new padres in November, Palou, writing from Comondú, notified Barri that he was ready to found the new missions; but the governor replied that there were no soldiers to spare, and he had in vain demanded a reënforcement from Governor Corbalan of Sonora. The president therefore gave up all hope for the time, and distributed the missionaries among the old establishments.[12] Then he

[11] The clauses of the guardian's memorial relating to the peninsula were as follows: More soldiers and more church paraphernalia needed for the frontier missions. Temporalities should remain in charge of the padres, who should have power to appoint and remove all servants and soldiers. The old missions should have returned to them the animals, etc., furnished for the new ones. The royal warehouse should pay its debts to the missions in goods or drafts. The warehouse should not receive mission products except for cash or useful goods. Indians should receive just wages. The transport should sail from San Blas in June. A proper *limosna* should be allowed to padres going or coming from the new missions. $1,000 should be granted to S. Fernando. The Dominicans, or some other order, should take care of S. Javier, S. José del Cabo, Santiago, Todos Santos, Purísima, Guadalupe, and Mulegé. The soldiers should have adequate rations for escort duty. This memorial was presented Dec. 23, 1771, and was answered March 18, 1772. The reply was a vague assurance that the viceroy had instructed Gov. Barri to do all he could to aid the padres, had sent him the necessary papers, and had ordered him to report. This reply did not reach Palou till Dec. 1772; too late to do any good even if it had been satisfactory. *Palou, Not.*, i. 112–26.

[12] The distribution was: S. Fernando, Fuster and Linares with Campa; Sta Gertrudis, Amurrio with Sancho; S. Ignacio, Legomera with Veytia; Sta Rosalía, Arreguibar with Sierra; Guadalupe, Lago with Villaumbrales; Pu-

sent to Barri a formal renunciation of Todos Santos, recommending that the few and incorrigibly bad Indians should be distributed in other missions, and suggesting a transfer of Spanish settlers from Santa Ana to Todos Santos. The governor positively refused to accept the renunciation until he could consult the viceroy. This refusal served to widen the existing breach between the friars and the captious ruler, it being evident that the latter would oppose the fathers at every point.[13] As the Franciscans were now exasperated beyond measure at being thus crossed and thwarted, all attempts at reconciliation soon came to an end. The natives were not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs; they became more insolent and refractory every day; and more than once open rebellion was barely averted.

At his wits' end for a remedy, Palou at last had recourse to the means of redress so often and ineffectually adopted before, and sent Padre Ramos to Mexico that the whole matter might be laid before the viceroy. Ramos sailed in January 1772, reaching the capital in March. At this time the question of ceding a part of the missions to the Dominican order was being discussed, and the arrival of the envoy with his long string of grievances contributed materially to the final surrender of the entire peninsula by the Franciscans. After Ramos' departure Palou received instructions to prepare a full report on the condition of the missions, which he did under date of February 12,

rísima, Echasco, and Palacios with Gaston; Comondú, Prestamero and Peña; S. Javier, Usson with Parron; Loreto, Sta María with Murguía; Todos Santos, Sanchez with Senra; Santiago and San José, Villuendas with Rioboo. *Palou, Not.*, i. 131–2. Figuer is not named though he had arrived; Tejada had been left sick at Tepic, and did not arrive till April 1772; while Leguna was perhaps the one who died on the land journey.

[13] In his report of Feb. 12, 1772, Palou, *Noticias*, i. 173–4, says in answer to an inquiry if Armona's orders for the good of the Indians were being carried out, 'Armona's name cannot even be mentioned in the presence of Gov. Barri, who openly says that he came to ruin the peninsula. In the presence of P. Escudero he declared that he did not wish to be in harmony with me.' Something should be done to prevent his interference with missionary efforts in behalf of the Indians.

1772.[14] But long before this document reached its destination the surrender of all the missions had been settled.

The Dominican occupation of the peninsula had its origin as early as 1768. In that year Father Juan Pedro Iriarte y Laurnaga, procurador at Madrid of Dominican missions in New Spain, conceived the idea of extending the labors of his order into California; and with encouragement from men of influence at court he petitioned the king for license to establish missions on the west coast between latitudes 25° and 28°, representing that region as a rich and unworked missionary field. Iriarte may have credited fabulous rumors respecting the natural advantages of the country in question; but it must be remembered that his petition preceded the fitting-out of the expedition to San Diego and Monterey; and it is quite possible that, with a hint of what was to be done, he simply wished to put his order in a position to occupy the northern regions if such occupation should prove to be desirable. By a cédula of November 8, 1768, the king referred the proposition to the viceroy for his opinion.[15] The viceroy, probably influenced to some extent by the Franciscan authorities in Mexico, reported unfavor-

[14] *Palou, Informe sobre el Estado Actual de las Misiones de la Peninsula, 1772.* In *Id., Not.*, i. 138–79. This report contains a sketch of the history, location, and condition of each establishment; with also a résumé of the past grievances and necessary reforms. Historical items have been utilized elsewhere, and locations are shown on the map. The registered population, a large part wandering in the mountains, was 5,074 in 13 establishments (Galvez, in his *Informe*, 143, gave the total population in 1769 as 7,888, including gente de razon). Borja with 1,479 was the largest; San José del Cabo with 50 the smallest. Most of the mission cattle were running wild. Palou demands at least 100 soldiers for escort duty; and their pay should be increased from 5 reals a day, which sum left nothing for the support of a family; and the men were always in debt to the almacen. Barri brought $22,000, but of this he left $8,000 or $10,000 for the Sta Ana mission, and with the rest regularly paid his own salary, $4,000 a year, so that he soon had no money left for the soldiers.

[15] Palou, *Noticias*, i. 181, represents the king as granting the desired permission in the cédula, which is an error; and he also says that Iriarte at once sent some missionaries to Mexico and soon followed them, the obstacles encountered being after his arrival. I think this also must be incorrect.

ably on April 22, 1769, believing that the proposed division would result in contentions between the two orders. He had referred the subject, however, to Galvez, who in a report of June 10th also disapproved the project, declaring that it rested on an erroneous belief in the existence of fertile lands, good ports, and a large population in the north-western peninsula. As a matter of fact the desirable spots were all occupied, the Franciscan force was amply sufficient for the work, and the introduction of new missionaries in the narrow peninsula would cause only trouble; moreover there was no lack of territory on the frontiers for the Dominicans to utilize all their zeal in founding new missions. Iriarte was not, however, a man to be crushed by one defeat. He still urged his cause at court, obtained favorable reports from the archbishop of Mexico and others, found favor in the council of Indies, and finally obtained from the king, under date of April 8, 1770, a new cédula ordering a division of the missions, on the ground that it was not to the interest of the crown that one order, much less one college, should have sole control of so vast a province.[16]

The Dominicans desired the northern districts, including San Ignacio, Guadalupe, and Mulegé; and also that of Belen in Sonora. Their purpose was clearly to obtain an open way to the north. But the royal order cited left the details of the division to the viceroy, who after consulting the bishop of Guadalajara was to make such a division as might seem best for all concerned, leaving to each order a field for expansion toward the north, with limits so fixed as to avoid future contentions. Then were circulated among all the Dominicans of Spain circulars signed by Juan Tomás de Boxadors, general of the order, and by Iriarte himself, calling for volunteers for the new crusade

[16] King's order of April 8, 1770, with reference to former cédula of Nov. 4, 1768, and to reports of viceroy and Galvez, in *California, Noticias*, carta iii. 8–19. Galvez' report of June 10, 1770, in *Palou, Noticias*, i. 182–4. There are some explanatory notes in both works. The royal order of April 8th, also in *Mayer MSS.*, no. 14.

against heathenism.[17] Two hundred friars offered their services; and twenty-five were chosen from the provinces of Castile, Aragon, and Andalucía. With these followers Iriarte sailed from Cádiz and landed at Vera Cruz on August 19, 1771, after a voyage of sixty-one days. At this time the new Franciscan friars were on their way to California, and it will be remembered that before the end of the year, and perhaps before the new order was known to him, the guardian of San Fernando had voluntarily suggested a cession of part of the missions. Thus there was no further reason for delay, or ground for controversy except in arranging the details of division,[18] and this matter by a junta of March 21, 1772, was referred for amicable settlement to the Franciscan guardian Padre Rafael Verger, and the Dominican vicar-general Iriarte.[19]

Verger and Iriarte signed a *concordato*, or agreement, on April 7, 1772. In general terms it gave to the Dominicans the entire peninsula, with all the old missions up to a point just below San Diego,[20] and the right to extend their settlements eastward and northeastward to and past the head of the gulf; while the Franciscans were to retain the missions above San Diego, and to extend their establishments without limit to the north and north-west.[21] The arguments between the two friars and their advisers, if there were any such, are not recorded. At first thought it would seem that the surrender of all the old establishments must have been regarded as a great sacrifice on the

[17] Dated June 10, 13, 1770, and given in full in *California, Noticias*, carta iii. 19–45.

[18] Padre Sales, *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 48, says the viceroy suspended the order and interposed new obstacles; but this would seem to be an error.

[19] *Palou, Not.*, i. 186, 190. It appears that the junta also ordered as a base of the division that the Franciscans should occupy the mission of Velicatá, and the Dominicans the site of San Juan de Dios, a little farther east.

[20] Their northernmost mission was to be on the arroyo of San Juan Bautista, and its lands were to extend 5 leagues farther to a point formed by a spur of the Sierra near the beach.

[21] The concordato of April 7, 1772, is given literally in *Palou, Not.*, i. 187–9; also in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., i. 13–18; *Arch. Sta Bárbara*, MS., ix. 360–70.

part of the Fernandinos; but probably they did not so regard it, and we may suppose that the negotiations were harmonious and the result satisfactory to both parties. Iriarte had doubtless desired the northern coast region for his order, but he could hardly insist on this claim now that the Franciscans were in actual possession; moreover the north-eastern region was regarded as a land of wonderful and mysterious possibilities, more desirable in several respects as a missionary field than the coast; and it was obviously preferable that the two orders should follow distinct lines of spiritual conquest rather than mingle their establishments. We may suppose the Franciscans at first wished to retain some of the southern missions; but doing so they could hardly refuse to give up some of the northern also; clearly a division of the peninsula establishments would present many inconveniences; they were disgusted with current difficulties in the south; and they were better acquainted than their rivals with the attractions of the north. It is doubtful, however, if the Fernandinos fully realized at the time how excellent a bargain they had struck.

Though the agreement was somewhat different from what had been expected, there was no reason for opposition on the part of the viceregal government; indeed Bucareli was only too glad to escape so easily from what had threatened to be a very tedious controversy. The concordato was approved in a junta of April 30, 1772, which also arranged the formalities and minor details of the surrender.[22] The Dominicans were to receive a stipend of $350 from the pious fund, one year's pay in advance, and travelling expenses. $1,000 was to be given for each new mission, besides the necessary *ornamentos*. The Franciscans were to deliver the missions by formal inventory. In a letter of June 10th the guardian announced the result to

[22] Junta of April 30, 1772, in *Fonseca* and *Urrutia*, *Hist. Hacienda*, vi. 306–10; *Palou*, *Not.*, i. 190–5; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., ix. 370–6; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 18½. The viceroy's decree of approval was dated May 12th.

Palou, directing him to surrender the property and to send the Franciscans to the college, except four destined for the Monterey establishments.

We return to California with the guardian's letter arriving at Loreto late in August. The news was welcomed with demonstrations of joy. Palou instructed the friars to prepare their accounts and be ready for the surrender when their 'brothers and successors' should arrive, one remaining at each mission, and the rest coming to Loreto. On October 14th ten Dominicans arrived on the *Lauretana*, and were hospitably entertained, declining to accept a transfer of the missions until President Iriarte should arrive. Eight Franciscans, however, departed before the end of the year.[23]

In December the feud with Governor Barri received a new impulse. The viceroy's reply to the memorial of December 1771 in an evil hour now came to hand, and was made known to the friars in a circular letter. It would have been much more prudent for Palou to regard the document as a thing of the past with the issues of which it treated; but he could not resist the temptation to let his partial victory be known to his associates and to the governor. Barri heard of the circular and was perhaps misinformed as to its contents. At any rate he sent to Palou an *exhorto*, in which he charged him with having announced the receipt of orders conferring absolute authority upon the president, and called upon him to show his orders or retract what he had said, as the circular had caused much insubordination. Palou quietly denied that he had received, or pretended to receive, any such instructions. Soon he learned, however, through the Dominicans that Barri had secretly planned to have the Indians of San Javier go on a certain day to Loreto to protest against the intolerable cruelty of the Franciscans, who, as they were to declare, had lately

[23] PP. Martinez, Echascó, Somera, Palacios, Imas, Arreguibar, Parron, and Lago. *Palou, Not.*, i. 208.

received orders from Mexico by virtue of which the natives would soon be all destroyed. Palou at once summoned padres Murgúia and Santa María to Loreto; and the Dominicans persuaded the Indians not only to confess that they acted under Barri's instigation but to forego their purpose, since, the mission being now transferred to another order, the appeal could do no good. Thus was the shabby scheme frustrated to the great vexation of the governor, who is said to have indulged in very violent written and verbal abuse of the president, and to have tried—without success at the time—to stir up enmity between the two orders.

Meanwhile the rest of the Dominicans sailing from San Blas on the *San Cárlos* had been wrecked, suffering terribly both by sea and land. Four of the number died, including President Iriarte, who thus perished before tasting the first fruits of his great enterprise.[24] The news came to Loreto in April 1773. Padre Vicente Mora, then in California, became acting president on the death of Iriarte; but declined to formally accept the missions until confirmed in his office. He consented, however, to take the property belonging to the proposed new establishments, and to begin work on the inventories. Loreto at once became a scene of unusual industry. The Franciscans insisted on the greatest care in every item of the accounts, because the vindictive Barri had accused them of having plundered the missions. The result proved—so says Palou, and there is no reason to doubt it—that all was in perfect order, mission funds and dues having increased from $8,960 to $10,046 since the expulsion of the Jesuits; and President Mora was satisfied that he had not been cheated.

The rest of the Dominicans arrived on the *Concepcion* and *Lauretana* the 12th of May, and after ceremonies of thanksgiving and welcome they were

[24] A full account of the journey by Padre Sales, one of the sufferers, in *Cal., Noticias,* carta iii. 49–54.

sent at once to their respective missions, which in the south, as everything was ready, were promptly transferred to their care. At Loreto there were special ceremonies, including speeches of congratulation and farewell by members of both orders. It now only remained for Padre Palou to attend to a few matters preparatory to his departure for Alta California, whither he had resolved to go with seven of his associates, instead of four as at first intended.[25] First there was the collecting of some cattle which by the viceroy's order were to be furnished for the north. Barri had prevented the carrying-out of the order, and now Mora seemed disposed also to interpose obstacles. Palou decided to leave the matter in charge of Padre Campa with instructions to urge the demand but not insist to the extent of making trouble.[26] There was also authority to take twenty-five Indian families for Monterey, and these he hoped to obtain on the way northward. He started with ten Dominicans on May 4, 1773, in a sloop and two boats for Mulegé, subsequently visiting and delivering successively Guadalupe, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, Borja, Santa María, and San Fernando. He obtained a few families at Santa Gertrudis, not without trouble, for the Dominicans declared that President Mora had forbidden it; and at Borja they showed a written order forbidding it. Nevertheless he took seven families. Soon Palou and six companions started from San Fernando, where supplies had been collected for San Diego, arriving at the end of August. Padre Cambon was left behind in charge of certain church property.

This property was a portion of the ornaments and utensils which by order of Galvez had been taken

[25] See *Hist. Cal.*, i., this series, for particulars about the padres who went to the north.

[26] Mora and Barri promised Campa in October 1773, to attend to the matter; but he could not get the cattle. Excuses followed excuses, and at last hearing that the governor had written to Mexico to break up the whole arrangement he reported to Palou in April 1774, and sailed for Mexico to consult with the guardian. *Palou, Not.*, ii. 156.

from the old for the new missions. The visitador had no doubt full powers to appropriate the property, and he had also paid for it more or less fully in cloth for the natives and in other ways. Palou sent a mule train from San Diego for supplies and for a part of the church effects in question. Governor Barri saw here a last opportunity to annoy the Franciscans, and, insisting that the property had been stolen, ordered Lieutenant Velazquez in command at Velicatá not to permit its removal. Cambon could do nothing but report this fresh annoyance. In some way Barri had induced President Mora to act in concert with him, either persuading him that he had really been cheated, or forcing him to vindicate himself from charges of complicity, or because the Dominican wished to prove by investigation that the Franciscans had been wrongfully accused. Whatever his motive the president joined the governor in a demand to be allowed to search for stolen property. Cambon refused on the ground that complete inventories and receipts satisfactory to both parties had already been signed. Thus the matter remained until Junípero Serra returned from Mexico to Monterey with an order from the viceroy that the property should be forwarded without delay. This order reached Velicatá in July 1774, but it was nearly a year before the last of the goods were delivered, President Mora having been more active in interposing petty obstacles than even the stubborn governor.[27] The Franciscans had now no further claims of importance upon the peninsula missions; the surplus friars had departed for Mexico;[28] and the Dominicans were in full possession.

By the reglamento of presidios in 1772 the California establishments were continued on the same

[27] Full details of the controversy in *Palou, Not.*, ii. 158–205.

[28] PP. Gaston, Sancho, Santa María, Rioboo, Linares, and Tejada had sailed on the *Concepcion* May 27, 1773. PP. Villaumbrales and Sierra with the síndico Manuel García Morales sailed on another vessel June 15, to touch at Cerralvo for the southern padres. PP. Veytia and Villaumbrales died before reaching the college.

basis as before with an annual allowance of $33,000.[29] Echeveste's reglamento, to take effect from the beginning of 1774, and resulting indirectly from the efforts of Padre Serra in his visit to Mexico, introduced some slight changes in the military administration. This regulation applied to both Californias and the San Blas department, containing very little affecting the peninsula alone. For details therefore the reader is referred to another volume of this work. Thirty-seven men was the garrison allowed to the fort at Loreto, or Presidio de Californias as it was often called, at an annual cost of $12,450, besides the governor's salary.[30]

Governor Barri's constant quarrels with the padres could have but one result. The friars had much influence at the capital, and rarely appealed in vain when it would cost nothing to satisfy them. How Barri agreed with the followers of St Dominic is not recorded; but in any case it was now too late to mend; his doom was sealed. At his own request[31] he was removed, to be given soon a better position as governor of Nueva Viscaya; and Felipe de Neve was appointed on October 28, 1774, governor of the Californias, his instructions being dated still earlier, the 30th of September. According to this document the change was made in order that the country might be under a ruler of wisdom, zeal, and administrative ability, not disposed to create scandal by quarrelling with the friars, it being thus implied that Barri was not such a man. Neve was to follow

[29] *Presidios, Reglam. é Instruc.*, 114–20.

[30] See *Hist. Cal.* i., this series; *Reglamento de 24 de Mayo 1773; Arch. Cal., Dept St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxvii. 3–4; *St. Pap. Ben.*, MS., i. 3–4. The force was to be: a governor at a salary of $4,000; a lieutenant in command of troops, $500; a sergeant, $400; 3 corporals at $350; 30 soldiers at $300; and a comisario at Loreto, $1,500. The governor and comisario might collect their pay whenever they pleased; but the rest were to be paid in goods at 100 per cent discount, which reduced the actual cost to $10,965. There are some errors in Palou's version, partially corrected by Doyle in his reprint. iii. 89.

[31] Viceroy to Rivera, Oct. 28, 1774. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 191.

Galvez' instructions when not conflicting with the reglamento or later orders; and he was to maintain harmony with the missionaries, superintending and reporting on their work, but not interfering in their legitimate duties, the care, instruction, and punishment of neophytes. Neither must the father president in any way impede the legal acts of the governor or his subordinates. The Indians were to be protected and well treated, but by no means allowed to lose their respect for the secular authorities. The governor had no direct authority over the commandant in Alta California, though nominally his political superior and entitled to respect and full reports. Every possible precaution was to be taken to prevent the entrance of foreign vessels, and also all trade with Spanish vessels, not excepting the Manila galleon. Owners of cattle must be compelled to brand them, in order that the herds of wild cattle might be appropriated to the use of the troops, the navy, and the Indians. Accounts must be strictly investigated and regulated; and especially was attention to be given to the Santa Ana mines, which though worked on his majesty's account at great expense had yielded not an ounce of silver for the treasury.[32] Owners of private mines were also to be compelled to pay the royal fifths as they had not regularly done. Finally the governor was enjoined to preserve peaceful relations with the comisario and other royal officials as his predecessor, always in a quarrel with Toledo, had failed to do.[33]

Such being the special instructions received directly from the viceroy, Neve left the capital on October 9th, the day after his formal appointment, and the 4th of March 1775 he arrived at Loreto. He took imme-

[32] The viceroy says that 1,318 lbs. of quicksilver had been used, which ought to have given as many marks of silver. In *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 151–2, however, it is recorded that in 1770 1,408 marks of silver were shipped from Sta Ana to Guadalajara on royal account.

[33] *Bucareli, Instruccion, 30 de Sept. 1774*, MS., in *Arch. Cal., St. Pap., M. and C.*, MS., i. 309–20.

diate possession of the office, and ex-governor Barri set sail for San Blas on the 26th, doubtless greatly to the relief of his old adversaries the friars.[34] Neve was a very able man, but his acts and character will be much more fully shown in the *History of Alta California* than in this volume.

[34] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 1; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 187–9.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ANNALS OF BAJA CALIFORNIA.

1775–1800.

Neve's Rule—Reforms—Troubles with Padres—Rosario and Santo Domingo—Rivera y Moncada in Command—Indian Troubles—Dominican Records—San Vicente—Small-pox—Hidalgo President—Neve's Reglamento—Rivera's Death—Custodias Threatened—Fages Governor—Hard Times—Arrillaga in Command—Explorations—San Miguel—Mission Reports—Padre Sales' Noticias—Governor Romeu—President Gomez—Santo Tomás—New Friars—San Pedro Mártyr—Borica—Official Changes—Arrillaga's Tour—Santa Catalina—War with England—President Belda—A British Fleet—Governor Arrillaga—Financial Items—List of Dominicans—Local Affairs.

Though a man of marked ability, and of the best intentions, Governor Neve soon discovered the difficulties of his position. A few days after his arrival we find him complaining to the viceroy that the country is destitute of everything necessary. Ships, horses, clothing, and especially arms are needed.[1] Next he finds the thirty-four soldiers of the Loreto garrison an inadequate force and asks that it be increased.[2] At the end of the year, visiting the southern missions he reports it impossible to support them as the lands are barren and there is no one competent to till them. He is disappointed that Galvez' projected renovation of Loreto has not been put into effect. The visitador had left elaborate rules for the management of the royal revenues from tobacco,

[1] March 30, 1775, Neve to viceroy. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 2. May 24, 200 mules and 100 horses to be purchased in Sonora, says viceroy to Rivera. *Id., Prov. St. Pap.*, i. 174.

[2] July 24, 1775. *Id., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 153.

quicksilver, salt, the king's fifths of bullion, pearl-fisheries, and other sources, in all estimated at $34,000. But how can these rules be carried out, laments the poor ruler, when there is no revenue except some $200 from pearls and salt?[3]

At the same time Neve betrays signs of having met the fate of his predecessors. Despite the vice-regal injunctions it is evident that he was already on bad terms with the friars, at whose door he lays many of the existing evils. It had been Galvez' aim to make the Indians self-dependent; but this does not suit the ideas of the padres, who would thus be deprived of their absolute control of mission products. Therefore, he claims, the natives will never be freed until the viceroy takes decisive steps toward secularization, and especially until a president is appointed who is free from the spirit of faction and lust of gain.[4]

The governor by no means gave all his time to grumbling, however, but took a deep interest in the missions' welfare. With much satisfaction he informed the viceroy of satisfactory progress at the new mission of Rosario founded in 1774;[5] and also that another new mission of Santo Domingo had been established north of Rosario by padres Manuel García and Miguel Hidalgo.[6] Neve was also active in carrying out other special instructions. One Carpio was arrested for sailing from a California port without permission; and intercourse with the galleon was strictly

[3] Nothing could be done to secure the royal fifth of pearls from the few poor *armadores*. It had become the custom to accept a fixed sum, say $50 by contract. Formerly the fifths were paid on the good faith of the armadores, and yielded 27 lbs in 1744, 54 lbs in 1745, and 55 lbs in 1747. Neve to viceroy, Dec. 30, 1775, in *Id., Prov. Rec.*, i. 150–1.

[4] *Id.*, i. 149–50. The southern missions badly administered. *Id.*, i. 147.

[5] March 23, 1775. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 5–6. P. Francisco Galistis was the minister, and the site is called Vinaraco. In *Cal. Noticias*, carta iv. 60, it is called Viñatacot, and in a table its position is given as 173 l. N. W. of Loreto, in lat. 29° 30′, long. 255° (from Ferrol?). Aug. 8, 1775, 528 baptisms here and at S. Fernando. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 154. Date given as 1782 in *Leese's Hist. Outline*, 10.

[6] Nov. 29, 1775. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 157. The founding was on or about Aug. 30. Sto Domingo 20 l. beyond Rosario, 194 l. N. W. Loreto, lat. 30° 30′, long 254°. *Cal. Noticias*, carta iii. 64, and table.

forbidden.[7] Inspection proved that the Santa Ana mines had been abandoned for three years, but this did not prevent Neve from estimating their value to the treasury to the fraction of a real as over one thousand pesos.[8] Two more small vessels were added to the mission flotilla. The plan for appropriating unbranded cattle seems to have proved impracticable. Fifty head were slaughtered, but the expense was greater than the beef would have cost at the missions. This was a staggering blow to the theory that the padres demanded exorbitant prices.[9] Complaints were heeded to some extent by the viceroy. He ordered the drawing-up of a *formulario* with the aid of Padre Mora for the better government of the missions; and he directed the president to carry out the orders of Galvez respecting the transfer of native families from the north; though Mora evaded compliance on the plea that it was not conducive to the liberty and health of the Indians.[10]

In the latter part of 1776 Governor Neve received orders to take up his permanent residence at Monterey, while Rivera y Moncada was to come to Loreto and rule the peninsula as lieutenant-governor. A leading motive of this change, besides the growing importance of the northern domain, was the controversy of Rivera with the Franciscans, by one of whom he had been excommunicated, and with Colonel Anza, whom he had refused to assist in carrying out the viceroy's instructions. In the minds of many Rivera's conduct called for removal from the service rather than a new command of such responsibility; but his past services

[7] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 4; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 9–10.

[8] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 152. In 1776 orders not to hinder the shipping of bullion from Sta Ana, so work may have been resumed, *Id.*, i. 50; but all is vague about these mines.

[9] On May 12, 1776, Neve suggested that as an experiment the administration of one mission should be put unreservedly in his hands. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 52–3. There is no reply, but probably such summary secularization met with no favor.

[10] Feb., April, 1776. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 51, 58–9; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 283–5.

BAJA CALIFORNIA IN 1800.

and undoubted abilities saved him at this juncture.[11] In November Neve put Lieutenant Cañete in temporary command, and started for Monterey, where he arrived in February 1777; and a little later Rivera started for the south and soon relieved Cañete. Neve did not, however, lose sight of peninsular affairs. He soon found cause of complaint against the comisario, Francisco Álvarez y Osorio, and recommended the appointment of Alférez José María Estrada in his place as *guarda almacen* at a reduced salary.[12]

Rivera also showed commendable diligence in his new position; but it was not long before disputes began to arise with the Dominicans. In May 1777 President Mora asked for more soldiers on the frontier, where some fugitive neophytes had joined the pagans. Rivera declined to increase the guards without consulting Neve, and this drew from the president a very sharp letter. He claimed authority to obtain such military aid as he needed, declared consultation with the governor an unnecessary farce, insisted that the government had done all in its power to humiliate the padres, and threatened to abandon the frontier missions if the guard were not sent. The captain, however, was quite unmoved by this outburst of ecclesiastical wrath, and retorted that the padres might retire from the frontier whenever they pleased; but they did not carry out their threat.[13] Yet it was not from mere caprice that Mora demanded more soldiers; for just now the Indians were particularly troublesome, and not altogether by their own fault. The Dominicans, with less experience as missionaries, were harder masters than either Jesuits or Franciscans had been, exacting comparatively excessive labor

[11] See *Hist. Cal.*, i., this series, for a full account of Rivera's troubles in the north.

[12] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 78. The change was made in 1780. Galleon at S. José Dec. 24, 1776. *Prov. Rec.*, i. 58.

[13] Correspondence in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 265–82. Another cause of controversy was Rivera's refusal to arrest one Seceña who had failed to keep his contract to pay the California tithes of $60 a year. He put an embargo on his property, but refused to arrest a man on whom a family depended.

and administering severe punishments. At Santa Gertrudis and San Borja, the Indians confessed their intention to plunder and burn the missions, boldly declaring that they were weary of being beaten and imprisoned by the padres and would endure it no longer. It was necessary to make an example of such hardened offenders, and a number of them after being tried at Loreto and found guilty of rebellion, were severely flogged, the leaders being also banished to the south.[14]

We have now reached the beginning of a period extending over many years of which it is impossible to write a coherent chronological history, so scanty are the records. Salvatierra, Venegas, and the rest have furnished a copious account of the Jesuit period; Palou and his associates have left satisfactory material for the Franciscan occupation; but the Dominicans have left no account of their labors.[15] This is the more strange when we consider that the members of this order were in a general way men who surpassed the Franciscans in education, learning, and culture. It would appear that they accomplished nothing in California worth recording even in their own estimation. To make the matter worse the secular archives, elsewhere so invaluable for filling gaps in the systematic chronicles, are here singularly barren of information. They are bulky enough it is true, but treat of such trivial matters in so disconnected a way that they can hardly be called historical material. In fact there was little to be recorded. The reader is acquainted with the monotony of provincial annals in other Hispano-American regions after the era of conquest had once passed; but nowhere was life more monotonously uneventful than in Baja California. From the scattered items of routine military, finan-

[14] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 98; *Prov. St. Pap.*, ii. 10–12.

[15] The *Noticias de Californias* of Padre Sales will be noticed later. It is for the most part not historical but descriptive.

cial, and missionary reports I shall be able later in this chapter to present some statistics of considerable interest. Occasionally from the ocean of fragmentary data on the number of muskets and lances at Loreto or other similar topic looms up as an island a royal *cédula*, a viceregal *instruccion*, the founding of a mission, an epidemic or revolt, the arrival of a vessel, an ecclesiastical scandal, or a petty quarrel between officials. These are the piers on which the historian has to build a frail bridge to carry the reader over the gulf of years that have no record.

In 1779 Governor Neve renewed his efforts to transfer natives from north to south, and with them to form pueblos as Galvez had planned and as the viceroy desired. The president objected to this policy as a covert attempt at secularization, and the Indian families were for the most part sent back.[16] About this time Mora sent Padre Nicolás Nuñez to Arizpe to solicit aid for a new mission and to ask from General Croix certain privileges for the friars, some of which were granted.[17] The new mission, named San Vicente Ferrer, was founded in 1780 by padres Hidalgo and Joaquin Valero at a spot some twenty leagues north of Santo Domingo.[18] The year 1781 was made memorable by a terrible plague of smallpox. The Indians fled affrighted from the missions, many of which were entirely deserted. The mountain caves and cañons were filled with the dying and dead, who had thought to elude their foe by concealment,

[16] Neve to Croix, June 4, 1779. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 129–31. In *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, app. 16–17, are some geographical data on the peninsula dated 1779.

[17] These were non-interference with mission servants and the crews of mission vessels except in cases of urgent necessity; the mission vessels to be allowed to carry goods for others on payment of duties; Guaymas and Tamazula missions in Sonora to be ceded to California, one friar being sent to each; missions to be paid for supplies furnished; Indians to be excused so far as possible from courier service. Other matters to be considered later. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 104–8.

[18] Oct. 24, 1780, Neve to Com. Gen. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 29–30. San Vicente, 214 l. N. W. Loreto, in lat. 31° 25′, long. 254°. *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 105.

as many dying of starvation as of the pestilence. Each person attacked was at once abandoned by his friends, and left to battle with the disease according to his own methods, burning the pustules with torches and bathing in cold water being favorite remedies. The padres and soldiers did what they could by searching for deserted or orphan children; and Padre Crisóstomo Gomez is said to have saved many of the Indians at San Ignacio by inoculation. The disease was supposed to have been brought by some families from Sonora, and it raged for nearly a year.[19] It was in this year or the next that Father Mora was succeeded in the presidency by Miguel Hidalgo.[20]

In August 1781 Lieutenant Diego Gonzalez was appointed to succeed Velazquez in command of the northern frontier with head-quarters and half a dozen picked soldiers at Rosario, subject to the orders of Captain Rivera. The soldiers were not to be employed in bringing back runaway neophytes, and receipts were to be given for all supplies furnished by the missions.[21] Two months later the king deigned to turn his attention to the peninsula, issuing on the 24th of October a new reglamento for the military establishment which had been prepared two or three years before by Governor Neve.[22] It increased the

[19] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 87, 91; *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 67–96. Father Sales claims that the friars were not allowed to visit the mountains as often as they wished; else more lives would have been saved.

[20] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 127, 180; ii. 66–7. Mora retired on account of illness. He left no account of the tithes collected in the south for the last five years. Mora's final departure seems to have been in Sept. or Oct. 1783. *Id.*, iii. 181.

[21] Aug. 15, 1781, Neve's instructions. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 309–17.

[22] *Neve, Reglamento é Instruccion 1779*, MS., 75 pages. Some of the leading features of this regulation, for more details of which see *Hist. Cal.*, i., this series, were in substance as follows: Lists of supplies needed to be sent annually by the captain to viceroy direct. Troops to pay for supplies, including arms and horses, at cost prices. The comisario to attend to payment of troops and distribution of supplies, subject to intervention of the captain. The presidio to have 24 mules at cost of treasury, to be maintained at expense of *fondo de gratificacion*. Force to consist of captain, $1,500; lieutenant, $550; alférez, $400; 2 sergeants at $262.50; 3 corporals at $225; 39 privates at $217.50; total, with *fondo de gratificacion*, $10 for each soldier, $12,522.50. A sergeant and 6 men to be stationed at Sta Ana; lieutenant, 2 corporals, and

military force to forty-six men, including officers, to cost $14,518 per year, including the expense of the naval establishment. The regulation also embraced an order for the immediate establishment of the new missions to connect the peninsula settlements with those of Alta California. One padre only was allowed for each mission, except at Loreto, where one of the two served as chaplain, and in the two frontier missions. The prelates could not move friars from one mission to another; and the royal patronato must be strictly observed.

The Dominicans seem to have taken but little interest in the extension of their missions to the far north-east; at least we hear of no protest from them when the Querétaro Franciscans founded two establishments on the Colorado directly in the line of what should have been Dominican advance. These missions were destroyed by the savages in 1781; and at the time Captain Rivera was killed while on his way with colonists for Alta California. Full particulars of this disaster are given elsewhere.[23] Alférez José María Estrada assumed the command at Loreto after Rivera's death, until in 1782 the place was given by the comandante general of Provincias Internas to Manuel de Azuela, lieutenant of the Santa Fé company and brevet captain. Azuela perhaps did not come to Loreto; for soon Lieutenant Joaquin Cañete, who shortly before had succeeded Velazquez, was made captain that he might retire with that rank, as he did at the end of 1783, when Captain José Joaquin de Arrillaga was promoted from the Texas presidios to the command of Loreto. Meanwhile Felipe de

23 men at the northern missions. Naval department to consist of carpenter at $132; smith, $120; caulker, $120; for the sloop *Pilar*—master, $120; keeper, $84; 8 sailors at $72; expense supplies—repairs, 1 sloop and 2 lighters, etc., 400. Total, $1,996 per year, the crew of the lighter *S. Juan Nepomuceno* being suppressed, and the craft kept ready for any emergency. The habilitado was to continue collecting a fixed sum from pearl-fishers in place of the royal fifths. Details of military system and routine were substantially the same as in Alta California.

[23] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. ch. xvii., this series. The same volume contains all that is known of Rivera's life and character.

Goycoechea took Cañete's place as lieutenant in 1783, and was succeeded the next year by José Francisco Ortega. This left Arrillaga, Ortega, and Estrada as the commissioned officers.[24]

The Dominicans were seriously disturbed in 1783 by a report that the missions were to be taken from them and given to the Franciscans, not Fernandinos, however, but Observantes. Bishop Reyes had brought some friars from Spain, and was bent on establishing two *custodias*, one in Sonora and the other in the peninsula. There was violent opposition from San Fernando and the other Franciscan colleges, as well as from the Dominicans. President Hidalgo went over to Sonora for a personal interview with the bishop, who finally abandoned his project. And so pleased was Reyes with the Dominican administration, that he not only advised their continuance in the peninsula but also their substitution for the Fernandinos in the north, on account of the latter's opposition to Neve's reglamento.[25]

Neve had now been made comandante general of the Provincias Internas, and Pedro Fages had become governor of the Californias. Fages visited Loreto in 1783, and busied himself in arranging a variety of military details, and in regulating the relations between soldiers and Indians, especially in the north. The force of twenty-one men on the frontier[26] seems absurdly small, yet it was almost always sufficient to maintain order, which shows either great efficiency on the part of the troopers, or singular apathy and cowardice on that of the natives. It was a hard life for the friars, much less zealous missionaries than their predecessors and much more particular in their ideas of bodily comfort; and in this year their position was

[24] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 10, 25, 32, 36, 221; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxii. 9.

[25] *Palou, Noticias*, ii. 394–5, being the last item recorded in Palou's standard work; *Cal., Noticias*, carta iv. 71–5, including a letter of the bishop to Gen. Neve, dated Dec. 13, 1783.

[26] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 228–30. There are 2 men at S. Fernando, 5 at Rosario, 6 at Sto Domingo, and 10 at San Vicente.

more unbearable than ever. One vessel was lost, and only one small *lancha* must suffice for the supply service, so that all classes were reduced to destitution.[27] Though there was but one friar at most of the missions, many of the number wished to retire, but were not permitted to do so by the governor and general. Nevertheless some of them managed on one pretext or another to pass over to the main, including the ex-president, Mora; and one, Padre Naranjo, was expelled for misconduct.[28] Governor Fages did what he could to remedy the deplorable condition of affairs, as is shown by his many instructions from Monterey.[29] But he was far away, and the natural poverty of the country with the disaffection of the padres made reforms well nigh impossible. Orders were given to strictly enforce the revenue laws, but there was no revenue. And in vain the Indians were shifted from one part of the peninsula to another to equalize population and resources. No more progress was made in ecclesiastical than in civil affairs.

Such was the country's condition when at the end of November Captain Arrillaga arrived as lieutenant-governor. Being a man of considerable ability and energy he at once set himself to mending matters. He procured another small vessel for transportation, and in 1784 obtained $8,000 worth of supplies from across the gulf.[30] Early in 1785 he made a tour of inspection, finding the people everywhere struggling to live. A drought had ruined all crops. There was nothing but meat to eat; not a shop or a dealer in the country; mining entirely suspended. The best lands

[27] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 180, 205; *Prov. St. Pap.*, iv. 47–8; xxi. 83. Arrillaga in 1783 found the soldiers wearing any clothes they could get; many families unable to go to church by reason of nakedness; and only 40 fanegas of maize in the royal storehouse. No money or supplies in 1781, very little in 1782, none in 1783.

[28] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 181, 183, 207; *Prov. St. Pap.*, v. 75–6.

[29] *Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 214–24. Particularly in June and July, 1783.

[30] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 71, 91–2; xxi. 83. A new tariff for native products. *Id.*, v. 79. The *San Francisco de Paula*, or *Hercules*, touched at S. José in November, 1784, and grounded, but was got off. *Id.*, v. 134–5; vi. 126. She was a privateer from Macao, under Count San Donas.

were monopolized by the missions, though Arrillaga now ventured to make some grants to settlers provisionally. The Indians were sadly neglected, especially in the south. The prices fixed by the tariff were so high that the officer intrusted with the sale of the wild cattle had not done a stroke of business for eight years.[31]

Despite the miserable condition of existing establishments, the founding of new missions was now contemplated, in order to close up the gap between those of baja and alta California. Early in 1785 Fages made some explorations, and chose a place called Encino as the best mission site near the boundary and the west coast.[32] Padre Luis Sales of San Vicente was instructed to find an intermediate site between his mission and the Encino, and started with a party of soldiers under Lieutenant Ortega in April 1785, discovering the future site of Santo Tomás de Aquino in the Grulla and San Solano mountains.[33] Early in 1786 by the general's orders to found the new missions as soon as possible, Fages sent another expedition to Encino, but the Indians kept the frontier in such a state of turmoil[34] that nothing was accomplished till March 1784, when the mission of San Miguel was founded by Padre Sales at or near Encino, the site being several times changed in later years.[35] The new mission was put in the military jurisdiction of San Diego, from which presidio was sent a guard

[31] Arrillaga's report of Feb. 15, 1785, in *Arch. Cal., St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, i. 1–4.

[32] *Velazquez, Diario y Mapa 1783*, MS.; *Prov. Rec.*, MS., ii. 107–8, 191.

[33] Ortega to Fages April 15, 1785. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., v. 236–9; *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 77–86.

[34] On Indian troubles see *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 37, 109–11, 164–6, 174–6.

[35] *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., vii. 40. Moved to S. Juan Bautista Cañada in 1788. *Prov. Rec.*, MS., i. 211. Negrete, *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, vii. 354, tells us it was later restored to the original site. Padre Sales, *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 81 et seq., who gives some details, says, however, that the original site was San Juan, not mentioning any change; and he implies that his exploration for Sto Tomás was subsequent to the founding of S. Miguel. According to *Arch. Cal., St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., viii. 45, and *Lasseps, Baja Cal.*, 106, San Miguel was founded at least 10 years before 1787.

of six men under Sergeant Ignacio Alvarado. Five men were also furnished by the comandante of the frontier. Rough fortifications were erected, and though the surrounding Indians were hostile the lieutenant succeeded by chastisements and bribes in reducing them to comparative order. In May 1787 Ortega, being appointed to a command in the north, was succeeded by Lieutenant Diego Gonzalez.[36]

In 1786 two important reports were made on the condition of the missions by order of the viceroy, one by President Hidalgo and the other by Governor Fages.[37] They agree substantially on the miserable condition of the country, though they give but few statistics. The natives, noted for their stupidity and indolence, generally understood Spanish, especially in the south; and preaching was in that language. Their numbers had been greatly reduced by pestilence, and nearly all the survivors, according to Fages, were suffering from syphilitic diseases. Deaths outnumbered births more than three to one. In the north, where the neophytes were still somewhat numerous, most of them lived in the mountains, only nominally attached to the communities. There were few cattle except at two or three missions. Fertile lands were of very limited extent. For two or three years there would be no rain; and then would come a flood destroying the crops. No new friars had come for fifteen years; many had died, and some lost their reason, and now there were twenty-one in charge of sixteen missions. There was no revenue except the products of the little patches of maize, wheat, figs, dates, and a few vines, added to the padres' stipends.

[36] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., iii. 17, 260–4; *Prov. St. Pap.*, vii. 78–85, 170–9.

[37] *Hidalgo, Informe sobre la condicion actual de las Misiones de Baja California, 1786*, MS., in *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 243–52, dated in Mexico, March 20, and including some preliminary correspondence.

Fages, Informe del Estado de las Misiones que estaban al cargo de los regulares extinguidos, 1786, MS., in *Arch. Cal., St. Pap. Miss.*, i. 9–17. Dated Monterey, Oct. 20.

Yet some improvements had been made at several places at a cost of $24,000. Church decorations and furniture were generally in good condition. In justice to the Dominicans, as Fages urged, the large contributions to the Jesuits in former times should be taken into account. The policy of transferring Indians from north to south was a bad one; yet certain changes were favored by both president and governor. Some local items will be given later. To his report Hidalgo added an elaborate set of regulations in one hundred articles which he had prepared for the routine duties of padres and of neophytes.[38]

Among the padres who left the country in 1788 or the next year was Father Luis Sales, author of the only work on California published by the Dominicans. The book is largely descriptive and does not purport to present a connected historical narration even of the Dominican period; yet it affords much useful information and has been often cited in these chapters.[39]

[38] *Hidalgo, Ordenes y Ynstrucciones generales que en consequencia de la visita hecha por el R. P. Fr. Miguel Hidalgo*, etc., MS., in *Pinart, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 253-61.

Fages closes his report as follows: 'Y para decirlo todo, las misiones de San José, Santiago, Todos Santos, San Javier, Loreto, Comondú, Cadegomo, Guadalupe, y Mulegé van á pasos gigantes á su total extincion. La razon es de tal evidencia que no deja duda. El mal gálico domina á ambos secsos y en tal grado que ya las madres no conciben, y si conciben sale el feto con poca esperanza de la vida. Hay mision de las citadas, que ha mas de un año y méses que en ella no se ha bautizado criatura alguna, y la que mas no llega á cinco bautizados, siendo cosa digna de admirar que esceden los muertos en el año pasado de los de edad de 14 años para abajo á los nacidos. Con todos los adultos, son triples los muertos que los nacidos.' The prices in 1788 were: wheat, $3; maize, $1.50; horse, $7; mule, $15; bull, $5; cow, $6; sheep, $2; goat, $1; ass, $4. *Cal., Noticias*, carta iii. 104.

[39] *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias en tres cartas de un sacerdote religioso, hijo del real convento de predicadores de Valencia á un amigo suyo.* Valencia, 1794, 16mo, 104, 96, 104 pp. and sheet. The letters are signed 'F. L. S.' and the archives contain ample material to identify him with Fray Luis Sales, though this identity is now announced for the first time. The first letter treats of geography and the Indians; the second includes historical material on the Jesuit and Franciscan periods, with a report on Nootka affairs; and the third treats largely of the Dominican occupation and the author's own experience. The letters bear no dates; the first and second were written from San Miguel mission, California, and the third from San Miguel, Azores Islands, whither the author had come as chaplain on a man-of-war from Vera Cruz. In carta i. 92-3, he speaks of a pestilence and revolt in 1788-9, the dates being doubtless misprints. To about this date belongs a good account of California from *Venegas*, and *Cal., Noticias*, etc., in *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi.

Nothing happened worthy of mention for several years. In the spring of 1791 José Antonio Romeu arrived at Loreto and assumed command of the Californias as governor, succeeding Fages, and soon proceeded to Monterey by land. About this time Lieutenant Gonzalez, dissatisfied with his position on the frontier and involved in quarrels with the padre at San Vicente, was retired and replaced apparently by José Francisco Ortega. Alférez Estrada died in 1791, and was soon succeeded by Ildefonso Bernal.[40] The padres were still restless and many of them were kept in the country against their will; and a reënforcement of four, not named, arrived this year, with two scientific men sent by the king to make observations. About this time—or perhaps some years earlier, since Hidalgo's report of 1786 was written in Mexico—Padre Juan Crisóstomo Gomez became president of the missions.[41]

On the 24th of April 1791, after some controversy between the governor and president about the site, in which the latter had his way, the mission of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded at San Solano, between San Vicente and San Miguel, being put in charge of Padre José Llorente. Gomez proposed to establish three more missions in the north, but it was forbidden by the viceroy until a presidio could be founded in that region.[42] In April 1792, on the death of Governor Romeu, Arrillaga became acting governor, and Ortega lieutenant-governor, the former being ordered to Monterey the next year. Eighteen more friars arrived in 1792, twelve in August and six in September. The latter had a narrow escape from drown-

[40] *Arch. Ccl., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., x. 30, 38, 52, 57, 95, 124, 128, 172–3; xi. 42–7, 164; *St. Pap. Sac.*, v. 86–7; *Arch. Sta B.*, MS., xi. 414–15.

[41] *Arch. Cal., St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., i. 28–9, 104; iv. 3; v. 93–4; *Prov. St. Pap.*, 28, 33. The scientists were Jaime Sensebe and José Longinos Martinez. As Gomez is called sometimes Juan Antonio, and as Juan Crisóstomo had tried to retire, it is possible that there were two of the name, the president being Antonio.

[42] *Arch. Cal., St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., v. 89–90; i. 27–8; *Prov. St. Pap.*, x. 124–5; xxi. 79. Negrete in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 352, says that Sto Tomás was moved a league westward in 1794, being thus 10 l. from S. Vicente.

ing when their vessel was wrecked and most of the cargo lost some twenty miles from Loreto. As the missionary force was now larger than was needed, some thirteen got leave to retire. Padre Gomez was one of the number, and Padre Cayetano Pallas became president.[43]

Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in his mission report of 1793 furnished for the king a general view of the California establishments, their past history and present condition, containing, however, no special information which requires notice here.[44] In this year also explorations were made by the viceroy's order resulting in the finding of a site between Santo Domingo and Rosario, where the new mission of San Pedro Mártyr de Verona was established on April 27, 1794, by President Pallas, the site being called Casilipe by the natives. The pagans gave much trouble to Sergeant José Manuel Ruiz, commandant of the guard, stealing the cattle, threatening an attack, and extending their hostilities to Santo Tomás and San Miguel. Before the end of the year San Pedro was moved a short distance to a place where the natural defences were stronger and the soil more fertile, Santo Tomás being also moved somewhat higher up the cañada of San Solano.[45]

The newly appointed governor, Don Diego de Borica, arrived at Loreto on the 12th of May, 1794, took possession of his office two days later, and in July started for Monterey, Arrillaga returning presently to his former position at Loreto, and being promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in 1795. Ortega was

[43] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 76; xxi. 72, 74, 76, 160; *Id., Ben.*, ii. 1.

[44] *Revilla Gigedo, Carta sobre Misiones, 27 de Dic., 1793*, v. 427–30. Also in MS. in *Arch. Cal., St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, MS., i. 1–28; *Mayer MSS.*, no. 11.

[45] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xi. 49, 87, 143–4; xii. 107, 117; xxi. 79–80, 111, 130–1, 192; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xx. 4; *Prov. Rec.*, i. 211–12; vi. 138–9; *St. Pap. Miss.*, ii. 36–8; *St. Pap. Sac.*, ix. 80; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 37; *Gaceta de Mex.*, vi. 544. Taylor, *Cal. Farmer*, March 21, 1862, erroneously gives the date of founding S. Pedro as April 20. The locality is generally given as 12 to 14 l. east of Sto Domingo.

retired at this time and his place as lieutenant taken by Francisco de Roa, who came with Borica. But Roa proved to be "effeminate, more fond of amusements than of attending to his duties, and ruled by his wife, who disgusted everybody;" and at his own request he was transferred to the mainland in 1795.[46] A much more efficient officer was Alférez Bernal, who early in 1795 was sent to make a tour of inspection in the south, visiting every establishment. After Bernal's return Sergeant Luis Lopez was put in command of the southern district, being furnished with elaborate instructions. Among the latter was a clause ordering him to "observe good conduct, or at least pretend to."[47]

For several years it had been contemplated, with the consent of the friars, to suppress some of the poorer missions; and this measure was finally carried out in April 1795 with respect to Santiago and Guadalupe.[48] Meanwhile the country east of San Miguel and Santo Tomás was being explored with a view of

[46] *Arch. Cal.*, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xi. 141–2, 152; xii. 14, 71, 75–8, 88, 152; xiii. 93; xxi. 199, 201–5, 213–14; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxi. 7; *Prov. Rec.*, i. 212; vi. 23, 27, 32–3, 36, 134; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 40. Gov. Borica was pleased with the condition of affairs on his way north. He found at Loreto good bread and meat, home-made wine, olives, and oil, fruits, vegetables, and fish. He sent a barrel of brandy and another of olives to a friend in Mexico; also some octagonal wine-colored stones which proved of no value. Fr. Mariano Fernandez is named as vice-president of the missions in 1794. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. 88. Roa seems not to have gone to the frontier but became habilitado at Loreto during his stay.

[47] Bernal's diary of his tour, *Arch. Cal.*, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 132–8. Arrillaga's instructions to Lopez, *Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 110–15. Some information about Bernal in *St. Pap. Sac.*, MS., i. 55; v. 789. He was 33 years old in 1795, and had been in seven campaigns against the Apaches. Report by Arrillaga on condition of missions. *St. Pap. Miss.*, MS., ii. 33–6. On resources of the country, timber, etc., *Castro, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 1. 1795–6, correspondence on a Baja California contribution of $1,486 for the war against France. *Prov. Rec.*, v. 318, 340; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xiii. 93–4. In the same years there was considerable correspondence on the subject of education, caused by a royal order, and resulting apparently in the founding of a primary school at Loreto. *Prov. Rec.*, v. 339–40; vi. 79; viii. 194–5, 207; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xvi. 127; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxvii. 3.

[48] *Arch. Cal.*, *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xxi. 110–11, 141; xiii. 84; *Id.*, *Ben.*, i. 43–4; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xxii. 6; *Prov. Rec.*, viii. 195; xi. 48; *St. Pap. Miss.*, ii. 80–1; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 39. The neophytes of Santiago were added to San José, and those of Guadalupe to Purísima. At Guadalupe the mission property was put in charge of Luis Aguilar and his heirs on joint account of himself and the government. The mission was restored in 1833.

extending the occupation towards the Colorado as soon as practicable. In October 1794 Sergeant Ruiz and Padre Valdellon examined a site called Santa Catalina midway between Santo Tomás and the head of the gulf, and another near it called Portezuelo. Alférez Bernal continued the explorations in 1795 until the region was pretty well known; and there are indications that some efforts were made to explore the upper gulf coast by water.[49] The western coast was also explored, but not in a manner that pleased the Spaniards, by John Locke, the captain of the *Resolution*, an English whaler. This vessel well laden with oil touched at San Miguel in the middle of 1795, afterwards obtaining some supplies at Todos Santos, and leaving San José in October. The visit drew out from Governor Borica strict orders that foreign craft should not be allowed to remain in Californian ports longer than hospitality demanded, trade being prohibited, and constant precautions urged, especially against the English.[50]

Lieutenant-governor Arrillaga started in June 1796 to explore in person the northern regions. Landing at San Luis from the *Saturnina*, he visited San Fernando, Rosario, and Santo Domingo, arriving at San Vicente on the 13th of July. Here he found much excitement in consequence of troubles with the Indians. Not only were the pagans hostile, but the neophytes of San Pedro had deserted in a body, refusing to return unless a new padre were appointed.[51] From San Vicente Arrillaga went on to the Santa Catalina site with eleven men. Here some five hundred natives had been gathered in five rancherías awaiting the promised mission. Returning he started again

[49] Correspondence and Bernal's diary in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xii. 117; xiii. 128–32; 244–56; *Prov. Rec.*, v. 307–10, 313–14; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 43; *Castro, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 1.

[50] *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xiii. 168–9, 261–4; xiv. 111–12; *Prov. Rec.*, v. 334; viii. 202.

[51] Bernal had been sent in May and June to investigate. There had been some soldiers wounded and Indians killed in the troubles. Bernal's journal, dated June 25, is in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xiv. 9–12.

for the east and south, visiting Santo Domingo, San Pedro, and San Felipe on the gulf coast, and reached San Vicente again the 31st of August. On September 5th he started on a still more extended trip far to the north-east, past Santa Catalina, and to the Colorado on October 18th. Here he had a fight with the Indians.[52] Thence the explorer turned to the north-west and reached San Diego on the 27th of October. Returning to the south he dated his diary at San Vicente the 9th of December,[53] returning to Loreto in January. Arrillaga's leading object had been to learn if it were practicable to open communication by land with Sonora. It had been his opinion before, and it was confirmed by his tour, that it was useless to open such a route unless it could be protected by a strong garrison; and he did not now favor the measure. Yet he suggested two plans; the first to found a presidio at Santa Olaya, with detachments at Sonoita and San Felipe; and the second, which he preferred, to place the presidio at the mouth of the Colorado to secure a supply route and line of retreat by water.[54]

First, however—and last as it proved—it was necessary to found the new mission of Santa Catalina Mártyr, some twenty leagues north-eastward of San Vicente, as a base of supplies for the proposed presidio. This was ordered by the viceroy and governor; and after some delay, for it was regarded as a dangerous post to be strongly fortified and garrisoned, the founding was accomplished on November 12, 1797, by padres José Llorente and Tomás Valdellon. Of the mission's early annals in addition to the founding

[52] Borica's letter of Nov. 17. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 352–3. The fight is not mentioned in Arrillaga's journal. One soldier was killed and seven were wounded. The Indians had seven killed.

[53] *Arrillaga, Journal de una Exploracion en la frontera del Norte 1796*, MS., in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, xiv. 93–9. He also appears to have written another narrative, *Id.*, xvi. 126–7, which he called *Sobre Aventuras del Camino para Sonora y Nuevo Mexico*, prepared at Loreto.

[54] Oct. 26, 1797, Arrillaga to Borilla. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 136–40. Nov. 7, *Id.* to *Id., Prov. Rec.*, v. 352–3.

nothing is known.[55] In 1796 also, and this was another motive of Arrillaga's tour, was agitated the scheme of separating the two Californias into distinct governments. Governor Borica advocated the measure, and no opposition from any quarter is recorded; yet nothing was accomplished until after the end of the century.[56]

It had been known to the Californians that Spain was on the verge of a war with England, the effect being much foolish excitement. All foreigners were regarded as possible foes; harmless traders were arrested and sent to Mexico; and couriers dashed to and fro with orders and reports as if the country were already invaded. The mere rumor of possible war causing all this ado, the reader may imagine the excitement when it was known in 1797 that war had actually been declared. The records overflow with martial correspondence; nearly $2,000 was contributed for defence;[57] muskets by the half-dozen were sent to exposed points; the militia was organized; and elaborate instructions were issued to subordinate officials.[58] There were only about fifty soldiers in the whole peninsula; and the garrison at San José del Cabo, one of the points regarded as most important and most likely to be attacked, was five soldiers and two armed citizens. But the people were not discouraged; and the governor was confident that the invader would be repulsed with ignominy. The drowsy spell ever hanging over the peninsula was for a time exorcised; and more paper was used for official correspondence

[55] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 365–6, 369–78; vi. 52–3, 57, 62–3, 199–200; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xv. 178, 202, 235–6; xvi. 97, 102–3, 145–6; xxi. 8–11; *St. Pap. Miss.*, ii. 114–17; *Leese's Hist. Outline*, 11; *Lassepas, Baja Cal.*, 104. These two writers incorrectly date the founding in 1795.

[56] *Borica, Proyecto sobre division de Californias 1796*, MS. Dated at Monterey Sept. 11th. Approved of fiscal in Mexico—*Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., 140–2; also references in *Prov. Rec.*, iii. 268; v. 343–4; viii. 159. Revival of the scheme in 1802. *Arch. Sta. B.*, MS., xi. 429–32.

[57] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 181; v. 357.

[58] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 108–9, 117–18; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 129, being Arrillaga's instructions to Aguilar commanding in the south and to Ruiz in the north.

than for cigarettes. The shabby unpaid trooper patched up his leathern armor in grim anticipation of a brush with a foe worthy of his Spanish valor; the vecino furbished up his rusty firelock, an heirloom from the days of Otondo, more deadly to the patriot at the butt than to the invader at the muzzle; and even that poor cowed creature, the neophyte, twanged the bow of his savage sire and footed it in the war-dance to show his anxiety to defend the country he had lost in behalf of those who had robbed him of it. Unhappily for those who hoped to earn glorious laurels, but fortunately for the navies of Great Britain, the conquest of California was not attempted. True a fleet of sixteen sail was sighted off San Miguel, but after $1,000 had been spent in publishing the alarm, the disappointed and warlike watchers had to admit that they had been threatened by nothing more formidable than an armada of clouds.[59]

In August 1797 eight new padres arrived at Loreto; and the next year a number of the old friars were permitted to retire. Among the latter was President Pallas, who was succeeded by Padre Vicente Belda.[60]

Meanwhile Santa Catalina, counted on as a base of supplies for a new and important extension of Spanish dominion, had not prospered as had been expected. The mission was barely self-supporting, and the Dominicans had no other direction in which to extend their field. However, the padres of Santo Tomás were permitted to occupy the fertile valley of San

[59] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 71, 75, 213–14, 376; *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvi. 256. Viceroy Branciforte—*Instruc.*, MS., 32–8—gives some attention to California and its defenceless condition. See also *Azanza, Instruc.* 187.

[60] The new-comers were: Codina, Lázaro, Rivas, Escala, Fontcuberta, Caulas, Surroca, and Sanz. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., viii. 212–13. Those obtaining leave to retire about this time were: Rafael and Antonio Caballero, Concepcion, Salgado, Tejeiro, Coello, and Llorente. Pallas did not leave the country till 1800. Llorente is praised by the governor as a very able missionary, who has extended his travels as far as San Francisco in Alta California. *Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xv. 226; xvii. 87, 226; xxi. 45; *Prov. Rec.*, v. 401, 405; vi. 54, 91, 108, 190, 195–6, 220, 277; viii. 9; *St. Pap. Miss.*, ii. 118; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 54, 56.

Rafael on condition of being always ready to furnish supplies at fixed prices; and at the same time a number of families were sent from other missions to Santa Catalina.[61]

The warlike excitement of 1797 had nearly subsided into the normal calm, when in 1799 the country was rudely awakened from its lethargy by an incident that caused a speedy renewal of precautions against the English. On the 9th of May four vessels, unmistakably British and not clouds this time, anchored near Cape San Lúcas. One captive and three deserters fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Once six boats put off from the fleet towards the mission San José, but were frightened back by hostile demonstrations on shore; the ships sailed away on the 13th; and the prisoners were sent to Loreto, and later to San Blas, representing themselves as belonging to an English whaler.[62]

This event of course caused a repetition of former defensive measures. Sergeant Aguilar in the south was ordered not only to organize a militia company, but to arm the natives; "for," said Arrillaga, "the English have a great dread of the Indians, especially in their war-paint and feathers;" and there was soon an opportunity for the display of these aboriginal terrors. On June 10th two strangers appeared at Santa Ana and told their story to Aguilar. The *Mercedes*, a Spanish coasting sloop, Captain Bernardo Suarez Infanzon, had been captured near the Tres Marías by one of a fleet of four English privateers. Infanzon had given exaggerated accounts of the defences of San Blas, and had offered a ransom of $3,000 for himself and vessel, hoping to warn the California transport to

[61] *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., v. 381–5; vi. 97, 206, 211; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., i. 49–50.

[62] Their names are given as Edward Hanckton, James Idelsh (Welsh?), Thomas Millar, and Wm. Thompson. The vessel was the *Bersey* (*Mersey?*), owner Edward Bennett, master Obed Clark. The prisoners are said to have been offered to an English captain, who refused to take them, advising that they should be hanged. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 16, 291–3; xxi. 17, 22–3; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxvii. 5; *Prov. Rec.*, viii. 20, 29, 124–5, 192–3.

sail on June 6th. The privateers preferred supplies to money, and came to California to obtain them, sending a sailor and passenger ashore as messengers. Infanzon also sent a letter asking the comandante to pay the ransom, but with the greatest possible delay. Aguilar went to the shore with a few cattle, and promised to have the full amount ready by the 16th, which was done, and the privateers set sail next day, no blood having been shed. The delay enabled the transport *Activo* to escape, for she arrived at Loreto the very day of the privateers' departure, when a strange sail was also seen off Coronado Island. On the 20th two foreign ships anchored near the cape, landing some men to obtain water. This party was attacked next day and forced to reëmbark under cover of the ships' guns, from which five rounds of grape were fired. Then the strangers put to sea, doubtless disgusted at so inhospitable a reception.[63]

Naturally the panic increased. Strange vessels were continually being sighted at one point or another, often the same craft seen over and over again, until the Spaniards imagined themselves surrounded by a great British fleet seeking an opportunity to seize the peninsula. These fears were doubtless for the most part groundless. There were perhaps a dozen English vessels, mostly whalers or fishermen, with heavy armaments for defense, in these waters at the time.[64] They were ready enough for mischief should a transport vessel come in their way; and occasionally approached the land for water or supplies. That they had no intention of taking the peninsula is best proved by the fact that they did not do it. Both viceroy and governor came finally to this conclusion.

[63] The vessels were recorded as the *Bestor*, Claar, master and commander of the fleet; the *Bet-seit*, Captain Moos; the *Viñas*, Capt. Moore; and the *Pájaro* (Bird?), Capt. Poull. All were armed with 12-pounders and swivel-guns and had crews of 30 men. There were four others in the fleet, not named. *Arch. Cal., Prov. Rec.*, MS., vi. 131; viii. 21–7, 124, 127, 221–4; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xvii. 293; xxi. 18–19, 21; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xiii. 10–19; xxvi. 9.

[64] Aguilar puts the number at 19. *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 230; and others as high as 24.

Soon the mysterious vessels were seen no more in the gulf; the militia was gradually disbanded; and the country relapsed into its customary state of repose, rendered doubly sweet to the people doubtless by the proud consciousness that they had frightened off the invader.[65]

Early in 1800 Governor Borica left California, and died at Durango in July of the same year. Thus Arrillaga became governor ad interim, though ordered to continue his residence at Loreto. The last year of the century was a quiet and uneventful one on the peninsula.

I append three notes,[66] compiled from material furnished by the bulky but fragmentary records preserved in the Spanish archives of Alta California, on peninsular affairs for the last twenty years of the

[65] Miscellaneous correspondence, showing the presence of a few vessels in 1800 and additional measures of precaution before quiet was completely restored: *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., xvii. 237–8, 271, 277–8, 303–4; xxi. 20–1, 25, 27–31, 43; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, xxvi. 17; xxviii. 1–2; *Prov. Rec.*, v. 331, 407; vi. 129; viii. 32–3, 128, 222; *Azanza, Instruc.*, 184–5.

[66] Financial statistics: Pay-roll of presidial company per year, average for 12 years, $12,928; id. for marine department, $2,326; expenses of repairs, etc., marine dept., 1790–4, $5,434. Inventories of effects in warehouse at end of each year—but apparently sometimes including only goods, or supplies, and at others all property—average for 11 years, $9,565; the extremes are, $1,630 in 1785, and $20,976 in 1799. Memorias from Mexico, average for 15 years, $13,861; but this included drafts on the treasury and a small amount of coin, less than half being goods sent from Mexico. Memorias of supplies from San Blas, average for 13 years, $4,762. Totals of habilitado's accounts, 1781–9, $144,527 and $145,348. Balance against the presidio, 1787–94, $16,579. Royal revenues on an average, $4,611 per year; composed of tobacco sales, $2,817; tithes, $275; salt, $211; post-office, $91; sales of cattle, $693; and alcabalas, pearls, land tribute, freights, etc., $598, the largest item, that of alcabalas, or excise taxes, being doubtful. The tithes were generally rented for a period of years. Pearl-fifths in 5 years were $21 Commissions on tithes and mails were 10 per cent, on tobacco sales 8 per cent. Salaries, 1793: captain, $1,500; lieutenant, $550; alférez, $400; 2 sergeants at $262.50; 3 corporals at $225; 47 soldiers at $217.50; retired captain (Cañete), $500; sergeant, $120; corporal, $96; soldier, $96. Total force, 59 men; cost, with gratificacion fund of $470, $15,154.50. Naval department: carpenter, $240 ($132 in 1789); smith, $240 ($120); caulker, $240; patron, $240 ($168); guardian, $192 ($84); arracz, $192 ($84); 14 sailors at $120 ($72 and $60). Prices: mule, $12–$16; horse, $9; calf, $2–$4; cow, $5–$6; ox, $6–$6.50; maize, $1.75 per fanega; tallow, $2; lard, $3. See a full account by Habilitado Estrada for 1781–9, in *Arch. Cal., Prov. St. Pap.*, MS., ix. 197–209; also, *Id.*, vi. xi.–xiii. xvi. xxi., passim; *Id., Ben. Mil.*, iii.–xxvi., passim; *Id., Ben. Miscel.*, i. 2–3; *Prov. Rec.*, vi. 36, 211; viii. 16, 42, 125–6, 160, 199, 235–6; *St. Pap., Pres.*, i. 51; *Id., Sac.*, iv. 19; v. 81; vi. 116; ix. 45.

century. The first is a collection of financial items which are very voluminous, but at the same time fragmentary. The reader may find much additional information on some phases of the topic in the annals of Alta California, where the routine was similar

Local items and statistics of Baja California missions, 1768–1800, in nearly geographical order from south to north: San José del Cabo, founded 1730. In 1768–72 in charge of a curate and of the Franciscans Moran and Rioboo. 50 Ind. in 1772; 28 in 1782; 71 in 1785; 63 in 1790; 57 in 1791; 156–7 in 1793–4; 81 in 1798; 256 in 1800. Live-stock from 1782 to 1800, with great variations in the intermediate years: horses, 163 to 546; cattle 535 to 388; sheep and goats, 575 to 282; mules and asses, 68 to 1; hogs, none except 8 in 1788. Grain from 180 to 250 fanegas, records for only 4 years. Money and valuables in 1782, $300. Between 1768 and 1786 good buildings replaced miserable huts; but in 1793–4 the chapel had been destroyed by a flood; church poorly furnished; adobe house of two rooms, thatched roof. Dominican padres: Lafuente, 1788, Urreta to 1793; Zárate, 1794–8; Surroca, 1797–8.

Santa Ana, real de minas, founded in 1768. Mines regarded as exhausted before 1772. A garrison of 36 men in 1776. Br. Isidro Ibarzabal curate, 1768–76. Viceroy refused to pay for a church. In 1794 a few gente de razon and free Indians tended by padre of Todos Santos 12 leagues distant. P. Lafuente serving as curate in 1795, succeeded by Arbiña in 1796. He was allowed 2 head of wild cattle per month. Population given as varying from 700 to 500 in 1790–1800, of whom less than 200 were Indians.

Todos Santos, at first a visita of La Paz founded in 1720, but later made the head town of the mission and transferred to the Pacific coast of the peninsula. In 1768–72 it was in charge of the Franciscans Ramos, Murguía, Figuer, Senra, and Sanchez. The Dominican in charge from 1790 to 1798 was Padre Fernandez with Hontiyuelo in 1797. This mission had a good adobe church, and a chapel, perhaps of masonry, was built before 1786. The padre's house had a stone corridor in 1793–4. There were also a sugar-mill with 5 boilers, a forge, and a distillery. $4,000 due the mission in 1772, and a debt of $2,081 was paid in 1784. There were 170 Ind. in 1772; 135 in 1782; 80 in 1791, and 181 in 1800. There were 140 horses in 1772; from 462 to 751 in 1782–93, and 390 in 1800. Cattle: 400 in 1772; 888 in 1782, and in later years about 720. Sheep and goats, 250–70 in 1772–82, not mentioned later. Mules, from 75 to 125.

Santiago de los Coras, mission founded 1723. Franciscans, 1768–72, PP. Murguía, Rioboo, and Villuendas; besides P. Baeza as curate. The Dominican Hontiyuelo in charge 1790–4. 70 Ind. in 1772, living by killing stray cattle; 43 in 1782; 41 in 1790; 23 in 1791; 70 in 1793–4. Horses and mules, 90 to 250; cattle, 250 to 600; sheep and goats, 80. Crops, from 30 to 150 fan. Resources in 1784, $248. In 1795 the mission was suppressed by order of Gov. Borica, the neophytes being sent to San José, and the estate turned over to Salvador Castro.

San Francisco Javier, founded 1698, but transferred about 1720 to S. Pablo, one of its visitas. Franciscan PP. 1768–72, Palou, Escudero, Usson, and Parron, who baptized 83 and buried 115 Ind. Dominicans Soldevilla 1790–8, with Acebedo in 1794, and Marin in 1797. Some vines, fruit, and corn, much troubled by drought and locusts. 212 Ind. 1772; from 169 to 111 in 1782–1800. Horses and mules varied 1782–1800 from 100 to 200; cattle, from 200 to 300; sheep and goats from 500 to 600, though there had been 1,000 in 1772. Grain crops were from 200 to 350 fan.; and there were some years 50 or 60 *tinajas* of wine. In 1793 the mission had a stone house and church, a library, and a forge. Resources, $565 in 1782–4.

Loreto, mission and presidio, founded 1697. Franciscans 1768–72, Serra, Parron, Sta María, Palou, and Murguía. Mission endowed by Galvez with

and the record comparatively complete. Next is given a series of local items for the peninsula missions from 1768 to 1800. Reports on these establishments were made by the president to the governor in Monterey, and therefore these reports after 1782 are found in my *Archivo de California*. They show a popula-

$250 per year in 1770. Dominicans 1790–8, Armestro, Pallas, Gallego, Acebedo, Fernandez, Belda, and Sanz. 160 Ind. in 1772; 70 in 1782; 152 in 1790; 37 in 1798. The total population of mission and presidio in 1790–1800 was from 450 to 600, more than half being of Spanish or mixed blood. The presidio had a few hundred head of horses and cattle, but statistics are very meagre, and there are none at all for agriculture. The mission live-stock was 100 to 250 horses and mules, and 120 to 350 cattle, but there were no sheep. There are no reports of crops, which were very small. The church in 1793–4 was chiefly of brick, 56 × 7 varas in size, and richly decorated. The library contained 466 volumes.

Comondú (S. José), founded 1708. Franciscans 1768–72, Martinez, Prestamero, and Peña. Dominicans 1794–9, Tejeiro, Coello, and Sanchez. 216 Ind, in 1772; 80–70 in 1782–90; 50 in 1793–4; 40 in 1798; 28 in 1800. This mission had generally 1,200 or 1,300 sheep, but few or no cattle; horses and mules were from 300 to 200, and there were 20 to 40 swine. Crops were from 300 to 400 fanegas down to 1793, with 35 to 120 tinajas of wine and brandy; but later the grain crop seems to have diminished to 100 fan. and less. Resources were estimated at over $2,000 in 1782–4. The church was built of masonry with arched roof, 30 × 13 varas with 3 naves, and richly furnished. The library had 126 volumes.

Purísima Concepcion de Cadegomo, founded 1718. Franciscans Crespí, Gaston, Echasco, and Palacios, who baptized 39. The only Dominican named is Sanchez in 1794–8. 168 Ind. in 1772; 81 in 1782, decreasing to 61 in 1800. Live-stock varied remarkably if the records are reliable: horses and mules, 164 in 1782; 80 in 1788; 263 in 1800; cattle, 60, 422, 51, 150; sheep, 400, 2,000, 896; hogs, 30 to 40. Grain crop, 100 to 400 fan., besides 40 to 100 tinajas of wine and bandy, and an abundance of figs. Some cotton was raised in early years. There was often too much water. Adobe church with thatched roof, 25 × 6.5 varas. Few ornaments. Library of 200 volumes.

Mulegé (Sta Rosalía), founded 1705; Franciscans 1768–72, Gaston, Sierra, and Arreguibar, who baptized 48 and buried 113. Damaged by flood in 1770. Dominicans—who found it nearly deserted and spent $3,000 on irrigation works before 1786—PP. Narango 1783, Herrera 1790, Gallego 1795–1800, Timon 1800. 180 Ind. in 1772; 75 in 1782; 56 in 1793; 76 in 1798; 90 in 1800. Horses and mules, 113 in 1782; 84 in 1787; 190 in 1793; 148 in 1800; cattle, 75 to 100, sometimes none; sheep and goats, 1,100 to 412 in 1772–86; about 275, 1788–1800. Crops, 400 to 500 fan., besides a quantity of wine, brandy, and cotton.

Guadalupe, founded 1720. Franciscans 1768–72, Sancho de la Torre, Villaumbrales, and Lago, who baptized 53 and buried 130. The only Dominican named is Arbiña in 1794. 140 Ind. in 1772; 84 in 1790; 73–4 in 1791–5. Fine pasturage. Horses and mules slowly decreased from 180 in 1772 to 108 in 1794; cattle increased from 200 to 500; sheep and goats decreased from 1,300 to 486. Crops, 200 to 75 fan. Adobe church 32 x 7 varas. Padre's house with 5 rooms. This mission was suppressed in 1795, the neophytes being sent to Purísima.

San Ignacio, founded 1728. Franciscans 1768–72, Campa y Cos, Veytia, and Legomera, who baptized 15 (?) and buried 293. Dominicans, Gomez to 1793, Calvo, 1794–5; Llorente, 1796; Timon, 1795–8. 558 Ind. in 1772; 241 in

tion increasing from 1782 to 1800, chiefly by conversions at the new missions, from 3,000 to 4,500; and of this number from 400 to 800 appear to have been of Spanish and mixed race. Live-stock in 1782 included in round numbers 1,700 horses, 600 mules, 200 asses,

1782; 216 in 1790; 169 in 1794; 133 in 1798; 130 in 1800. Horses and mules increased from 100 to 340 in 1782–1800; cattle, 87 in 1772; afterwards 500, 300, 500; sheep and goats generally about 1,000. Crops, 750 to 1,000 fan. of grain, 90 to 400 tinajas of wine, and some cotton. This mission had good land and raised much fruit, such as figs, dates, and pomegranates. The church, completed by the Dominicans before 1786, was of stone with arched roof 44×7.5 varas, the finest in the country, as were all the buildings.

Santa Gertrudis, founded 1752. Franciscans 1768–72, Basterra, Sancho, and Amurrio, who baptized 254 and buried 403; marrying 102. Dominican, Espin, 1794–8. There were 1138 Ind. in 1772; but in 1782–1800 they dwindled from 317 to 203. Horses and mules varied from 100 to 200, generally about 150; cattle decreased from 800 in 1772 to 212 in 1782, 329 in 1787, 80 in 1800; sheep and goats multiplied from 610 in 1772 to 2,770 in 1800. Crops, 278 to 126 fan., with 100 to 19 tinajas wine before 1785. But little good land or water. Resources, $62 in 1782, $351 in 1784. Poor adobe church.

San Francisco de Borja, founded 1759. Franciscans, 1768–72, Lasuen and Senra, who baptized 401 and buried 499. Dominicans, Zavaleta, 1783; Salgado, 1795–9; Pous, 1797–1800; Lázaro, 1797–9. 1,479 Ind. in 1772; 650 to 400 in 1782–1800. Horses and mules, 257 to 130; cattle, 500 in 1772, 366–400 in 1782–8; 123–31 in 1793–1800; sheep and goats, 2,600–3,000 in 1772–88, 1,400–1,000 in 1793–1800. Crops generally about 350 fan., with 5–40 tin. wine and brandy. Adobe church 32–7 varas. Stone house.

San Fernando de Velicatá, founded 1769 by Franciscans (or rather transferred from Santa María which had been founded in 1766). PP. Campa, Fuster, Linares, and Cambon, who baptized 380 and buried 12. 296 Ind. in 1772, 642 in 1782, 479 in 1790, 525 in 1794, 363 in 1800. Dominicans, Coello, 1794–7, Arbiña, 1797–9, Caulas, 1797. Horses and mules, 30–80; cattle, 49, 152, 38, 110; sheep, 84, 460, 153; hogs, 22, 32, 3, 13. Crops, about 1000 fan. in 1782–7, 99 fan. in 1788, 767–660 in 1793–1800. Some cotton. Adobe church and house.

Rosario, founded 1774 by Dominicans. PP. Galisteo 1775, Gandiaga 1790, Fernandez to 1792, Belda 1794–7, Rivas 1798. 251 Ind. in 1782, 348 in 1790, 390 in 1793, 257 in 1800. Horses and mules, 93, 68, 112; cattle, 140–300; sheep and goats, 428, 1,133, 790; swine, 55, 94, 30. Crops, 624–2,554 fan., large and small alternate years. Resources in 1782–4, $224. Adobe church and house.

Santo Domingo, founded 1775. PP. García 1775–6, Hidalgo 1775, Aivar 1790, Abad 1794–8, Codina 1797. 79 Ind. in 1782, 205 in 1790, 194 in 1791, 296 in 1793, 257 in 1800. Horses and mules, 90, 55, 166; cattle, 167, 39, 300, 500; sheep, 53, 49, 116, 200, 1,100; hogs, 20, 5, 12, 30; crops, 410, 692, 300, 1,620 fan. Adobe church and house.

San Vicente Ferrer, founded 1780. PP. Hidalgo, Valero, Gallego, Ruiz, Pallas, Valdellon, Lopez, and Fontcuberta. 83 Ind. in 1782, 257 in 1785, 179 in 1793, 246 in 1800. Horses and mules, 46, 116, 93, 218, 161; cattle, 56, 242, 750; sheep, 141, 817, 600, 1,300. Crops, 347, 510, 904, 400, 760 fan. Adobe church and house.

San Miguel, founded 1787. PP. Cruzado, Apolinario, Yoldi, Lopez, and Escolá. 171 Ind. in 1793, 206 in 1794, 224 in 1800. Horses and mules, 100–328; cattle, 152. 250, 1,350; sheep and goats, 644, 447, 1,651. Crop in 1788, 550 fan. Adobe church and house.

Santo Tomás, founded 1791; moved in 1794. PP. Llorente 1791–8, Lopez

3,900 cattle, 8,400 sheep, and 100 swine; and these numbers were nearly doubled at the end of the century; though they were considerably diminished down to 1788. Grain crops varied from 3,500 to 13,000 fanegas per year, being 7,000 fanegas, or 10,500 bushels, on an average; and the country also produced small quantities of wine, brandy, cotton, and fruits.

1797, Fontcuberta 1798. 96 Ind. in 1791, 151 in 1794, 262 in 1800. Horses and mules, 172–187; cattle, 350–1,070; sheep and goats, 650–2,400. Crops, 652, 782, 1,550 fan. Adobe church and house.

San Pedro Mártyr, founded 1794. PP. Pallas and Grijalva, 1794, Caballero 1695, Rivas and Apolinario 1797–8, Caulas 1798. 60 Ind. in 1794, 92 in 1800. 140 horses and mules, 600 cattle, 700 sheep and goats, and 50 swine in 1800. Crop, 435 fan. in 1800.

Santa Catalina Mártyr, founded 1797. PP. Valdellon and Llorente. 133 Ind. in 1800, 145 horses and mules, 315 cattle; and 312 sheep and goats in 1800. Crop, 31 fan.

List of Dominican padres in Baja California, 1773–1800, the dates attached to each name being generally not those of arrival and departure, but of first and last appearance on the records:

Abad, Miguel, 1791–8.
Acebedo, Pedro, to 1796.
Aivar, José, 1790.
Apolinario, Mariano, 1786–98.
Arbiña, Rafael, 1795–8.
Armesto, José, 1790.
Belda, Vicente, 1794–1800.
Berraguero, Antonio, 1793.
Caballero, Antonio, to 1798.
Caballero, Rafael, to 1798.
Calvo, Joaquin, to 1795.
Caulas, José, 1797–8.
Codina, Jaime, 1797–8.
Coello, Jorge, 1789–99.
Concepcion, Antonio, to 1798.
Conouse (?), José, 1796–8.
Cruzado, Antonio, 1777.
Escolá, Raimundo, 1797–1800.
Espin, José, 1794–9.
Estevez, José, 1776–96.
Fernandez, Mariano, 1790–8.
Fernandez, Vicente, 1792.
Fontcuberta, Sigismundo, 1798–1800.
Galisteo, Francisco, 1775.
Gallego, Miguel, 1790–1880.
Gándara, Pedro (?).
Gandiaga, Pedro, 1790.
García, Manuel, 1775.
Gomez, Juan Crisóstomo, 1781–92.
Grijalva, Juan Pablo, 1794.
Herrera, José, 1793–6.
Hidalgo, Miguel, 1780–6.
Hontiyuelo, Francisco, 1790–8.
Lafuente, José, 1774–96.
Lázaro, Antonio, 1797–8.
Llorente, José, 1789–98.
Lopez, Miguel, 1795–8.
Lopez, Ramon, from 1796.
Luesma, Antonio.
Marin, Tomás, 1788–98.
Mesa, ——, 1793.
Mora, Vicente, from 1772–83.
Muñoz, Nicolás, 1779.
Naranjo, José, to 1783.
Pallas, Cayetano, 1788–1800.
Pons, Melchor, 1794–1800.
Rivas, Juan, 1797–8.
Ruiz, José, Manuel, 1790.
Soles, Luis, 1772–88.
Salgado, Juan María, 1798–9.
Sanchez, Antonio, 1794–8.
Santolarra, José.
Sanz, Plácido, 1797–8.
Soldevilla, Gerónimo, 1790–8.
Surroca, Eudaldo, 1797–8.
Tejeiro, Ricardo, 1794–7.
Timon, Domingo, 1795–8.
Urreta, José Vida, to 1793.
Valdellon, Tomás, 1794–8.
Valero, Joaquin, 1779–96.
Verduzco, ——, 1783.
Villatoro, José García, 1780–96.
Yoldi, Mariano, 1794–7.
Zárate, Pablo, 1794–8.
Zavaleta, Martin, 1783.

Finally is given an alphabetical list of sixty-five Dominican friars who served in this field before 1800. It is probable that a few names are missing for the earlier years. Of the friars personally not much is known beyond their names and in some cases the missions where they served. The presidents have been named in this chapter; and two or three black sheep of the flock it is as well not to name, since their shortcomings are but vaguely recorded.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OCCUPATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

1769–1800.

DISCOVERY AND COAST EXPLORATION—KNOWLEDGE OF CALIFORNIA IN 1769—MOTIVES FOR THE CONQUEST—PORTOLÁ'S EXPEDITION—AT SAN DIEGO—TO MONTEREY AND SAN FRANCISCO BY LAND—FOUNDING OF MISSIONS—JUNÍPERO SERRA AS PRESIDENT—RESULTS IN 1773—FAGES, RIVERA, AND ANZA—DISASTER AT SAN DIEGO—SAN FRANCISCO MISSION AND PRESIDIO—GOVERNOR NEVE AT MONTEREY—STATISTICS FOR THE FIRST DECADE—TROUBLE ON THE COLORADO—GOVERNOR FAGES—PUEBLOS—LASUEN AS PRESIDENT—LA PÉROUSE—NEW FOUNDATIONS—A DECADE OF PROSPERITY—ROMEU, ARRILLAGA, AND BORICA—VANCOUVER—YANKEE CRAFT—FEARS OF FOREIGN AGGRESSION—END OF THE CENTURY—ELEMENTS OF PROGRESS.

As explained in the preface of this work, a *History of the North Mexican States* must necessarily include the annals of California, Arizona, and New Mexico, which down to 1846 formed a part of the territory; but only a brief résumé is required, because the provinces named are to be fully treated in separate volumes. This résumé, so far as New Mexico and Arizona are concerned, has been attached to chapters on Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora; and it only remains to devote a short chapter to Upper California. The discovery and exploration of this country by sea, beginning in 1540, were effected by voyages which have been sufficiently recorded in this volume. The result was a general knowledge of the coast-trend up past Cape Mendocino; of the Santa Bárbara channel and islands; of the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and old San Francisco under Point Reyes; and to some extent of the country's peaceful people, salubrious cli-

mate, and fertile soil. This chapter will therefore be confined to the Spanish occupation of the province from 1769 to 1800, the same period and territory being covered in all desirable detail by the first volume of my *History of California.*

Besides the general and ever operative desire for extension of Spanish dominion and conversion of new gentiles, leading motives for the occupation of California in 1769 were the need of a northern port for galleons en route from Manila to Acapulco, and fear of encroachments by foreigners from the north, either by the English sailing through the strait of Anian, or more probably by Russians crossing that strait. The actual undertaking of the enterprise was favored by the expulsion of the Jesuits and the fitting-out of the Sonora expedition calling attention to the great north-west; and success was assured by the superintendence assumed by the visitador general José de Galvez. Under his direction, as we have seen, an expedition was despatched from the peninsula in the spring of 1769 by sea and land under the command of Governor Portolá.

In July the four divisions were reunited at San Diego, those who came by water having suffered terribly from scurvy, which killed many of the number. There were about eighty men of Spanish blood now united at the southern extremity of the promised land. Father Junípero Serra at once founded the first mission at San Diego, though there were no converts for a long time and the missionaries were constantly annoyed by the thefts and petty hostilities of the natives. Meanwhile Portolá and Father Juan Crespí with the main company marched northward in quest of Monterey, which port they reached in October, but did not recognize because of the exaggerated notions respecting its excellence that had become current since the time of Vizcaino. Then they went on until they came in sight of Point Reyes and its port of San Francisco, which they could not reach on ac-

count of a grand intervening bay now seen by Europeans for the first time, and to which a few years later the name of San Francisco was transferred. Returning by the same route down the coast the explorers arrived at San Diego in January 1770. There was trouble here for want of supplies, and a day was fixed for the abandonment of California; but a ship arrived most opportunely in March, and disaster was averted.

A new start was made immediately for the north by land and water, and early in June 1770 the mission and presidio of San Cárlos were founded at Monterey, Lieutenant Pedro Fages succeeding to the chief command, and Portolá retiring. For a long time the name applied to the country was "the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey." In 1771 the friars were reënforced and two new missions were established, San Antonio in the north and San Gabriel in the south; while the central mission of San Luis Obispo was added the next year. In 1772 Fages and Crespí reached the mouth of the great river in an unsuccessful attempt to pass around the new bay and reach old San Francisco; quarrels began between the military and missionary authorities as represented by Fages and Serra; and the latter went to Mexico not only to unseat his enemy but to work for general mission interests.

The Franciscans had now made a good beginning in the north, and were pleased with the prospects. Besides the presidio with its garrison of sixty soldiers there were now five missions under nineteen friars—including those released by the cession of the peninsula establishments to the Dominicans in 1772–3—who had baptized about five hundred natives. Livestock numbered 200 cattle, 60 horses, 80 mules, 100 swine, and 160 sheep and goats. Serra toiled diligently in Mexico, inspiring the government with a degree of his own enthusiasm respecting the future of the new California, and obtaining many concessions

in a reglamento which provided a military force of eighty men to cost, with the San Blas supply department, about 73,000 pesos per year. President Serra returned to his mission field in March, 1774; Captain Rivera y Moncada, appointed to the command on account of Padre Junípero's enmity to Fages, arrived in May; and Captain Anza made an exploring expedition to open a route from Sonora by land.

In 1775 Perez and Bodega explored the northern coast; while Ayala in the *San Cárlos* and Heceta by land made a new examination, as Rivera and Palou had done the year before, of the new bay and peninsula, where, instead of at the port originally so named, it was decided to establish the mission of San Francisco. But in the south this year was marked by a great disaster, the destruction of San Diego mission, moved the year before to a site some six miles from the bay, and the murder of Padre Jaume by savages in November. Meanwhile Anza with a company of over two hundred souls and large numbers of cattle and horses came from Sonora by the previously explored route, arriving at San Gabriel in January 1776. This company was intended mainly for the proposed northern establishments; and after delays caused by the disaster at San Diego and subsequent controversy between Anza and Rivera, the mission and presidio of San Francisco were founded on the peninsula in September and October, to be the northern frontier of Spanish occupation throughout the century.

Besides the restoration of San Diego two new missions were added to the number in 1776–7, San Juan Capistrano in the south, and Santa Clara in the north. Now Monterey was made the capital of both Californias, and Governor Felipe de Neve came here to reside in February 1777. Before the end of the year the first Californian pueblo, or town, was founded at San José, the new ruler not regarding the conversion of natives as the only desirable element in the building of a new Spanish realm. In 1779 the Manila galleon

touched for the first time at Monterey. In 1780 at the end of the first decade of Californian annals, the country was guarded by 80 soldiers in three presidios; there was one pueblo with some 20 settlers; while 16 friars were serving 3,000 native converts in eight missions. Agriculture and stock-raising had been introduced with flattering prospects; and there was a population of Spanish and mixed race amounting to nearly 500 souls.

A new reglamento prepared by Governor Neve went into effect in 1781, increasing the military force to about two hundred men, providing for new establishments, and introducing desirable reforms in several phases of provincial management, but at the same time paving the way for trouble with the friars by certain measures clearly intended eventually to interfere with their exclusive control of the mission temporalities. These innovations produced a controversy in Mexico between guardian and viceroy; but they were practically nullified in consequence of unfortunate occurrences in south-eastern California on the Colorado River. Here two missions were founded in 1780 by the Querétaro Franciscans, without the protection of a presidio, and without any other than purely spiritual powers being conferred on the friars. In July 1781 these missions were destroyed by the savages, who murdered the padres with some fifty settlers and soldiers. This disaster was a strong argument for the friars against any change in the system of spiritual conquest; and affairs were allowed to go on practically in the old way. Captain Rivera, on his way to California with a portion of the reënforcements intended for the proposed Santa Bárbara Channel establishments, was also killed with some of his men at the Colorado River massacre; and this occurrence with its attendant circumstances seriously retarded progress on the coast.

Governor Neve was succeeded in 1782 by Lieu-

tenant-colonel Fages, the former comandante, who ruled the province until 1790. Junípero Serra the founder governed the missions as president until his death in 1784; and after a brief rule ad interim by Francisco Palou, Fermin Francisco de Lasuen became president in 1785. There was much controversy on paper between the political and Franciscan authorities respecting various minor points of mission management; but by reason of Lasuen's conciliatory spirit and Fages' good sense the hostile feeling was less bitter than in earlier and later times; and the period was one of quiet progress uninterrupted by serious disasters. During the decade five new establishments were added to the fifteen before existing: Los Angeles pueblo in 1781, San Buenaventura mission and Santa Bárbara presidio in 1782, Santa Bárbara mission in 1786, and Purísima in 1787. There were in 1790 eleven missions with 7,500 converts in charge of twenty-six Franciscans; four presidios garrisoned by 200 soldiers; and two pueblos with a population of about 220. The total population of gente de razon was 1,000. Cattle and horses had increased to 26,000, and there were about the same number of sheep and goats. Of commerce, however, there was as yet none, save in the form of projects for the future. Maritime intercourse with foreign nations began in 1786 with the visit of the French navigator La Pérouse, the printed narrative of whose voyage gave the world an excellent description of California and its institutions. There were warnings in 1789 of prospective unfriendly visits from General Washington's Yankee cruisers, but they did not come. Father Palou published in 1787 a standard chronicle of mission annals for the earliest period, and I copy his map of the Alta California establishments.

The third decade and last of the century brought but a continuance of prosperity, especially for the missions, which were increased in number from eleven

to eighteen by the founding of Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791; San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and San Fernando in 1797; and San Luis Rey in 1798. The neophyte population was nearly doubled, being 13,500 in the year 1800. Some padres died or left the country, but others came from Mexico to take their places, and their number increased from 26 to 40. Cattle and horses multiplied to about 70,000; sheep and goats to nearly 90,000; and crops varied from 30,000 to 75,000 bushels per year. Mission

PALOU'S MAP OF CALIFORNIA MISSIONS.

buildings and chattels were estimated at about a million pesos. Notwithstanding this prosperity, there were indications of later decadence, especially in the excess of deaths over births among the converts, and the increasing number of apostate fugitives; yet the retrograde movement was not to begin for years, and at the end of the century California was beyond all comparison the most promising mission field in all the North Mexican States. Controversies continued, and charges by one of the friars led to a searching investigation of the missionary methods, the result of which

was creditable to the Franciscans. Father Lasuen remained in charge throughout the period as president and vicar.

The pueblos were much less prosperous than the missions, a new one of Branciforte, founded in 1797, showing results even less satisfactory than the old ones of San José and Los Angeles. The three reached a population of about 550 souls. Earnest efforts were made by the rulers to favor the growth of the towns and to stimulate the settlement and industries of the country; but with little success, for the settlers were here as elsewhere inefficient men disposed to be content with a bare existence; and the matter was made worse by the mistaken policy of sending vagabonds and even convicts to increase the population. The gente de razon numbered about 1,800 at the end of the decade.

Governor José Antonio Romeu succeeded Fages in 1791, dying the next year; José Joaquin Arrillaga ruled in 1792–3, ad interim; and Diego de Borica from 1794 to 1800. All were able men and ruled wisely. The period was for the most part uneventful, but for occasional local excitements caused by revolting neophytes and threatening gentiles. The Nootka troubles between Spain and England awakened some interest in California in 1788–95, and in connection with this affair several visits were received from Spaniards and foreigners. Most notable among these was the English navigator Vancouver who came three times in 1792–4, and had much to say of the country in the published narratives of his voyages. Several vessels from the United States touched on the coast, first among which was the *Otter* of Boston, commanded by Captain Dorr, in 1796. The people and authorities were always in fear of encroachments from foreign nations, particularly from England and France; and the oft-repeated rumors of impending attack furnished the chief topic of conversation and correspondence. No foreign power, however, made the attempt to

wrest this far-off province from Spain; and the only practical result of the excitement was a degree of enforced activity in strengthening coast defences, weak enough even at the last, and the obtaining of reënforcements—a company of Catalan volunteers and an artillery detachment—which increased the military force to about 380 men.

Alta California was thus occupied for the most part without resistance from the peaceful and docile natives, by the military and spiritual forces of Spain. The docility, not to say stupidity of the Indians as compared with those of most other North Mexican provinces, greatly facilitated the success of the missionaries; which was also favored by the wonderful fertility of the soil, and by the isolation of the country, and the absence of disturbing elements, such as the influence of a vagabond mining population. The settlers, not by any means models, were yet on an average superior in many respects to those in other regions. Officers were able and honest men who worked faithfully, if not always with energy and success, for the provincial interests; and in the early times there were no instances of corruption in high places. Soon were to come ships from different lands for Californian products, introducing a new element of prosperity; but the good friars were to grow old and somewhat too rich; foreigners were to foment dissensions as well as ambition; and political strife was to interrupt the happy *far niente* of the primitive days. For this, as for all the other territories whose annals we have followed in these pages, troubles were in store, to be succeeded more speedily here than elsewhere by a new era of golden prosperity.